G. D. Madgavkar I. C. S.

MAN

PAST AND PRESENT

BY

A. H. KEANE, F.R.G.S.

LATE VICE-PRES. ANTHROP. INSTITUTE:
CORRES. MEMBER FLORENTINE ROMAN AND WASHINGTON
ANTHROP. SOCIETIES.
Author of *Ethnology*; *The Indo-Chinese and Oceanic Races and Languages*;
Ethnology of Egyptian Sudan, etc., etc.



STEREOTYPED EDITION

CAMBRIDGE:
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
1900

PREFACE.

In the preface to the *Ethnology*, which formed the first volume of the *Cambridge Geographical Series*, a promise was held out that it might be followed by another dealing more systematically with the primary divisions of mankind. The present volume appears in part fulfilment of that promise. In the *Ethnology* were discussed those more fundamental questions which concern the human family as a whole—its origin and evolution, its specific unity, antiquity and primitive cultural stages, together with the probable cradle and area of dispersion of the four varietal divisions over the globe. Here these divisions are treated more in detail, with the primary view of establishing their independent specialisation in their several geographical zones, and at the same time elucidating the difficult questions associated with the origins and inter-relations of the chief sub-groups, and thus bridging over the breaks of continuity between "Man Past and Present."

The work is consequently to a large extent occupied with that hazy period vaguely called prehistoric, when most of the now living peoples had already been fully constituted in their primeval homes, and had begun those later developments and migratory movements which followed at long intervals after the first peopling of the earth by pleistocene man. By such movements were brought about great changes, displacements, and dislocations, involving fresh ethnical groupings, with profound modifications, or even total effacements of racial or linguistic characters, and complete severance from the original seats of the parent stocks. In some cases the connecting ties are past recovery, so that the ethnical, like the geological, record must always remain to some extent a mutilated chapter in the history of the world and of humanity. But in our times many of the more serious gaps have

been often most unexpectedly made good by the combined efforts of philologists, physical anthropologists, and especially archæologists, who have come to the welcome aid of the palethnologist, hitherto groping almost helplessly in this dark field of human origins. Thus the questions dealing with the early seats, migrations, and later inter-relations of the Caucasic peoples on both sides of the Mediterranean—Hamitic Berbers and Egyptians, Iberians, Picts, Ligurians and Pelasgians—may now be profitably studied, thanks to the craniological measurements of Prof. Sergi and Dr Collignon, the linguistic inquiries of the late G. von der Gabelenz, and the antiquarian researches of Schliemann, de Morgan, Prof. Flinders Petrie, and especially Mr A. J. Evans, in various parts of this most interesting of all ethnical domains.

Availing myself of the results of their labours, I have here endeavoured to show that the Berber and Basque races and languages were originally one, that the Ligurians were not round-headed Kelts but long-headed Afro-Europeans, and that the Pelasgians belonged to the same pre-Hellenic stock, to which must now be credited the Ægean cultures of pre-Mykenæan and Mykenæan times. Should these conclusions be confirmed by further investigation, modern research may claim to have reconstructed the ethnical history of the wide-spread Mediterranean peoples, who still form the substratum, and in some places even the bulk, of the North African, Italian, Spanish, South French, and British populations.

By analogous processes the dense clouds of ignorance have been somewhat dissipated in which have hitherto been wrapped the origins, early migrations, and present relations of the Bantu Negroes, of the proto-Malayan and Malagasy members of the Oceanic Mongol family, of the Koreans and Japanese, of the Jats and Rajputs, of the Uigurs, Samoyads, and other less known Finno-Turki groups, and, passing to the New World, of the Dakotan Redskins, of the Aztecs, Mayas, Quechua-Aymaras, Caribs and Arawaks.

Another no less important object has been the elucidation of those general principles—scarcely more than formulated in the *Ethnology*—which are concerned with the psychic unity, the social institutions and religious ideas of primitive and later peoples.

From this point of view the present may be regarded as a continuous illustration of the first volume, and students of such sociological subjects as the family, clan and tribe, totemic, matriarchal and shamanistic usages, current views on primordial promiscuity and group marriages, early philosophies, theogonies, theories of the universe, assumed revelations involving sublime concepts of a Supreme Being in savage peoples of low cranial capacity, will here find some fresh materials not perhaps unworthy of their consideration.

Special attention is given to the subject of coincidences in mythologies, folklore tales, and popular superstitions, such as the prevalent belief in the were-wolf (tiger, leopard, jaguar), and other strange but common modes of thought which may now be followed round the globe from Europe through Malaysia to Africa and the New World. The references to these matters, which will be easily found by consulting the index, may help the student in deciding between the antagonistic views of Prof. Max Müller, who still holds that all such coincidences "have a reason if only we can find it[1]," and of those anthropologists who think that, where contact and outward influences are excluded by time and space, such parallelisms are proofs rather of the common psychic nature of man, everywhere acted upon by like causes during the early struggle for existence. Certainly the fresh data here brought together seem to lend strong support to the view that all these manifestations of the dawning reasoning faculty have their root in primitive economic conditions. They are associated in the first instance with the question, not of spirit or ancestor-worship, which comes later, but of the food supply, as shown by M. A. Bernard for the taboo of the New Caledonians (pp. 142–3), and by Mr W. E. Roth for the Australian class-marriage system (pp. 153–4). It follows that, like the physical characters of man, such mental phenomena, and especially those reflected in early social and religious observances, can no longer be profitably studied apart from the standpoint of evolution[2].

1 *Fortnightly Review*, Oct. 1898.

2 See also Mr C. L. Henning's suggestive paper *On the Origin of Religion*, in *The Amer. Anthropologist* for Dec. 1898, which reached me too late to be consulted during the progress of the work.

A few words will suffice on the general plan and arrangement of the subject-matter. Two preliminary chapters, forming a close link between the two volumes, deal in a summary way with the cradle, origin, and migrations of the pleistocene precursor, with the Stone and Metal Ages (where it was important to accentuate the vast duration of the Neolithic period), and with the evolution of writing systems, with which is ushered in the strictly historical epoch. Then follow the chapters which are devoted *seriatim* to the primary groups and chief sub-branches of the human family. Each of the main sections is introduced with a general *Conspectus*, in which are briefly summarised the more salient features connected with the primeval home, past and present distribution, physical and mental characters, and chief sub-groups of the several main divisions. With the view of making this volume a trustworthy book of reference on the multifarious subjects dealt with, I have everywhere aimed at accuracy in the statement of facts, which are as far as possible drawn from the best available sources, and supported by careful reference to recognised authorities. But in the handling of such a body of scattered materials, errors both of omission and commission can scarcely have been avoided, and I can but hope that they will be found neither numerous nor serious.

A. H. K.

ARÁM-GÁH,
79, BROADHURST GARDENS, N.W.
March, 1899.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHAPTER IX.

CHAPTER X.

CHAPTER XI.

CHAPTER XII.

CHAPTER XIII.

CHAPTER XIV.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

(The Types are all from Photographs in the Collections of the British Museum, the Anthropological Institute, the Royal Geographical Society and the Author.)

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

The World peopled by Migration from one Centre by Pleistocene Man—The Primary Groups evolved each in its special Habitat—But all sprung from the Pliocene Precursor—The "First Man"—The Human Cradle-land—Characters of the First Man—The Transition from Pliocene to Pleistocene Man—Uniform Character of Pleistocene Man and his Works—Progress during the Stone Ages—The Primary Groups specialised in pre-Neolithic Times—Duration of the New Stone Age—The early History of Man a Geological Problem—The Human Varieties the Outcome of their several Environments—Correspondence of Geographical with Racial and Cultural Zones.

The World peopled by Migration from one Centre by Pleistocene Man.

In order to a clear understanding of the many difficult questions connected with the natural history of the human family, two cardinal points have to be steadily borne in mind—the specific unity of all existing varieties, and the dispersal of their generalised precursors over the whole world in pleistocene times. As both points have elsewhere been dealt with by me somewhat fully[1], it will here suffice to show their direct bearing on the general evolution of the human species from that remote epoch to the present day.

It must be obvious that, if man is specifically one, though not necessarily sprung of a single pair, he must have had, in homely language, a single cradle-land, from which the peopling of the earth was brought about by migration, not by independent developments from different species in so many independent geographical areas.

[1] *Ethnology*, Chaps. V. and VII.

It follows further, and this point is all-important, that, since the world was peopled by pleistocene man, it was peopled by a generalised proto-human form, prior to all later racial differences. The existing groups, that is, the four primary divisions—*Ethiopic*, *Mongolic*, *American* and *Caucasic*,—have each had their pleistocene ancestor, from whom each has sprung independently and divergently by continuous adaptation to their several environments.

The Primary Groups evolved each in its special Habitat.

If they still constitute mere varieties, and not distinct species, the reason is because all come of like pleistocene ancestry, while the divergences have been confined to relatively narrow limits, that is, not wide enough to be regarded zoologically as specific differences[1]. No doubt Dr R. Munro is right in suggesting that "during the larger portion of the quaternary (pleistocene) period, if not, indeed, from its very commencement, man had already acquired his human characters."[2] But by "human characters" are here to be understood, not those by which one race may be dis-

[1] *Eth.* Ch. VII. On the strength of this statement I have been claimed as a polygenist both by Sergi and by Ehrenreich, the latter remarking that "mit dieser jedenfalls naturgemässen Auffassung bekennt sich Keane, so eifrig er den Monogenismus verficht, doch im Grunde zum Polygenismus" (*Anthropologische Studien über die Urbewohner Brasiliens*, Brunswick, 1897, p. 19). As well charge a writer with polygenist views who should say that most of the Whites born in "Greater Britain" are sprung from *different* groups of emigrants from the British Isles. The founders of the British colonies, though different individually, were of one stock, and so the pleistocene founders of the first human groups were also different individually, but of one stock, from which all mankind has sprung. As polygenist theories are again somewhat rife on the Continent, it may here be pointed out that excessive polygenism tends to discredit the very evolutionary teachings which its advocates profess to uphold. Starting from several absolutely independent centres, it arrives at the same results that are reached by the evolutionist starting from one absolute centre. Hence it is not needed in any scheme of human origins, while a little reflection will show that, without doing any great violence to their principles, these pluralists may readily accommodate their extreme views to the assumption that the primary varietal groups have been developed in different geographical areas (zoological zones) from so many undifferentiated groups of the generalised pleistocene stock. Had they sprung from specifically different pliocene anthropoids, as held by Sergi and others, the differences would now be not merely specific, but generic, which nobody maintains.

[2] *Address, Anthrop. Section*, Brit. Ass. 1893.

tinguished from another, but those more general qualities of body and mind, by which man himself was already distinguished from all the other anthropoid groups.

Till recently this statement must have been regarded as mere speculation. But it acquires a large degree of probability, if not absolute certainty, by the remains of *Pithecanthropus erectus*, found in 1892 by Dr Eugène Dubois in the pliocene beds of East Java[1], that is, the very region which more than one eminent naturalist had pointed to as the probable original home of mankind.

But all sprung from the Pliocene Precursor.

Since their discovery these remains have been subjected to the strictest scientific scrutiny, with the result that their human character has been placed beyond reasonable doubt. They have, indeed, been described by some anatomists as rather pre-human than actually human[2]; but nobody now denies that they at least represent a form intermediate between man and the higher apes, or rather between man and the generalised Simian prototype, which is practically the same thing. They do not bridge over the impassable gap between Man and Gorilla or Chimpanzee; but they form, none the less, a true link, which brings Man much nearer than before to the common stem from which all have diverged[3].

The "First Man."

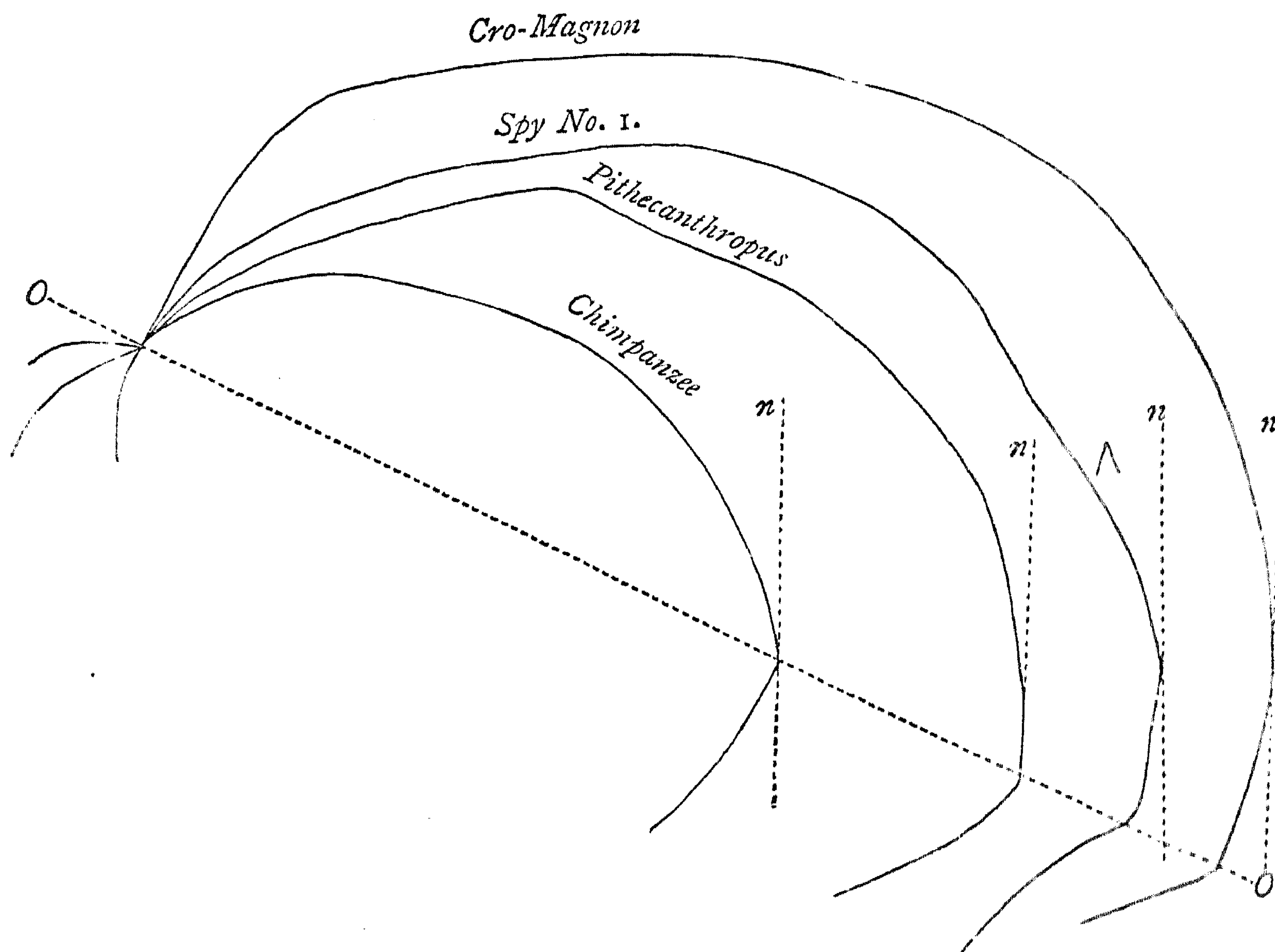
No one has studied the question more carefully than M. L. Manouvrier, who concludes that *Homo javanensis* walked erect, was about the medium height, and a true precursor, possibly a direct ancestor, of man. Virchow's usual suggestion that the skull was "pathological," such as might be picked up anywhere, is severely handled; it is

[1] *Eth.* p. 144.

[2] O. C. Marsh, *Amer. J. of Sc.* June, 1896.

[3] They also supply some of the essential elements of a human prototype, so that Virchow's assertion that "Noch ist kein einheitlicher Urtypus für die Menschen festgestellt" (*Rassenbildung* &c., 1896, p. 5) no longer holds good. So also is turned aside the shaft of the polygenists, whose theory "dispenses with a cradle of mankind which causes the monogenists so much brain-cudgelling. We no longer need to find a single centre for man, and then start him on hypothetical wanderings over the globe" (Ehrenreich, *op. cit.* p. 21). The single centre, and the hypothetical wanderings, it may now be retorted, no longer present any serious difficulties, while the objections to the polygenist view remain unanswered and unanswerable (*Eth.* p. 156 sq.).

pointed out that the cranial capacity decreases with the antiquity of all the skulls hitherto brought to light, and that this skull has a capacity of from 900 to 1000 c.c., that is, "stands at the level of the smallest which have been occasionally found amongst the reputedly lowest savage peoples."[1] An accompanying diagram shows its position intermediate between Chimpanzee and the Man of Spy[2], and Manouvrier adds that it may perhaps be more directly connected with the Australian race. "The differentiation of the human races having probably been but slightly



POSITION OF P. ERECTUS.

(Manouvrier, *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 438.)

developed in the pliocene epoch, I may be permitted to suggest that the race of Trinil [Java] was the common ancestor of many

[1] *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 419.
[2] *Eth.* p. 146.

human races, if not of all those that have been subsequently specialised."[1]

Dr D. Hepburn also[2] declares that the femur is distinctly human, and not merely ape-like, that it ante-dates all other human remains hitherto discovered, and that of living races the nearest akin are the Australians, Andamanese, Bushmen, thereby lending support to the view that these low races spring from a common primeval stock, which originally inhabited the now vanished Indo-African Continent[3].

The Human Cradle-land.

This pliocene inhabitant of Java may thus in a sense be taken as the long sought-for "First Man"; and as it is not very probable that he can have had any undoubtedly human precursors elsewhere, the Indo-Malaysian inter-tropical lands may also with some confidence be regarded as the cradle of the human family. Ethnology thus at last acquires a probable starting-point both for the dispersal of early man over the globe, and for the subsequent evolution of the human races in their respective zones of specialisation.

In support of this view comes the opportune discovery made by Dr Noetling in 1894 of the works of pliocene man in Upper Burma[4]. To the doubts raised by Mr R. D. Oldham[5] as to the occurrence of these chipped flints in the original deposit, suggesting that they may have been washed down from the plateau over which such implements are scattered, the finder has given a reply which seems to have satisfied everybody. He shows that the flints were really found *in situ* associated with the remains of such extinct fauna as *Rhinoceros perimensis* and *Hipparion antelopinum*, and assigns the beds to the Lower Pliocene, adding that he has made another find in the same beds, a femur and a humerus, worn and polished by human action[6].

Characters of the First Man.

This tropical Indo-Malaysian could therefore already use his hands to fashion his rude stone implements; he could walk erect and had even occupied a tolerably

[1] *Eth.* p. 454.

[2] *The Trinil Femur contrasted with the Femora of various savage and civilised Races*, in *J. of Anat. and Physiol.* 1896, XXXI. p. 1 sq.

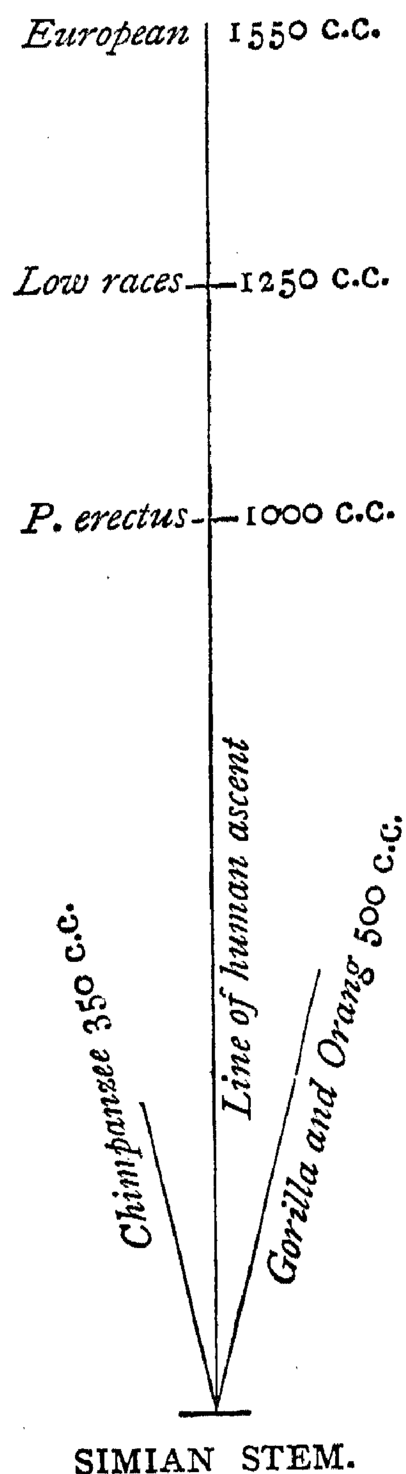
[3] *Eth.* p. 236.

[4] *Eth.* p. 423—4.

[5] *Natural Science*, Sept. 1895.

[6] *Natural Science*, April, 1897.

wide domain, comprising at least the Sunda Islands and Indo-China, regions at that time still connected by continuous land across the shallow waters, nowhere over fifty fathoms deep, which now flow between the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Sumatra and Java. Lastly, he was about the average height, say, 5 feet 6 inches, and had a cranial capacity of perhaps 1000 c.c., that is, double that of the highest apes (Gorilla, Orang, both 450 to 500), not greatly inferior to that often occurring amongst the lowest present races (Australians, Negritoes, Bushmen, 1100 to 1300), and just midway between Gorilla and the highest present races (Europeans 1500), as shown in the subjoined diagram.



In an instructive paper "On the Intermediary Links between Man and the Lower Animals," read before the Edinburgh Royal

Society (Jan. 4, 1897), Dr Munro remarked that the transition probably took place in a limited area, so that the chances of finding the intermediary links of this stage were very small. On the other hand the probability of finding erect beings with skulls in all grades of development, from a slightly changed Simian type up to that of civilised man, was enormously greater. He regarded the erect posture as the most conspicuous line of demarcation between man and the lower animals. From this standpoint the Java skeleton would come under the category of human; but if this line of distinction was to be dependent in any degree on mental phenomena, Dr Dubois was perfectly justified in regarding it as a transitional form, because it was a long time after the attainment of the erect posture before his religious, moral and intellectual faculties became human characters. Many fossil remains of man were intermediary links, which marked different stages in the history of mankind, and the further back such investigations were carried, the more simian-like did the brain-case become. If the geological horizon of the Java man were correctly defined as the borderland between the Pliocene and Quaternary [Pleistocene] periods, one could form some idea how far back we had to travel to reach the common stock from which men and anthropoids had sprung. The lower races of to-day, he concluded, were also survivals of intermediary links, which had been thrown into the side eddies of the great stream of evolution.

The Transition from Pliocene to Pleistocene Man.

This greatly strengthens the view always advocated by me that man began to spread over the globe after he had acquired the erect posture, but while in other physical and in mental respects he still differed not greatly from his nearest akin. But no doubt he already possessed the rudimentary organs, and consequently the germs, of speech, and this[1], combined with his other advantages, enabled him soon to acquire sufficient supremacy over all other animals to constitute himself the one universal species. Hence the range of man alone coincides with that of the habitable world. Whether he had occupied the whole of this domain in the

[1] "He gave man speech, and speech created thought,
Which is the measure of the universe."
Prometheus Unbound, II. 4.

pliocene age itself may well be doubted, and in the absence of sufficient evidence must in any case be left for the present an open question. Reasons have elsewhere been given[1] for rejecting Sergi's tertiary *Hominidæ*, assumed to be already specialised in pliocene times, and the more probable view seems still to be that the occupation of the globe was not effected, or at least not completed, before the early pleistocene epoch. In other words, the earth was mainly peopled by the generalised pleistocene precursors, who moved about, like the other migrating faunas, unconsciously, everywhere following the lines of least resistance, advancing or receding, and acting generally on blind impulse rather than of any set purpose.

The first Migrations.

That such must have been the nature of the first migratory movements will appear evident when we consider that they were carried on by rude hordes, all very much alike, and differing not greatly from other zoological groups, and further that these migrations took place prior to the development of all cultural appliances beyond the ability to wield a broken branch or a sapling, or else chip or flake primitive stone implements[2].

Herein lies the explanation of the curious phenomenon, which is such a stumbling-block to premature systematists, that all the works of early man, and man himself, everywhere present the most startling resemblances, affording absolutely no elements for classification, for instance, during the times corresponding with the Chellian or first period of the Old Stone Age. Years ago Virchow declared that there was no distinguishing between the forms of palæolithic implements found in the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, and those who have examined the collections in Argentina, the United States, and Europe will readily assent to that statement.

Uniform Character of Early Man and his Works.

After referring to the identity of certain objects from the Hastings kitchen-middens and a barrow near Sevenoaks, Mr W. J. L. Abbot proceeds: "The first thing that would strike one

[1] *Eth.* p. 37.

[2] Thus Lucretius:—

> "Arma antiqua manus, ungues, dentesque fuerunt,
> Et lapides, et item silvarum fragmina rami."

in looking over a few trays of these implements is the remarkable likeness which they bear to those of Dordogne. Indeed many of the figures in the magnificent 'Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ' might almost have been produced from these specimens."[1] And Sir J. Evans, extending his glance over a wider horizon, discovers implements in other distant lands "so identical in form and character with British specimens that they might have been manufactured by the same hands... On the banks of the Nile, many hundreds of feet above its present level, implements of the European types have been discovered, while in Somaliland, in an ancient river valley, at a great elevation above the sea, Mr Seton-Karr has collected a large number of implements formed of flint and quartzite, which, judging from their form and character, might have been dug out of the drift-deposits of the Somme and the Seine, the Thames or the ancient Solent." And on the very strength of these identities Sir John re-echoes my theory that man originated in the East and migrated thence to Europe[2].

Certain skulls from South Australia seem cast in almost the same mould as the Neanderthal, the oldest known in Central Europe, and the palæolithic crania hitherto discovered in the latter region present without exception the same uniform long-headed type. The same type persists, though not everywhere, well into the New Stone Age, so that at first sight one might suppose that but few or slight specialisations of the pleistocene precursors were anywhere developed during the immensely long Old Stone Age, to which M. Jules Péroche assigns a period of some 300,000 years since the beginning of the Chellian epoch[3].

Progress during the Stone Ages.

But of course changes were always and everywhere going on, although scarcely perceptible in the less favoured regions, while in the later periods of the Old Stone Age the progress in the arts was so great that in some respects it was never afterwards surpassed or even equalled. Some of the exquisitely-wrought flints of the Solutrian period cannot now be reproduced, and many such objects ascribed by

[1] *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1896, p. 133.

[2] *Inaugural Address*, Brit. Ass. Meeting, Toronto, 1897. See also Dr F. Carlsen in *Globus*, 72, p. 67.

[3] *Les Températures quaternaires*, Lille, 1897.

French archæologists to the first would be assigned in England to the second Stone Age.

With this advancement in culture, that of the physical man must have gone on hand in hand. Hence it seems a reasonable assumption to suppose that even before the close of palæolithic times all the great divisions of mankind had already been specialised in their several geographical areas. In any case we may safely conclude that the existing primary varieties had been everywhere fully constituted in that intermediate period between the Old and New Stone Ages, which archæologists have found it so difficult accurately to determine, and in which some have even imagined a complete break or "hiatus", separating the two periods by an undefined interval of time.

The Primary Divisions specialised in pre-Neolithic Times.

No such interval is conceivable everywhere, else we should have to suppose, not only that the natural history of the human species began again with the dawn of neolithic times, but also that this fresh start from nothing was made not by one generalised but by many highly specialised forms, not (on the creative assumption) by one pair planted in one region, but by several pairs or groups dotted in convenient localities over the face of the globe. Even for Europe no break of continuity is now admitted by the best observers, and Sir W. Turner, amongst others, assumes that "when Neolithic man reached Western Europe he in all likelihood found his Palæolithic predecessor settled there, and a greater or less degree of fusion took place between them."[1]

Assuming therefore that the evolution of the human species was practically completed in all its fulness some time before the beginning of the New Stone Age, we may perhaps form some approximately accurate notion of the date to which, not the pliocene and pleistocene forerunners, but their specialised late palæolithic descendants may be referred. I have already ventured to suggest a period of about 100,000 years for the duration of the Post-Pleistocene epoch, which largely coincides with the New Stone Age[2]. Those who may have felt inclined to look on this as a somewhat

Duration of the New Stone Age.

[1] *Nature*, Jan. 13, 1898, p. 259. [2] *Eth.* p. 55.

wild conjecture are now invited to consider, first, the vast antiquity of strictly historic times in the light of recent research, and especially the still receding vista of Egyptian, Babylonian, and Minæan origins as summarily referred to in the following pages; second, the inconceivably remote age assigned to the appearance of Neolithic Man in Scotland by no less an authority than Sir William Turner. After showing that there is undoubted evidence of the presence of man in North Britain during the formation of the Carse clays, this careful observer explains that the Carse cliffs, now in places 45 to 50 feet above the present sea-level, formed the bed of an estuary or arm of the sea, which in post-glacial times extended almost, if not quite across the land from east to west, thus separating the region south of the Forth from North Britain. He even suggests, after the separation of Britain from the Continent in earlier times, another land connection, a "Neolithic land-bridge" by which the men of the New Stone Age may have reached Scotland when the upheaved 100-foot terrace was still clothed with the great forest growths that have since disappeared[1].

One begins to ask, Are even 100,000 years sufficient for such oscillations of the surface, upheaval of marine beds, appearance of great estuaries, renewed connection of Britain with the Continent by a "Neolithic land-bridge"? In the Falkirk district Neolithic kitchen-middens occur on, or at the base of, the bluffs which overlook the Carse lands, that is, the old sea-coast. In the Carse of Gowrie also a dug-out canoe was found at the very base of the deposits, and immediately above the buried forest-bed of the Tay valley[2].

That the Neolithic period was also of long duration even in Scandinavia has been made evident by Carl Wibling, who calculates that the geological changes on the south-east coast of Sweden (Province of Bleking), since its first occupation by the men of the New Stone Age, must have required a period of "at least 10,000 years."[3]

[1] *Discourse at the R. Institute*, London, *Nature*, Jan. 6 and 13, 1898.

[2] *Nature*, 1898, p. 235.

[3] *Tiden för Blekings första bebyggande*, Karlskrona, 1895, p. 5.

Still more startling are the results of the protracted researches carried on by Herr J. Nuesch at the now famous station of Schweizersbild, near Schaffhausen in Switzerland[1]. This station was apparently in the continuous occupation of man during both Stone Ages, and here have been collected as many as 14,000 objects belonging to the first, and over 6000 referred to the second period. Although the early settlement was only post-glacial, a point about which there is no room for doubt, Dr L. Laloy[2] has estimated "the absolute duration of both epochs together at from 24,000 to 29,000 years." We may, therefore, ask, if a comparatively recent post-glacial station in Switzerland is about 29,000 years old, how old may a pre- or inter-glacial station be in Gaul or Britain?

The early History of Man a Geological Problem.

From all this we see how fully justified is Mr J. W. Powell's remark that the natural history of early man becomes more and more a geological, and not merely an ethnological problem[3]. We also begin to understand how it is that, after an existence of some five score millenniums, the first specialised human varieties have diverged greatly from the original types, which have thus become almost "ideal quantities," the subjects rather of palæontological than of strictly anthropological studies.

The Human Varieties the Outcome of their several Environments.

And here another consideration of great moment presents itself. During these long ages some of the groups—most African negroes south of the equator, most Oceanic negroes (Melanesians and Papuans), all Australian and American aborigines—have remained in their original habitats ever since what may be called the first settlement of the earth by man. Others again, the more restless or enterprising peoples, such as the Mongols, Manchus, Turks, Ugro-Finns, Arabs, and most Europeans, have no doubt moved about somewhat freely; but these later migrations, whether hostile or peaceable, have for the most part been confined to regions presenting the same or like

[1] *Das Schweizersbild, eine Niederlassung aus palæolithischer und neolitischer Zeit*, in *Nouveaux Mémoires Soc. Helvétique des Sciences Naturelles*, Vol. XXXV. Zurich, 1896.

[2] *L'Anthropologie*, 1897, p. 350.

[3] *Forum*, Feb. 1898.

physical and climatic conditions. Wherever different climatic zones have been invaded, the intruders have failed to secure a permanent footing, either perishing outright, or disappearing by absorption or more or less complete assimilation to the aboriginal elements. Such are some "black Arabs" in Egyptian Sudan, other Semites and Hamites in Abyssinia and West Sudan (Himyarites, Fulahs and others), Finns and Turks in Hungary and the Balkan Peninsula (Magyars, Bulgars, Osmanli), Portuguese and Netherlanders in Malaysia, English in tropical or sub-tropical lands, such as India, where Eurasian half-breeds alone are capable of founding family groups.

The human varieties are thus seen to be, like all other zoological species, the outcome of their several environments. They are what climate, soil, diet, pursuits and inherited characters have made them, so that all sudden transitions are usually followed by disastrous results[1]. "To urge the emigration of women and children, or of any save those of the most robust health, to the tropics, may not be to murder in the first degree, but it should be classed, to put it mildly, as incitement to it."[2] Acclimatization may not be impossible, but in all extreme cases, it can be effected only at great sacrifice of life, and by slow processes, the most effective of which is perhaps Natural Selection. By this means we may indeed suppose the world to have been first peopled.

At the same time it should be remembered that the first migrations were all completed in inter-glacial, if not in pre-glacial ages, when the climate of the globe was everywhere much milder than at present. Consequently the different zones of temperature were less marked, and the passage from one region to another more easily effected than in later times. In a word the pleistocene precursors had far less difficulty in adapting themselves to their new surroundings than modern peoples have when they emigrate,

[1] The party of Eskimo men and women brought back by Lieut. Peary from his Arctic expedition in 1897 were unable to endure our temperate climate. Many died of pneumonia, and the survivors were so enfeebled that all had to be restored to their icy homes to save their lives. Even for the Algonquians of Labrador a journey to the coast is a journey to the grave.

[2] W. Z. Ripley, *Acclimatization*, New York, 1896, p. 24.

for instance, from Southern Europe to Brazil and Paraguay, or from the British Isles to Rhodesia and Nyassaland.

Correspondence of Geographical with Racial and Cultural Zones.

What is true of man must be no less true of his works; from which it follows that racial and cultural zones must coincide, while a correspondence must also exist between these and the zones of temperature, except so far as the latter may be modified by altitude, marine influences, or other local conditions. A glance at past and existing relations the world over will show that such harmonies have at all times prevailed. No doubt the overflow of the leading European peoples during the last 400 years has brought about divers dislocations, blurrings, and in places even total effacements of the old landmarks.

But, putting aside these disturbances, it will be found that in the eastern hemisphere the inter-tropical regions, hot, moist and more favourable to vegetable than to animal vitality, have always been the home of savage, cultureless populations. Within the same sphere are also comprised most of the extra-tropical southern lands, all tapering towards the antarctic waters, and consequently too contracted to constitute areas of higher specialisation.

Similarly the sub-tropical Asiatic peninsulas, the bleak Tibetan tableland, the Pamir, and arid Mongolian steppes are found mainly in possession of somewhat stationary communities, which present every stage between sheer savagery and civilisation.

In the same way the higher races and cultures are confined to the more favoured north temperate zone, so that between the parallels of 24° and 50° (but owing to local conditions falling in the far East to 40° and under, and in the extreme West rising to 55°), are situated nearly all the great centres, past and present, of human activities—the Egyptian, Babylonian, Mykenæan (Ægean), Hellenic, Etruscan, Roman, and modern European. Almost the only exceptions are the Minæan and Sabæan (Himyaritic) of Yemen (Arabia Felix) and Abyssinia, where the low latitude is neutralised by altitude and a copious rainfall.

Thanks also to altitude, to marine influences, and the contraction of the equatorial lands, the relations are almost completely reversed in the New World. Here all the higher developments took place, not in the temperate but in the tropical zone, within

which lay the seats of the Peruvian, Chimu, Chibcha and Maya-Quiché cultures; the Aztec sphere alone ranged northwards a little beyond the Tropic of Cancer.

Thus in both hemispheres the iso-cultural bands follow the isothermal lines in all their deflections, and the human varieties everywhere faithfully reflect the conditions of their several environments.

CHAPTER II.

THE METAL AGES—HISTORIC TIMES AND PEOPLES.

Progress of Archæological Studies—Sequence of the Metal Ages—The Copper Age—The Bronze Age—The Iron Age—Hallstatt Culture—Man and his Works in the Metal Ages—The Prehistoric Age in the West—And in China—Historic Times—Evolution of Writing Systems—Hieroglyphs and Cuneiforms—The Alphabet—The Persian and other Cuneiform Scripts—The Mas-d'Azil Markings—Alphabetiform Signs on Neolithic Monuments—Character and Consequences of the later historic Migrations—The Race merges in the People—The distinguishing Characters of Peoples—Elements of Classification.

Progress of Archæological Studies.

IF, as above seen, the study of human origins is largely a geological problem, the investigation of the later developments, during the Metal Ages and prehistoric times, belongs mainly to the field of Archæology. Hence it is that for the light which has in recent years been thrown upon the obscure interval between the Stone Ages and the strictly historic epoch, that is to say, the period when in his continuous upward development man gradually exchanged stone for the more serviceable metals, we are indebted chiefly to the patient labours of such men as Worsaae, Steenstrup, Forchhammer, Schliemann, Sayce, Layard, Lepsius, Mariette, Maspero, Montelius, Brugsch, Petrie, Peters, Haynes, Sir J. Evans, A. J. Evans and others, all archæologists first, and anthropologists only in the second instance.

Sequence of the Metal Age.

From the researches of these investigators it is now clear that copper, bronze, and iron were indeed successively introduced in the order named, so that the current expressions, "Copper," "Bronze," and "Iron" Ages remain still justified. But it also appears that overlap-

pings, already beginning in late Neolithic times, were everywhere so frequent that in many localities it is quite impossible to draw any well-marked dividing lines between the successive metal periods.

That iron came last, a fact already known by vague tradition to the ancients[1], is beyond doubt, and it is no less certain that bronze of various types intervened between copper and iron. But much obscurity still surrounds the question of copper, which occurs in so many graves of Neolithic and Bronze times, that this metal has even been denied an independent position in the sequence.

But we shall not be surprised that confusion should prevail on this point, if we reflect that the metals, unlike stone, came to remain. Once introduced they were soon found to be indispensable to civilised man, so that in a sense the "Metal Ages" still survive, and must last to the end of time. Hence it was natural that copper should be found in prehistoric graves associated, first with polished stone implements[2], and then with bronze and iron, just as, since the arrival of the English in Australia, spoons, clay pipes, penknives, pannikins, and the like, are now found mingled with stone objects in the graves of the aborigines.

The Copper Age.

But that there was a true Copper Age prior to that of Bronze, though possibly of not very long duration, except of course in the New World[3], has been placed beyond reasonable doubt by recent investigations. Much attention has lately been paid to the subject by Dr

[1] Thus Lucretius:—

"Posterius ferri vis est aerisque reperta,
Sed prior aeris erat quam ferri cognitus usus."

[2] To indicate this association of stone and copper in pre-Aryan times and before the close of the New Stone Age, Italian archæologists have introduced the compound term "eneolitico" (*æneus*=copper, adj., and λίθος, stone), of which Prof. G. Sergi writes:—"Questa civiltà denominata neolitica o eneolitica dall' uso del rame, era caratterizzata dall' uso della pietra finamente lavorata e del rame, dal rito funerario dell' inumazione con sepolture in grotte artificiali, in tumuli, in dolmen, e quindi in forme e modi molto più avanzati dell' uso degli Arii, quando giunsero in Europa, i quali avevano sepolture misere e vasi rozzissimi per cinerari" (*Arii e Italici*, Turin, 1898, pp. 199, 200).

[3] *Eth.*, p. 335.

J. H. Gladstone, who finds that copper was worked by the Egyptians in the Sinaitic Peninsula, that is, in the famous mines of the Wadi Maghára, from the 4th to the 18th dynasty, perhaps from 5000 to 3000 B.C. During that epoch tools were made of pure copper in Egypt and Syria, and by the Amorites in Palestine, often on the model of their stone prototypes[1].

Probably from the same source was obtained the copper which had already come into general use in Babylonia some 6000 years ago. After a careful analysis of the metal objects from Tell-Loh[2], M. Berthelot concludes that the employment of copper in Chaldæa, about 4000 years before the new era, for the manufacture of arms and utensils, and for other purposes, is placed beyond doubt[3].

Amongst the not over-numerous authentic documents attesting a Copper Age in Western Europe must now be included the nest or *cache* of pure copper ingots found at Tourc'h, west of the Aven Valley, Finisterre, described by M. de Villiers du Terrage, and comprising 23 pieces, with a total weight of nearly 50 lbs.[4] These objects, which belong to "the transitional period when copper was used at first concurrently with polished stone, and then disappeared as bronze came into more general use[5]," came probably from Hungary, at that time apparently the chief source of this metal for most parts of Europe. Of over 200 copper objects described by Dr Mathæus Much[6] nearly all were of Hungarian or South German *provenance*, five only being accredited to Britain and eight to France.

The study of this subject has been greatly advanced by Herr J. Hampel, who holds on solid grounds that in some regions, especially Hungary, copper played a dominant part for many centuries, and is undoubtedly the characteristic metal of a distinct

1 Paper on "The Transition from Pure Copper to Bronze, &c.," read at the Meeting of the Brit. Assoc. Liverpool, 1896.

2 M. de Sarzec's finds, *Eth.*, p. 301.

3 *L'Âge du Cuivre en Chaldée*, in *La Nature*, April 3, 1897.

4 *L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 526 sq. This antiquary aptly remarks that "l'expression âge de cuivre a une signification bien précise comme s'appliquant à la partie de la période de la pierre polie où les métaux font leur apparition."

5 *L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 526 sq.

6 In *Die Kupferzeit in Europa*, 1882.

culture. His conclusions are based on the study of about 500 copper objects found in Hungary and preserved in the Buda Pesth collections. Reviewing all the facts attesting a Copper Age in Central Europe, Egypt, Italy, Cyprus, Troy, Scandinavia, North Asia, and other lands, he concludes that a Copper Age may have sprung up independently wherever the ore was found, as in the Ural and Altai Mountains, Italy, Spain, Britain, Cyprus, Sinai; such culture being generally indigenous, and giving evidence of more or less characteristic local features[1]. In fact we know for certain that such an independent Copper Age was developed not only in the region of the Great Lakes of North America, but also amongst the Bantu peoples of Katanga and other parts of Central Africa. Copper is not an alloy like bronze, but a soft, easily-worked metal occurring in large quantities and in a tolerably pure state near the surface in many parts of the world. The wonder is, not that it should have been found and worked at a somewhat remote epoch in several different centres, but that its use should have been so soon superseded in so many places by the bronze alloys.

The Bronze Age.

From copper to bronze, however, the passage was slow and progressive, the proper proportion of tin, which was probably preceded in some places by an alloy of antimony, having been apparently arrived at by repeated experiments often carried out with no little skill by those prehistoric metallurgists.

As suggested by Bibra in 1869, the ores of different metals would appear to have been at first smelted together empirically, and the process continued until satisfactory results were obtained. Hence the extraordinary number of metals, of which percentages are found in some of the earlier specimens, such as those of the Elbing Museum, which on analysis yielded tin, lead, silver, iron, antimony, arsenic, sulphur, nickel, cobalt, and zinc in varying quantities[2].

[1] *Neuere Studien über die Kupferzeit*, in *Zeitschr. f. Eth.*, 1896, No. 2.

[2] Otto Helm, *Chemische Untersuchungen vorgeschichtlicher Bronzen*, in *Zeitschr. f. Eth.*, 1897, No. 2. This authority agrees with Hempel's view that further research will confirm the suggestion that in Transylvania (Hungary) "eine Kupfer-Antimonmischung vorangegangen, welche zugleich die Bronzekultur vorbereitete" (*ib.* p. 128).

Some bronzes from the pyramid of Medum analyzed by Prof. J. H. Gladstone[1] yielded the high percentage of 9·1 of tin, from which we must infer, not only that bronze, but bronze of the finest quality, was already known to the Egyptians of the 4th dynasty. Yet M. J. de Morgan, who does not question this inference, and thinks that copper was also known to the Egyptians about 5000 B.C., holds that nowhere in Africa was there either a distinct Copper or a Bronze Age. In America the transition was from stone to copper only, but the passage was in Africa everywhere from stone to iron[2].

On the other hand it is shown by M. Maspero that all the Metal, as indeed also the Stone Ages, were successively passed through in Babylonia, where metal implements, first of copper, then of bronze, lastly of iron, abounded in immense variety from remote times[3]. Metal tools of fine temper were here certainly needed for carving the extremely hard diorite statues found in 1881 by M. de Sarzec at Sirgalla (Legash), which cannot be much less than 6000 years old.

In Europe the transition from copper to bronze is supposed to have taken place everywhere much about the same time. But we shall see that the date, about 2000 B.C., usually assigned to the change, will have to be set back fully 1000 years, at least for some localities. Indeed the narrow views hitherto current regarding the chronology of the Metal Ages have already received a rude shock from the fruitful researches especially of Mr A. J. Evans in the Eastern Mediterranean. Warning notes are already heard in all directions, and Chr. Blinkenberg amongst others remarks that, if Mykenæan culture had attained its bloom in the 15th and following centuries, pre-Mykenæan graves and their contents must be dated back to the very beginning of the second, and even to the latter part of the third millennium B.C.[4]

[1] *Proc. Soc. Bib. Archæol.* 1892, pp. 223–6.

[2] *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Egypte*, &c., 1896. M. de Morgan here overlooks the development of a copper industry above referred to in various parts of Central Africa, apparently at a very early date.

[3] *The Dawn of Civilization*, 3rd ed. 1898, *passim*.

[4] *Præmykeniske Oldsager; Bidrag til studiet af Grækenlands ældeste Kultur*, Copenhagen, 1896.

If M. de Morgan be right in assuming a direct transition from stone to iron everywhere in Africa, then the Iron Age must have been synchronous in that region with those of the other metals in Europe and Asia. But trading and other relations would appear to have been established between North Africa—and especially Egypt—and the Mediterranean peoples at a much earlier period than is generally supposed. Thus may perhaps be explained the allusions to iron long before it had come into common use amongst these peoples, and in fact at a time when it was almost regarded as a "precious metal." "Iron," writes Mr S. Laing, "was no doubt known at a very early period, but it was extremely scarce, and even as late as Homer's time was so valuable that a lump of it constituted one of the principal prizes at the funeral games of Patroclus[1]."

The Iron Age.

From this it would seem evident that there could have been no Iron Age in Europe, but only a slight knowledge of the metal, when the Homeric rhapsodies are commonly supposed to have taken shape, say, about 1000 B.C., or at most some 150 years before the beginning of the Olympiads (884 B.C.), that is, mostly before the beginning of authentic history for the Greek world. But archæologists now distinguish not one, but two Iron Ages, the first of which alone must have lasted a considerable time. It prevailed in a large portion of Italy (Umbria and Venetia); it had its chief, or one of its chief, centres at *Halstatt* beyond the Alps, and its domain extended thence eastwards so as to embrace the present German and Slavonic lands of Carniola, Styria, Carinthia, Istria, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and other parts of the Danubian basin.

Hallstatt and La Tène Cultures.

With this period Sergi even associates the pre-Phœnician or old Italic script, which he has partly reconstructed from the signs or characters occurring on the bronzes and earthenware of Villanova, Bologna, and other parts of Umbria[2]. These characters he connects on the one hand with those of the pre-Neolithic Maz-d'Azil cave, described by M. Ed. Piette[3], and on the other

[1] *Human Origins*, p. 168.
[2] *Arii e Italici*, p. 218 sq.
[3] *L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 385 sq.

with Mr A. J. Evans' pre-Phœnician Cretan syllabary. On this and other grounds Sergi joins the new school of archæologists in their demand for an extension of the Metal Ages, remarking that "this script appears in its forms and variants to be extremely old, and in my opinion it seems as if it ought to cause the all but established chronology of the First Iron Age to be set back in Italy and elsewhere[1]."

From Hallstatt Prof. W. Ridgeway[2] believes on good grounds that the use of iron spread to Switzerland, Italy, France, Spain, Greece, Eastern Germany, and in fact to the whole of Europe, everywhere largely replacing the bronze tools and weapons which we know from Tacitus were then in common use.

The Hallstatt period, which is supposed to have reached its bloom about 800 B.C., was continued in Switzerland and some other places quite into Roman times. But during the last centuries of its existence it was replaced in Gaul by a later Iron Age, which from its chief centre is usually referred to as the *La Tène* period. It was to some extent of local origin, and in great measure independently developed, though not uninfluenced by southern, especially Massilian (Greek) forms. Eventually the La Tène culture superseded the Hallstatt in all the lands of Keltic speech, and the somewhat abrupt transition from one to the other is perceptible in Switzerland, where La Tène forms were introduced by later immigrants, also no doubt of Keltic speech.

Notwithstanding their quite recent date, as compared with the early rise of the Eastern civilisations, all these metal periods must be regarded as strictly prehistoric for Central and Western Europe; they are antecedent to all trustworthy historical records, which in the West with one or two exceptions, such as the foundation of the Greek colony of Massilia (Marseilles, 539 B.C.), go no further back than Roman times.

Man and his Works in the Metal Ages.

That the peoples of those days were physically well developed, and in a great part of Europe and Asia already of Aryan speech, there can be no reasonable doubt. A skull of the early Hallstatt period, from a grave near

[1] *Arii e Italici*, p. 219.

[2] *The Starting Point of the Iron Age in Europe*, Paper read at the British Assoc. Liverpool, 1896.

Wildenroth, Upper Bavaria, is described by Prof. Virchow as long-headed, with a cranial capacity of no less than 1585 c.c., strongly developed occiput, very high and narrow face and nose, and in every respect a superb specimen of the regular-featured, long-headed North European[1].

Their works, found in great abundance in the graves, especially of the Bronze and Iron periods, but a detailed account of which belongs to the province of archæology, interest us in many ways. The painted earthenware vases and incised metal-ware of all kinds enable the student to follow the progress of the arts of design and ornamentation in their upward development from the first tentative efforts of the prehistoric artist at pleasing effects. Human and animal figures, though rarely depicted, occasionally afford a curious insight into the customs and fashions of the times. On a clay vessel, found in 1896 at Lahse in Posen, is figured a regular hunting scene, where we see men mounted on horseback, or else on foot, armed with bow and arrow, pursuing the quarry (nobly-antlered stags), and returning to the penthouse after the chase[2]. The drawing is extremely primitive, but on that account all the more instructive, showing in connection with analogous representations on contemporary objects, how in prehistoric art such figures tend to become conventionalised and purely ornamental, as in similar designs on the vases and textiles from the Ancon Necropolis, Peru. "Most ornaments of primitive peoples, although to our eye they may seem merely geometrical and freely-invented designs, are in reality nothing more than degraded animal and human figures[3]."

This may perhaps be the reason why so many of the drawings of the metal period appear so inferior to those of the cave-dwellers and of the present Bushmen[4]. They are often mere conventionalised reductions of pictorial prototypes, comparable, for instance, to the characters of our alphabets, which are known to be degraded forms of earlier pictographs.

[1] *Ein Schädel aus der älteren Hallstattzeit*, in *Verhandl. Berlin. Ges. f. Anthrop.* 1896, pp. 243—6.

[2] Dr Hans Seger, *Figürliche Darstellungen auf schlesischen Gräbgefässen der Hallstattzeit*, *Globus*, Nov. 20, 1897.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 297.

[4] *Eth.*, pp. 88 and 249-50.

Of the so-called "Prehistoric Age" it is obvious that no strict definition can be given. It comprises in a general way that vague period prior to all written records, dim memories of which—popular myths, folklore, demi-gods[1], eponymous heroes[2], traditions of real events[3]—lingered on far into historic times, and supplied ready to hand the copious materials afterwards worked up by the early poets, founders of new religions, and later legislators.

The Prehistoric Age in the West,

That letters themselves, although not brought into general use, had already been invented, is evident from the mere fact that all memory of their introduction beyond the vaguest traditions had died out before the dawn of history. The works of man, while in themselves necessarily continuous, stretched back to such an inconceivably remote past, that even the great landmarks in the evolution of human progress had long been forgotten by later generations.

And so it was everywhere, in the New World as in the Old, amongst Eastern as amongst Western Peoples. In the Chinese records the "Age of the Five Emperors"—five, though nine are named—answers somewhat to our prehistoric epoch. It had its eponymous hero, Fu Hi, reputed founder of the empire, who invented nets and snares for fishing and hunting, and taught his people how to rear domestic animals. To him also is ascribed the institution of marriage, and in his time Tsong Chi is supposed to have invented the Chinese characters, symbols, not of sounds, but of objects and ideas.

and in China.

Then came other benevolent rulers, who taught the people agriculture, established markets for the sale of farm produce,

[1] Homer's ἡμιθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν, *Il.* XII. 23, if the passage is genuine.

[2] Such as the Greek *Andreas*, the "First Man," invented in comparatively recent times, as shown by the intrusive *d* in ἄνδρες for the earlier ἄνερες, "men." Andreas was of course a Greek, sprung in fact from the river Peneus and the first inhabitant of the Orchomenian plain (Pausanias, IX. 34, 5).

[3] For instance, the flooding of the Thessalian plain, afterwards drained by the Peneus and repeopled by the inhabitants of the surrounding mountains (rocks, stones), whence the myth of Deucalion and Pyrrha, who are told by the oracle to repeople the world by throwing behind them the "bones of their grandmother," that is, the "stones" of mother Earth.

discovered the medicinal properties of plants, wrote treatises on diseases and their remedies, studied astrology and astronomy, and appointed "the Five Observers of the heavenly bodies."

But this epoch had been preceded by the "Age of the Three [six] Rulers," when people lived in caves, ate wild fruits and uncooked food, drank the blood of animals and wore the skins of wild beasts (our Old Stone Age) Later they grew less rude, learned to obtain fire by friction, and built themselves habitations of wood or foliage (our early Neolithic Age). Thus is everywhere revealed the background of sheer savagery, which lies behind all human culture, while the "Golden Age" of the poets fades with the "Hesperides" and Plato's "Atlantis" into the region of the fabulous.

Historic Times.

Little need here be said of strictly historic times, the most characteristic feature of which is perhaps the general use of letters. By means of this most fruitful of human inventions, everything worth preserving was perpetuated, and thus all useful knowledge tended to become accumulative. It is no longer possible to say when or where the miracle was wrought by which the apparently multifarious sounds of fully-developed languages were exhaustively analysed and effectively expressed by a score or so of arbitrary signs. But a comparative study of the various writing-systems in use in different parts of the world has revealed the process by which the transition was gradually brought about from rude pictorial representations of objects to purely phonetical symbols.

Evolution of Writing Systems.

As is clearly shown by the "winter counts" of the North American aborigines, and by the prehistoric rock carvings in Upper Egypt, the first step was a *pictograph*, the actual figure, say, of a man, standing for a given man, and then for any man or human being. Then this figure, more or less reduced or conventionalised, served to indicate not only the term *man*, but the full sound *man*, as in the word *manifest*, and in the modern rebus. At this stage it becomes a *phonogram*, or *phonoglyph*, which, when further reduced beyond all recognition of its original form, may stand for the syllable *ma* as in *ma-ny*, without any further reference either to the idea or the sound *man*. The phonogram has now become the symbol

of a monosyllable, which is normally made up of two elements, a consonant and a vowel, as in the Devanágari, and other syllabic systems.

Lastly, by dropping the second or vowel element the same symbol, further modified or not, becomes a *letter* representing the sound *m*, that is, one of the few ultimate elements of articulate speech. A more or less complete set of such characters, thus worn down in form and meaning, will then be available for indicating more or less completely all the phonetic elements of any given language. It will be a true *alphabet*, the wonderful nature of which may be inferred from the fact that only two, or possibly three, such alphabetic systems are known with absolute certainty to have ever been independently evolved by human ingenuity[1]. From the above exposition we see how inevitably the Phœnician parent of nearly all late alphabets expressed at first the consonantal sounds only, so that the vowels or vowel marks are in all cases later developments, as in Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Greek, the Italic group, and the Runes.

In primitive systems, such as the Egyptian, Akkadian, Chinese, Maya-Quiché and Mexican, one or more of the various transitional steps may be developed and used simultaneously, with a constant tendency to advance on the lines above indicated, by gradual substitution of the later for the earlier stages. A comparison of the Akkadian cuneiform and Egyptian hieroglyphic systems brings out some curious results. Thus at an extremely remote epoch, say 6000 years ago[2], the Akkadians had already got rid of the pictorial, and to a great extent of the ideographic, but had barely reached the alphabetic phase. Consequently their cuneiform groups,

Hieroglyphs and Cuneiforms.

[1] Such instances as George Guest's Cherokee system, and the crude attempt of a Vei (West Sudanese) Negro, if genuine, are not here in question, as both had the English alphabet to work upon. A like remark applies to the old Irish and Welsh Ogham, which are more curious than instructive, the characters, mostly mere groups of straight strokes, being obvious substitutes for the corresponding letters of the Roman alphabet, hence comparable to the cryptographic systems of Wheatstone and others.

[2] "We discovered written records no less than 6000 years old, and proved that writing and civilisation were then by no means in their infancy." (J. P. Peters, *Expedition to Babylonia*, &c., Vol. I. Philadelphia, 1897.)

although possessing phonetic value, mainly express full syllables, scarcely ever letters, and rarely complete words. Ideographs had given place first to phonograms and then to mere syllables, "complex syllables in which several consonants may be distinguished, or simple syllables composed of only one consonant and one vowel or *vice versa*[1]."

The Egyptians, on the other hand, carried the system right through the whole gamut from pictures to letters, but retained all the intermediate phases, the initial tending to fall away, the final to expand, while the bulk of the hieroglyphs represented in various degrees the several transitional states. In many cases they "had kept only one part of the syllable, namely a mute consonant; they detached, for instance, the final *u* from *bu* and *pu*, and gave only the values *b* and *p* to the human leg and to the mat. The peoples of the Euphrates stopped half way, and admitted actual letters for the vowel sounds *a*, *i* and *u* only[2]."

In the process of evolution, metaphor and analogy of course played a large part, as in the evolution of language itself. Thus a lion might stand both for the animal and for courage, and so on. The first essays in phonetics took somewhat the form of a modern rebus, thus: = *khau* = sieve, = *pu* = mat; = *ru* = mouth, whence = *kho-pi-ru* = to be, where the sounds and not the meaning of the several components are alone attended to[3].

The Alphabet.

By analogous processes was formed a true alphabet, in which, however, each of the phonetic elements was represented at first by several different characters derived from several different words having the same initial syllable. Here was, therefore, an *embarras de richesses*, which could be got rid of only by a judicious process of elimination, that is, by discarding all like-sounding symbols but one for the same sound. When this final process of reduction was completed by the scribes, in other words, when all the phonetic signs were rejected except 23, *i.e.*, one for each of the 23 phonetic elements, the Phœnician alphabet as we now have it was completed. Such may

[1] Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 728. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* p. 233.

be taken as the real origin of this system, whether the scribes in question were Akkadians, Egyptians, Minæans or Europeans, that is, whether the Phœnician alphabet had a cuneiform, a hieroglyphic, a South Arabian, a Cretan (Ægean), Ligurian or Iberian origin, for all these and perhaps other peoples have been credited with the invention. On this point there will be more to say when we come to discuss Himyaritic, pre-Mykenæan, and Italic origins.

The Persian and other Cuneiform Scripts.

But whatever be the source of the Phœnician, that of the Persian system current under the Achæmenides is clear enough. It is a true alphabet of 37 characters, derived by some selective process directly from the Babylonian cuneiforms, without any attempt at a modification of their shapes. Hence although simple compared with its prototype, it is clumsy enough compared with the Phœnician script, several of the letters requiring groups of as many as four or even five "wedges" for their expression. None of the other cuneiform systems also derived from the Akkadian (the Assyrian, Elamite, Vannic, Medic) appear to have reached the pure alphabetic state, all being still encumbered with numerous complex syllabic characters. The subjoined table, for which I have to thank Mr T. G. Pinches, will help to show the genesis of the cuneiform combinations from the earliest known pictographs. These pictographs themselves are already reduced to the merest outlines of the original pictorial representations. But no earlier forms, showing the gradual transition from the primitive picture writing to the degraded pictographs here given, have yet come to light.

The Mas-d'Azil Markings.

Here it may be asked, what is to be thought of the already-mentioned pebble-markings from the Mas-d'Azil Cave of the Madelenian (late Old Stone) Age? If they are truly phonetic, then we must suppose that Palæolithic man not only invented an alphabetic writing system, but did this right off by intuition, as it were, without any previous knowledge of letters. At least no one will suggest that the Dordogne cave-dwellers were already in possession of pictographic or other crude systems, from which the Mas-d'Azil "script" might have been slowly evolved. Yet M. Piette, who groups

Evolution of the Akkadian Cuneiforms.

1000 B.C. and later.	About 2500 to 1500 B.C.	Oldest known line forms, 3000 B.C. and earlier.		
				"bird."
			—	"sheep" (probably a sheep-fold).
				"ox."
				"to go," "to stand."
			—	"hand."
				"man."
			—	"dagger."
			—	"fish."
	—			"reed."
	—			"reed."
,	, ,		—	"corn" ("ear of corn").
,			—	"god," "heaven."
,			—	"constellation," "star."

these pebbles, painted with peroxide of iron, in the four categories of numerals, symbols, pictographs, and alphabetical characters, states, in reference to these last, that "13 out of 23 Phœnician characters were equally Azilian graphic signs" (*loc. cit.*). He even suggests that there may be an approach to an inscription in one group, where, however, the mark indicating a stop implies a script running Semitic-fashion from right to left, whereas the letters themselves seem to face the other way.

Alphabetiform signs on Neolithic Monuments.

A possible connection has been suggested by Sergi between the Mas-d'Azil signs and the markings that have been discovered on the megalithic monuments of North Africa, Brittany, and the British Isles. These are all so rudimentary that resemblances are inevitable, and of themselves afford little ground for necessary connections. Primitive man is but a child, and all children bawl and scrawl much in the same way. Nevertheless M. Latourneau[1] has taken the trouble to compare five such scrawls from "Libyan inscriptions" now in the Bardo Museum, Tunis, with similar or identical signs on Brittany and Irish dolmens. There is the familiar circle plain and dotted ○ ⊙, the cross in its simplest form +, the pothook and segmented square ∩ ⊓, all of which recur in the Phœnician, Keltiberian, Etruscan, Libyan or Tuareg systems. Latourneau, however, who does not call them letters but only "signes alphabétiformes," merely suggests that, if not phonetic marks when first carved on the neolithic monuments, they may have become so in later times. Against this it need only be urged that in later times all these peoples were supplied with complete alphabetic systems from the East as soon as they required them. By that time all the peoples of the culture-zone were well-advanced into the historic period, and had long forgotten the rude carvings of their neolithic forefathers.

[1] *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 319.

Armed with a nearly perfect writing system, and the correlated cultural appliances, the higher races soon took a foremost place in the general progress of mankind, and gradually acquired a marked ascendancy, not only over the less cultured populations of the globe, but in large measure over the forces of nature herself. With the development of navigation and improved methods of locomotion, inland seas, barren wastes, and mountain ranges ceased to be insurmountable obstacles to their movements, which within certain limits have never been arrested throughout all recorded time.

Character and Consequences of the later (historical) Migrations.

Thus, during the long ages following the first peopling of the earth by pleistocene man, fresh settlements and readjustments have been continually in progress, although wholesale displacements must be regarded as rare events. With few exceptions, the later migrations, whether hostile or peaceful, were, for reasons already stated[1], generally of a partial character, while certain insular regions, such as America and Australia, remained little affected by such movements till quite recent times. But for the inhabitants of the Eastern hemisphere the results were none the less far-reaching. Continuous infiltrations could not fail ultimately to bring about great modifications of early types, while the ever-active principle of convergence tended to produce a general uniformity amongst the new amalgams. Thus the great varietal divisions, though undergoing slow changes from age to age, continued, like all other zoological groups, to maintain a distinct regional character.

Prof. Flinders Petrie has acutely observed that the only meaning the term "race" now can have is that of a group of human beings, whose type has become unified by their rate of assimilation exceeding the rate of change produced by foreign elements[2]. We are also reminded by Gustavo Tosti that "in the actual state of science the word 'race' is a vague formula, to which nothing definite may be found to correspond. On the one hand, the original races can

The "Race" merges in the "People."

[1] *Eth.*, p. 342.

[2] *Address*, Meeting British Assoc. Ipswich, 1895.

only be said to belong to palæontology, while the more limited groups, now called races, are nothing but peoples, or societies of peoples, brethren by civilization more than by blood. The race thus conceived ends by identifying itself with nationality[1]." Hence it has been asked why, on the principle of convergence, a fusion of various races, if isolated long enough in a given area, may not eventually lead to a new racial type, without leaving any trace of its manifold origin[2].

Such new racial types would be normal for the later varietal groups, just as the old types were normal for the earlier groups, and a general application might be given to Topinard's famous dictum that *les peuples seuls sont des realités*[3], that is, peoples alone —groups occupying definite geographical areas—have an objective existence. Thus, the notion of race, as a zoological expression in the sense of a pure breed or strain, falls still more into the background, and, as Virchow aptly remarks, "this term, which always implied something vague, has in recent times become in the highest degree uncertain[4]."

The distinguishing Characters of Peoples.

Hence Dr Ehrenreich treats the present populations of the earth rather as zoological groups which have been developed in their several geographical domains, and are to be distinguished not so much by their bony structure as by their external characters, such as hair, colour, and expression, and by their habitats and languages. Relying on these essential factors, he proposes a general scheme of the primary divisions, which largely agrees with that already advanced in *Ethnology*, Part II.

Too much weight is no doubt given to language, which is called the "main point," while peoples are said to be realities "only so far as they are characterised by their speech; peoples stand and fall with their speech[5]." But with the general principle little fault can be found, and the cogent remarks on the intimate connection of peoples with their physical sur-

[1] *Amer. J. of Sociology*, Jan. 1898, pp. 467–8.
[2] A. Vierkandt, *Globus*, 72, p. 134.
[3] *Élements d'Anthropologie Générale*, p. 207.
[4] *Rassenbildung u. Erblichkeit; Bastian-Festschrift*, 1896, p. 1.
[5] *Anthropologische Studien*, &c., p. 14.

roundings are well worth the attention of those anthropologists who attach little importance to anything except the osseous framework. "We recognise the fact that each of these groups belongs to a definite zone, a geographical province in which we have to seek the centre of their origin, or rather of their present specialised forms." He also quotes Bastian's remark that in order to discover this centre we should not travel beyond the typical geographical groups, lest in the search for absolute beginnings we may again be plunged into the mythologies.

This fear has now been removed by Dr Dubois' discovery, and in other respects Ehrenreich's essay may be accepted as a timely corrective of the somewhat extravagant and contradictory views[1] current, especially in France and Italy, on the supreme and even exclusive importance of the craniological factor. We shall have to return to the battle of the long-heads and the round-heads. It will then be seen that too much importance need not be attached to discussions, which threaten again to involve ethnological studies in the chaos from which they were rescued by the establishment of evolutionary principles towards the middle of the nineteenth century.

Elements of Classification.

It seems obvious that in dealing with the difficult question of "Man Past and Present" light should be sought in all quarters. We cannot afford to neglect any of the factors entering into the problem of human origins and later developments. Hence in the broad groupings, which are here adopted, and which are based on the treatment of the Primary Divisions in the second part of the *Ethnology*, due weight is given to all available data—physical and mental

[1] How antagonistic they are may be judged from the attitude of Prof. Sergi, leader of the Italian school, towards M. de Lapouge, founder of the new French craniology, all of whose views regarding skull modifications are summarily dismissed as "fantastic," while his own belief in the persistence of skull types is reiterated in the strongest language. "Lapouge is unfortunately bitten by the Ligurian brachycephalism [the theory that the Ligurians were round-headed]...but all the theories advanced by him on the development of cranial forms from prehistoric to present time I hold without more ado to be fantastic" (*Ursprung des Mittelländischen Stammes*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 63).

characters, usages, religion, speech, cultural features, history, and geographical range.

Such, broadly speaking, are the elements of classification, and wherever two or more groups are found agreeing in all, or at least in the more essential, of such elements, they may be regarded as branches of one stock. So far, and no further, is a strictly zoological or genetic classification possible in the present state of the multifarious inhabitants of the globe.

CHAPTER III.

THE AFRICAN NEGRO: I. SUDANESE.

Conspectus—The Negro-Caucasic "Great Divide"—The Negro Domain—Negro Origins—Persistence of the Negro Type—Two Main Sections: Sudanese and Bantus—Contrasts and Analogies—Sudanese and Bantu Linguistic Areas—The "Drum Language"—West Sudanese Groups—*The Wolofs*: Primitive Speech and Pottery; Religious Notions—*The Mandingans*: Culture and Industries; History; the Guiné and Mali Empires—*The Felups*: Contrasts between the Inland and Coast Peoples; Felup Type and Mental Characters—*Timni*;—African Freemasonry—*The Sierra Leonese*—Social Relations—*The Liberians*—*The Krumen*—*The Upper Guinea Peoples*—Table of the Gold Coast and Slave Coast Tribes—Ashanti Folklore—Fetishism; its true inwardness—Ancestry Worship and the "Customs"—The Benin Bronzes—*The Mossi*—African Agnostics—Central Sudanese—General Ethical and Social Relations—*The Sonrhay*—Domain—Origins—Egyptian Theories—Sonrhay Records—*The Hausas*—Dominant Social Position—Speech and Mental Qualities—Origins—*Kanembu; Kanuri; Baghirmi*; *Mosgu*—Ethnical and Political Relations in the Chad Basin—The Aborigines—Islám and Heathendom—Slave-Hunting—Arboreal Strongholds—Mosgu Types and Contrasts—The Cultured Peoples of Central Sudan—Kanem-Bornu Records—East Sudanese—Range of the Negro in Eastern Sudan—*The Mabas*—Ethnical Relations in Waday—*The Nubas*—The Nubian Problem—Nubian Origins and Affinities—The Negro Peoples of the Nile-Congo watersheds—*Shilluks; Dinkas; Bongos; Mangbattus; Niam-Niams*—Two Physical Types—Linguistic Groups—Mental Qualities—Cannibalism—The African Cannibal Zone—Arts and Industries—High Appreciation of Pictorial Art—Sense of Humour.

CONSPECTUS OF SUDANESE NEGROES.

Primeval Home, *Africa south of the Sahara.*

Distribution in Past and Present Times.

Present Range, *the Primeval Home less Abyssinia, Galla, Somali and Masai Lands; Tripolitana, Mauritania and Egypt sporadically; several of the southern United States; West Indies; Guiana; parts of Brazil and Peru.*

Physical Characters.

Hair, *always black, rather short, and crisp or frizzly, not woolly, differing from other human hair only in being flat in transverse section;* **colour,** *very dark brown or chocolate and blackish, never quite black;* **skull,** *generally dolichocephalous (long, index No.* 72); **jaws,** *prognathous (projecting, index No.* 60); **cheek-bone,** *rather small, moderately retreating, rarely prominent;* **nose,** *very broad at base, flat, small (platyrrhine, No.* 56); **eyes,** *large, round, prominent, black with yellowish cornea;* **stature,** *above the average,* 5 *ft.* 10 *in.;* **lips,** *tumid and everted;* **arms,** *disproportionately long;* **legs,** *slender with small calves;* **feet,** *broad, flat, with low instep and larkspur heel.*

Mental Characters.

Temperament, *sensuous, indolent, improvident; fitful, passionate and cruel, though often affectionate and faithful; little sense of dignity, and slight self-consciousness, hence easy acceptance of yoke of slavery; musical.*

Speech, *almost everywhere in the agglutinating state, generally with suffixes.*

Religion, *anthropomorphic; spirits endowed with human attributes, mostly evil and more powerful than man; ancestry-worship, fetishism, and witchcraft very prevalent; human sacrifices to the dead a common feature.*

Culture, *low; cannibalism formerly rife, perhaps universal, still general in some regions; no science or letters; arts and industries confined mainly to agriculture, pottery, wood-carving, weaving, and metallurgy; no perceptible progress anywhere except under the influence of higher races.*

Main Divisions.

West Sudanese: *Wolof; Mandingan; Felup; Timni; Kru; Sierra Leonese; Liberian; Tshi, Ewe, and Yoruba; Ibo; Efik; Borgu; Mossi.*

Central Sudanese: *Sonrhay; Hausa; Mosgu; Kanembu; Kanuri; Baghirmi; Yedina.*

East Sudanese: *Maba; Fúr; Nuba; Shilluk; Dinka; Bari; Abaka; Bongo; Janghey; Mangbattu; Zandeh; Momfu; Basé; Barea.*

The Negro-Caucasic "Great Divide."

From the anthropological standpoint Africa falls into two distinct sections, where the highest (Caucasic) and the lowest (Ethiopic) divisions of mankind have been conterminous throughout all known time. Mutual encroachments and interpenetrations have probably been continuous, and indeed are still going on. Yet so marked is the difference between the two groups, and such is the tenacity with which each clings to its proper domain, that, despite any very distinct geographical frontiers, the ethnological parting line may still be detected. Obliterated at one or two points, and at others set back always in favour of the higher division, it may be followed from the Atlantic coast along the course of the Senegal river east by north to the great bend of the Niger at Timbuktu; then east by south to Lake Chad, beyond which it runs nearly due east to Khartum, at the confluence of the White and Blue Niles.

From this point the now isolated Negro groups (Basé and Barea), on the northern slope of the Abyssinian plateau, show that the original boundary was at first continued still east to the Red Sea at or about Massowa. But for many ages the line appears to have been deflected from Khartum along the White Nile south to the Sobat confluence, then continuously south-eastwards round by the Sobat valley to Lake Albert Nyanza, up the Somerset Nile to the Victoria Nyanza, and thence with a considerable southern bend round Masailand eastwards to the Indian Ocean at the equator.

The Negro Domain.

All the land north of this irregular line belongs to the Hamito-Semitic section of the Caucasic division, all south of it to the western (African) section of the Ethiopic division. Throughout this region—which comprises the whole of Sudan from the Atlantic to the White Nile, and all south of Sudan except Abyssinia, Galla, Somali and Masai lands—the African Negro, clearly distinguished from the other main groups by the above summarised physical[1] and mental qualities,

[1] Graphically summed up in the classical description of the Negress:—

Afra genus, totâ patriam testante figurâ,
Torta comam labroque tumens, et fusca colorem,
Pectore lata, jacens mammis, compressior alvo,
Cruribus exilis, spatiosâ prodiga plantâ.

largely predominates everywhere and in many places exclusively. The route by which he probably reached these intertropical lands, where he may be regarded as practically indigenous, has been indicated in *Ethnology*, Chs. X. and XI.

Negro Origins.

That the occupation took place in pleistocene times, if not even earlier, is made daily more evident from the researches of travellers in hitherto unvisited districts. At the meeting of the Royal Society, April 30, 1896, Sir John Evans stated that the numerous palæoliths found by Mr Seton-Karr on his second visit to Somaliland, which originally formed part of the Negro domain, were in form absolutely identical with some from the Somme and other places; hence there need be no hesitation in claiming them as palæoliths, despite the absence of a fossil fauna. The finds, he pointed out, help to bridge over the interval between palæolithic man in Britain and in India, and add another link to the chain of evidence by which the original cradle of man may eventually be identified, tending to prove the unity of race between the inhabitants of Asia, Africa, and Europe in palæolithic times. Mr Seton-Karr tells us that he obtained several thousands of such objects—spear-heads, scrapers, knives, flakes, cores—in sites which presented the appearance of having been regular workshops. Nearly all the flints were either damaged or unfinished, while some were found amid a mass of flakes and chips, "as though the people had dropped their work, and, carrying with them all their perfect weapons and belongings, had fled, never to return[1]."

Persistence of the Negro Type.

Similar evidence has been collected from Upper Guinea, Angola, and the extreme south, showing not only the early arrival but also the general dispersal of the Negro over his present domain during the first Stone Age. Yet since that remote epoch the specialised Negro type, as depicted on the Egyptian monuments some thousands of years ago, has everywhere been maintained with striking uniformity. "Within this wide domain of the black Negro there is a remarkably general similarity of type....If you took a Negro from the Gold Coast of West Africa and passed him off amongst a

[1] *Some Implements in Somaliland*, Paper read at Meeting of Brit. Assoc. Ipswich, 1895.

number of Nyasa natives, and if he were not remarkably distinguished from them by dress or tribal marks, it would not be easy to pick him out[1]."

Two Main Sections: Sudanese and Bantus.

Nevertheless considerable differences are perceptible to the practised eye, and the contrasts are sufficiently marked to justify ethnologists in treating the *Sudanese* and the *Bantus* as two distinct subdivisions of the family. In both groups the relatively full-blood natives are everywhere very much alike, and the contrasts are presented chiefly amongst the mixed or Negroid populations. In Sudan the disturbing elements are both Hamitic (Berbers and Tuaregs) and Semitic (Arabs); while in Bantuland they are mainly Hamitic (Gallas) in all the central and southern districts, and Arabs on the eastern seaboard from the equator to Sofala beyond the Zambesi. To the varying proportions of these several ingredients may perhaps be traced the often very marked differences observable on the one hand between such Sudanese peoples as the Wolofs, Mandingans, Hausas, Nubians, Zandehs, and Mangbattus, and on the other between all these and the Swahili, Waganda, Zulu-Xosas, Bechuanas, Ovahereros and some other Negroid Bantus.

Contrasts and Analogies.

But the distinction is based on social, linguistic, and cultural, as well as on physical grounds, so that, as at present constituted, the Sudanese and Bantus really constitute two tolerably well-defined branches of the Negro family. Thanks to Muhammadan influences, the former have attained a much higher level of culture. They cultivate not only the alimentary but also the economic plants, such as cotton and indigo; they build stone dwellings, walled towns, substantial mosques and minarets; they have founded powerful states, such as those of the Hausas and Sonrhays, of Ghanah and Bornu, with written records going back a thousand years, although these historical peoples are all without exception half-breeds, often with more Semitic and Hamitic than Ethiopic blood in their veins.

No such cultured peoples are anywhere to be found in Bantuland except on the east coast, where the "Moors" founded great

[1] Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, 1897, p. 393.

cities and flourishing marts centuries before the appearance of the Portuguese in the eastern seas. To the Minæans or Sabæans, kinsmen of the Moors, must also be credited the Zimbabwe monuments and other ruins explored by Theodore Bent in the mining districts south of the Zambesi. But in all the Negro lands free from foreign influences no true culture has ever been developed, and here cannibalism, witchcraft, and sanguinary "customs" are either still rife, or have been but recently suppressed by the direct action of European administrations.

Numberless authorities have described the Negro as unprogressive, or, if left to himself, incapable of progress in his present physical environment. Sir H. H. Johnston, who knows him well, goes much further, and speaks of him as a fine animal, who, "in his wild state, exhibits a stunted mind and a dull content with his surroundings, which induces mental stagnation, cessation of all upward progress, and even retrogression towards the brute. In some respects I think the tendency of the Negro for several centuries past has been an actual retrograde one. As we come to read the unwritten history of Africa by researches into languages, manners, customs, traditions, we seem to see a backward rather than a forward movement going on for some thousand years past—a return towards the savage and even the brute. I can believe it possible that, had Africa been more isolated from contact with the rest of the world, and cut off from the immigration of the Arab and the European, the purely Negroid races, left to themselves, so far from advancing towards a higher type of humanity, might have actually reverted by degrees to a type no longer human[1]". I do not say that this is so, but I give it as the matured opinion of an administrator, who has had a wider experience of the natives of Africa than almost any man living.

There is one point in which the Bantus somewhat unaccountably compare favourably with the Sudanese. In all other regions the spread of culture has tended to bring about linguistic unity, as we see in the Hellenic world, where all the old idioms were gradually absorbed in the "common dialect" of the Byzantine empire, again in the Roman empire, where Latin became the universal

Sudanese and Bantu Linguistic Areas.

[1] *British Central Africa*, p. 472.

speech of the West, and lastly in the Muhammadan countries, where most of the local tongues have nearly everywhere, except in Sudan, disappeared before the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish languages.

But in Negroland the case is reversed, and here the less cultured Bantu populations all, without any known exception, speak dialects of a single mother-tongue, while the greatest linguistic confusion prevails amongst the semi-civilized as well as the savage peoples of Sudan[1].

Although the Bantu language may, as some suppose, have originated in the north and spread southwards to the Congo, Zambesi, and Limpopo basins, it cannot now be even remotely affiliated to any one of the numerous distinct forms of speech current in the Sudanese domain. Hence to allow time for its diffusion over half the continent, the initial movement must be assigned to an extremely remote epoch, and a corresponding period of great duration must be postulated for the profound linguistic disintegration that is everywhere witnessed in the region between the Atlantic and Abyssinia. Here agglutination, both with prefixed and postfixed particles, is the prevailing morphological order; as in the Mandingan, Fulah, Nubian, Dinkan, and Mangbattu groups. But every shade of transition is also presented between true agglutination and inflection of the Hamito-Semitic types, as in Hausa, Kanuri, Kanem, Dasa or Southern and Teda or Northern Tibu[2].

Elsewhere, and especially in Upper Guinea, the originally agglutinating tongues have developed on lines analogous to those followed by Tibetan, Burmese, Chinese, and Otomi in other continents, with corresponding results. Thus the Tshi, Ewe, and Yoruba, surviving members of a now extinct stock language, formerly diffused over the whole region between Cape Palmas and the Niger Delta, have become so burdened with monosyllabic

[1] *Eth.* p. 272–3.

[2] Even a tendency to polysynthesis occurs, as in Vei, and in Yoruba, where the small-pox god *Shakpanna* is made up of the three elements *shan*, to plaster, *kpa* to kill, and *enia* a person = one who kills a person by plastering him (with pustules). Cf. also *okandilogun* with Latin *undeviginti* = one-from-twenty = nineteen; and *salsi* = sa-lo-si (se lo sa), Purg. v. 135.

homophones (like-sounding monosyllables), that to indicate their different meanings several distinguishing tones have been evolved, exactly as in the Indo-Chinese group. In Ewe (Slave Coast) the root *do*, according as it is toned may mean to put, let go, tell, kick, be sad, join, change, grow big, sleep, prick, or grind. So great are the ravages of phonetic decay, that new expedients have been developed to express quite simple ideas, as in Tshi (Gold Coast) *addanmu*, room (*addan* house, *mu* interior); *akwancherifo*, a guide (*akwan* road, *cheri* to show, *fo* person); *ensahtsiabah*, finger (*ensah* hand, *tsia* small, *abbah* child = hand's-little-child); but middle-finger = "hand's-little-chief" (*ensahtsiahin*, where *ehin* chief takes the place of *abbah* child).

The "Drum Language."

Common both to Sudanese and Bantus, especially about the western borderlands (Upper Guinea, Cameruns, &c.) is the "drum-language," which affords a striking illustration of the Negro's musical faculty. "Two or three drums are usually used together, each producing a different note, and they are played either with the fingers or with two sticks. The lookers-on generally beat time by clapping the hands. To a European, whose ear and mind are untrained for this special faculty, the rhythm of a drum expresses nothing beyond a repetition of the same note at different intervals of time; but to a native it expresses much more. To him the drum can and does speak, the sounds produced from it forming words, and the whole measure or rhythm a sentence. In this way, when company drums are being played at an *ehsádu* [palaver], they are made to express and convey to the bystanders a variety of meanings. In one measure they abuse the men of another company, stigmatising them as fools and cowards; then the rhythm changes, and the gallant deeds of their own company are extolled. All this, and much more, is conveyed by the beating of drums, and the native ear and mind, trained to select and interpret each beat, is never at fault. The language of drums is as well understood as that which they use in their daily life. Each chief has his own call or motto, sounded by a particular beat of his drums. Those of Amankwa Tia, the Ashanti general who fought against us in the war of 1873–4, used to say *Pĭrĭhūh*, hasten. Similar mottoes are also expressed by means

of horns, and an entire stranger in the locality can at once translate the rhythm into words[1]."

Similar contrasts and analogies will receive due illustration in the detailed account here following of the several more representative Sudanese groups.

WEST SUDANESE.

Wolofs. Throughout its middle and lower course the Senegal river, which takes its name from the Zenaga Berbers, forms the ethnical "divide" between the Hamites and the Sudanese Negroes. The latter are here represented by the Wolofs, who with the kindred *Jolofs* and *Serers* occupy an extensive territory between the Senegal and the Gambia rivers. Whether the term "Wolof" means "Talkers," as if they alone were gifted with the faculty of speech, or "Blacks" in contrast to the neighbouring "Red" Fulahs, both interpretations are fully justified by these Senegambians, at once the very blackest and amongst the most garrulous tribes in the whole of Africa. The colour is called "ebony," and they are commonly spoken of as "Blacks of the Black." They are also very tall even for Negroes, and the Serers especially may claim to be "the Patagonians of the Old World," men six feet six inches high and proportionately muscular being far from rare in the coast districts about St Louis and Dakar.

Primitive Wolof Speech.

Their language, which is widespread throughout Senegambia, may be taken as a typical Sudanese form of speech, unlike any other in its peculiar agglutinative structure, and unaffected even in its vocabulary by the Hamitic which has been current for ages on the opposite bank of the Senegal. A remarkable feature is the so-called "article," always postfixed and subject to a two-fold series of modifications, first in accordance with the initial consonant of the noun, for which there are six possible consonantal changes (*w*, *m*, *b*, *d*, *s*, *g*), and then

[1] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, &c., 1887, pp. 327–8. Only one European, Herr R. Betz, long resident amongst the Dualas of the Cameruns district, has yet succeeded in mastering the drum language; he claims to understand nearly all that is drummed and is also able to drum himself. (*Athenæum*, May 7, 1898, p. 611.)

according as the object is present, near, not near, and distant, for which there are again four possible vowel changes (*i*, *u*, *o*, *a*), or twenty-four altogether, a tremendous redundancy of useless variants as compared with the single English form *the*. Thus this Protean particle begins with *b*, *d* or *w* to agree with *báye*, father, *digene*, woman, or *fos*, horse, and then becomes *bi*, *bu*, *bo*, *ba*; *di*, *du*, &c.; *wi*, *wu* &c. to express the presence and the varying distances of these objects: *báye-bi* = father-the-here; *báye-bu* = father-the-there; *báye-bo* = father-the-yonder; *báye-bá* = father-the-away in the distance.

All this is curious enough; but the important point is that it probably gives us the clue to the enigmatic alliterative system of the Bantu languages as explained in *Ethnology*, p. 273, the position of course being reversed. Thus as in Zulu *in*- kose requires *en*-kulu, so in Wolof *ba*ye requires *bi*, *di*gene *di*, and so on. There are other indications that the now perfected Bantu grew out of analogous but less developed processes still prevalent in the Sudanese tongues.

Primitive Wolof Pottery.

Equally undeveloped is the Wolof process of making earthenware, as observed by M. F. Regnault amongst the natives brought to Paris for the Exhibition of 1895. He noticed how one of the women utilised a somewhat deep bowl resting on the ground in such a way as to be easily spun round by the hand, thus illustrating the transition between hand-made and turned pottery. Kneading a lump of clay, and thrusting it into the bowl, after sprinkling the sides with some black dust to prevent sticking, she made a hollow in the mass, enlarging and pressing it against the bowl with the back of the fingers bent in, the hand being all the time kept in a vertical position. At the same time the bowl was spun round with the left palm, this movement combined with the pressure exerted by the right hand causing the sides of the vessel to rise and take shape. When high enough it was finished off by thickening the clay to make a rim. This was held in the right hand and made fast to the mouth of the vessel by the friction caused by again turning the bowl with the left hand. This transitional process appears to have been observed nowhere else[1].

[1] *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.*, Paris, 1895, p. 734 sq.

Most of the Wolofs profess themselves Muhammadans, the rest Catholics, while all alike are heathen at heart; only the former have charms with texts from the Koran which they cannot read, and the latter medals and scapulars of the "Seven Dolours" or of the Trinity, which they cannot understand. Many old rites still flourish, the household gods are not forgotten, and for the lizard, most popular of tutelar deities, the customary milk-bowl is daily replenished. Glimpses are thus afforded of the totemic system which still survives in a modified form amongst the Bechuanas, the Mandingans, and several other African peoples, but has elsewhere mostly died out in Negroland. The infantile ideas associated with plant and animal totem tokens have been left far behind, when a people like the Serers have arrived at such a lofty conception as Takhar, god of justice, or even the more materialistic Tiurakh, god of wealth, although the latter may still be appealed to for success in nefarious projects which he himself might scarcely be expected to countenance. But the harmony between religious and ethical thought has scarcely yet been reached even amongst some of the higher races.

Religious Notions.

Mandingans. In the whole of Sudan there is scarcely a more numerous or wide-spread people than the Mandingans, who—with their endless ramifications, *Kassonké*, *Jallonké*, *Soninké*, *Bambara*, *Vei* and many others—occupy most of the region between the Atlantic and the Joliba (Upper Niger) basin, as far south as about 9° N. latitude. Within these limits it is often difficult to say who are, or who are not members of this great family, whose various branches present all the transitional shades of physical type and culture grades between the true pagan Negro and the Muhammadan Negroid Sudanese.

Mandingan Groups, Culture and Industries.

Even linguistic unity exists only to a limited extent, as the numerous dialects of the Mandé stock-language have often diverged so greatly as to constitute independent tongues quite unintelligible to the neighbouring tribes. The typical Mandingans, however—Faidherbe's Malinka-Soninké group—may be distinguished from the surrounding populations by their more softened features, broader forehead, larger nose, fuller beard, and

lighter colour. They are also distinguished by their industrious habits and generally higher culture, being rivalled by few as skilled tillers of the soil, weavers, and workers in iron and copper. They thus hold much the same social position in the west that the Hausas do in the central region beyond the Niger, and the French authorities think that "they are destined to take a position of ever increasing importance in the pacified Sudan of the future[1]."

Thus history brings about its revenges, for the Mandingans proper of the Kong plateau may fairly claim, despite their late servitude to the Fulah conquerors and their present ready acceptance of French rule, to be a historical people with a not inglorious record of over 1000 years, as founders of the two great empires of Melle and Guiné, and of the more recent states of Moasina, Bambara, Kaarta, Kong, and others about the water-parting between the headstreams of the Niger, and the rivers flowing south to the Gulf of Guinea. Here is the district of Manding, which is the original home of the *Manding'ké*, *i.e.* "People of Manding," as they are generally called, although *Mandé* appears to be the form used by themselves[2]. Here also was the famous city of Mali or Melle, from which the Upper Niger group take the name of *Mali'nké*, in contradistinction to the *Soni'nké* of the Senegal

[1] Dr E. T. Hamy, *Les Races Nègres* in *L'Anthropologie*, 1897, p. 257 sq.

[2] "Chaque fois que j'ai demandé avec intention à un Mandé, 'Es-tu Peul, Mossi, Dafina?' il me répondait invariablement, '*Je suis Mandé.*' C'est pourquoi, dans le cours de ma relation, j'ai toujours désigné ce peuple par le nom de *Mandé*, qui est son vrai nom." (Capt. Binger, *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée*, 1892, Vol. II. p. 373.) At p. 375 this authority gives the following subdivisions of the Mandé family, named from their respective *tenné* (idol, fetish, totem):—

1. *Bamba*, the crocodile: *Bammana*, not *Bambara*, which means kafir or infidel, and is applied only to the non-Moslem Mandé groups.

2. *Mali*, the hippopotamus: *Mali'nké*, including the Kagoros and the Tagwas.

3. *Sama*, the elephant: *Sama'nké*.

4. *Sa*, the snake: *Sa-mokho*.

Of each there are several sub-groups, while the surrounding peoples call them all collectively *Wakoré*, *Wangara*, *Sakhersi*, and especially *Diula*. Attention to this point will save the reader much confusion in consulting Barth, Caillié, and other early books of travel.

river, the *Jalo'nke* of Futa-Jallon, and the *Bamana* of Bambara, these being the more important historical and cultured groups.

History.

According to native tradition and the annals of Ahmad Bábá, rescued from oblivion by Barth[1], the first Mandingan state of Guiné (Ghána, Ghánata), a name still surviving in the vague geographical term "Guinea," goes back to pre-Muhammadan times. Wakayamangha, its legendary founder, is supposed to have flourished 300 years before the Hejira, at which date twenty-two kings had already reigned. Sixty years after that time the Moslem Arabs or Berbers are said to have already reached West Sudan, where they had twelve mosques in Ghána, first capital of the empire, and their chief stronghold till the foundation of Jinni on the Upper Niger (1043 A.D.).

The Guiné and Mali Empires.

Two centuries later (1235—60) the centre of the Mandingan rule was transferred to Mali, which under the great king Mansa-Musa (1311—1331) became the most powerful Sudanese state of which there is any authentic record. For a time it included nearly the whole of West Sudan, and a great part of the western Sahara, besides the Sonrhay State with its capital Gogo, and Timbuktu. Mansa-Musa, who, in the language of the chronicler, "wielded a power without measure or limits," entered into friendly relations with the emperor of Morocco, and made a famous pilgrimage to Mecca, the splendours of which still linger in the memory of the Mussulman populations through whose lands the interminable procession wound its way. He headed 60,000 men of arms, says Ahmad Bábá, and wherever he passed he was preceded by 500 slaves, each bearing a gold stick weighing 500 mitkals (14 lbs.), the whole representing a money value of about £4,000,000 (?). The people of Cairo and Mecca were dazzled by his wealth and munificence; but during the journey a great part of his followers were seized by a painful malady called in their language *tuat*, and this word still lives in the Oasis of Tuat, where most of them perished.

Even after the capture of Timbuktu by the Tuaregs (1433), Mali long continued to be the chief state in West Nigritia, and

[1] *Travels*, Vol. IV. p. 579 sqq.

carried on a flourishing trade, especially in slaves and gold. But this gold was still supposed to come from the earlier kingdom of Guiné, which word consequently still remains associated with the precious metal in the popular belief. About the year 1500 Mali was captured by the Sonrhay king, Omar Askia, after which the empire fell to pieces, and its memory now survives only in the ethnical term *Mali'nke.*

Felups. From the semi-civilised Muhammadan negroid Mandingans to the utterly savage full-blood negro Felups the transition is abrupt, but instructive. In other regions the heterogeneous ethnical groups crowded into upland valleys, as in the Caucasus, have been called the "sweepings of the plains." But in West Sudan there are no great ranges towering above the lowlands, and even the "Kong Mountains" of school geographies have now been wiped out by Capt. Binger[1]. Hence the rude aborigines of the inland plateau, retreating before the steady advance of Islám, found no place of refuge till they reached the indented fjord-like Atlantic seaboard, where many still hold their ground. This is the explanation of the striking contrasts now witnessed between the interior and so many parts of the West Coast; on the one hand powerful political organizations with numerous, more or less homogeneous, and semi-civilised negroid populations, on the other an infinite tangle of ethnical and linguistic groups, all alike weltering in the sheerest savagery, or in grades of barbarism even worse than the wild state.

Contrasts between the Inland and Coast Peoples.

Even the *Felups*, whose territory now stretches from the Gambia to the Cacheo, but formerly reached the Geba and the Bissagos Islands, do not form a single group. Originally the name of an obscure coast-tribe, the term Felup or Fulup has been extended by the Portuguese traders to all the surrounding peoples—*Ayamats, Jolas, Jigúshes, Vacas, Joats, Karons, Banyúns, Banjars, Fulúns, Bayots* and some others who amid much local diversity, presented a sufficiently general outward resemblance to be regarded as a

Felup Type and Mental Characters.

[1] "La chaîne des Montagnes de Kong n'a jamais existé que dans l'imagination de quelques voyageurs mal renseignés" (*op. cit.* I. p. 285).

single people by the first European settlers. The Felups proper display the physical and mental characters of the typical Negro even in an exaggerated form—black colour, flat nose, wide nostrils, very thick and everted lips, red on the inner surface, stout muscular frame, correlated with coarse animal passions, crass ignorance, no arts industry or even tribal organization, so that every little family group is independent and mostly in a state of constant feud with its neighbours. All go naked, armed with bow and arrow, and live in log huts which, though strongly built, are indescribably filthy[1].

Matriarchal usages still prevail, rank and property being transmitted in the female line. There is some notion of a superhuman being vaguely identified with the sky, the rain, wind or thunderstorm. But all live in extreme terror of the medicine-man, who is openly courted, but inwardly detested, so that whenever it can be safely done the tables are turned, the witch-doctor is seized and tortured to death.

Timni, Kru, Sierra-Leonese, Liberians. Somewhat similar conditions prevail all along the seaboard from Sierra Leone to, and beyond, Cape Palmas, disturbed or modified by the Liberian intruders from the North American plantations, and by the slaves rescued in the thirties and forties by the British cruisers and brought to Sierra Leone, where their descendants now live in settled communities under European influences. These "coloured" citizens of Sierra Leone and Liberia, who are so often the butt of cheap ridicule, and are themselves perhaps too apt to scorn the kindred "niggers" of the bush, have to be carefully distinguished from these true aborigines who have never been wrenched from their natural environment.

In Sierra Leone the chief aboriginal groups on the coastlands are the *Timni* of the Rokelle river, flanked north and south by two branches of the *Bulams*, and still farther south the *Gallinas*, *Veys* and *Golas*; in the interior the *Lokkos*, *Limbas*, *Konos*, and *Kussas*, with *Kurankos*, *Mendis*, *Hubus*, and other Mandingans and Fulahs everywhere in the Hinterland.

[1] Bertrand-Bocandé, *Sur les Floups ou Féloups*, in *Bul. Soc. de Géogr.* 1849.

Timni Beliefs.

Of all these the most powerful during the British occupation have always been the Timni (Timani, Temné), who sold to the English the peninsula on which now stands Freetown, but afterwards crying off the bargain, repeatedly tried to drive the white and coloured intruders into the sea. They are a robust people of softened Negro type, and more industrious farmers than most of the other natives. Like the Wolofs they believe in the virtue both of Christian and Moslem amulets, but have hitherto lent a deaf ear to the preachers of both these religions. Nevertheless the Protestant missionaries have carefully studied the Timni language, which possesses an oral literature rich in legends, proverbs, and folklore[1].

West African Freemasonry.

The Timni district is a chief centre of the so-called *porro* fraternity[2], a sort of secret society or freemasonry widely diffused throughout the coastlands, and possessing its own symbols, tattoo markings, pass-words, and language. It presents curious points of contact with the brotherhoods of the Micronesian islanders, but appears to be even more potent for good and evil, a veritable religious and political state within the state. "When their mandates are issued all wars and civil strife must cease, a general truce is established, and bloodshed stopped, offending communities being punished by bands of armed men in masks. Strangers cannot enter the country unless escorted by a member of the guild, who is recognised by passwords, symbolic gestures, and the like. Their secret rites are celebrated at night in the depths of the forest, all intruders being put to death or sold as slaves[3]."

The Sierra Leonese.

In studying the social conditions prevalent amongst the Sierra Leonese proper, it should be remembered that they are sprung, not only from representatives of almost

[1] A full account of this literature will be found in the Rev. C. F. Schlenker's valuable work, *A Collection of Temne Traditions, Fables and Proverbs*, London, 1861. Here is given the curious explanation of the tribal name, from *o-tem*, an old man, and *né*, himself, because, as they say, the Temné people will exist for ever.

[2] There is also a sisterhood—the *bondo*—and the two societies work so far in harmony that any person expelled from the one is also excluded from the other.

[3] *Reclus*, Keane's English ed., XII. p. 203.

every tribe along the seaboard, and even in the far interior, but also to a large extent from the freedmen and runaways of Nova Scotia and London, besides many maroons of Jamaica, who were settled here under the auspices of the Sierra Leone Company towards the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. Others also have in recent years been attracted to the settlements from the Timni and other tribes of the neighbouring districts. The Sierra Leonese are consequently not themselves a tribe, nor yet a people, but rather a people in course of formation under the influence of a new environment and of a higher culture. An immediate consequence of such a sudden aggregation of discordant elements was the loss of all the native tongues, and the substitution of English as the common medium of intercourse. But English is the language of a people standing on the very highest plane of culture, and could not therefore be properly assimilated by the *disjecta membra* of tribes at the lowest rung of the social ladder. The resultant form of speech may be called ludicrous, so ludicrous that the Sierra Leonese version of the New Testament had to be withdrawn from circulation as verging almost on the blasphemous[1].

Social Relations.

It has also to be considered that all the old tribal relations were broken up, while an attempt was made to merge these waifs and strays in a single community based on social conditions to which each and all were utter strangers. It is not therefore surprising that the experiment has not proved a complete success, and that the social relations in Sierra Leone leave something to be desired. Although the freedmen and the rescued captives received free gifts of land, their dislike for the labours of the field induced many to abandon their holdings, and take to huckstering and other more pleasant pursuits. Hence their descendants almost

[1] "Da Njoe Testament, translated into the Negro-English Language by the Missionaries of the Unitas Fratrum," Brit. and For. Bible Soc., London, 1829. Here is a specimen quoted by Ellis from *The Artisan* of Sierra Leone, Aug. 4, 1886, "Those who live in ceiled houses love to hear the pit-pat of the rain overhead; whilst those whose houses leak are the subjects of restlessness and anxiety, not to mention the chances of catching cold, *that is so frequent a source of leaky roofs*."

monopolise the petty traffic and even the "professions" in Freetown and the other colonial settlements. Although accused of laziness and dishonesty, they have displayed a considerable degree of industrial as well as commercial enterprise, and the Sierra Leone craftsmen—smiths, mechanics, carpenters, builders—enjoy a good reputation in all the coast towns. All are Christians of various denominations, and even show a marked predilection for the "ministry." Yet below the surface the old paganism still slumbers, and vodoo practices, as in the West Indies and some of the Southern States, are still heard of.

Morality also is admittedly at a low ebb, and it is curious to note that this has in part been attributed to the freedom enjoyed under the British administration. "They have passed from the sphere of native law to that of British law, which is brought to this young community like an article of ready-made clothing. Is it a wonder that the clothes do not fit? Is it a wonder that kings and chiefs around Sierra Leone, instead of wishing their people to come and see how well we do things, dread for them to come to this colony on account of the danger to their morals? In passing into this colony, they pass into a liberty which to them is license[1]."

The Liberians.

An experiment of a somewhat different order, but with much the same negative results, has been tried by the well-meaning founders of the Republic of Liberia. Here also the bulk of the "civilised aristocrats" are descended of emancipated plantation slaves, a first consignment of whom was brought over by a philanthropic American society in 1820–22. The idea was to start them well in life under the fostering care of their white guardians, and then leave them to work out their own redemption in their own way. All control was accordingly withdrawn in 1848, and since then the settlement has constituted an absolutely independent Negro state in the enjoyment of complete self-government. Progress of a certain material kind has undoubtedly been made. The original "free citizens" had increased from 8000 in 1850 to about 20,000

[1] Right Rev. E. G. Ingham (Bishop of Sierra Leone), *Sierra Leone after a Hundred Years*, London, 1894, p. 294.

in 1898[1], and the central administration, modelled on that of the United States, has hitherto shown itself strong enough to maintain some degree of order amongst the surrounding aborigines, estimated at over one million within the limits of the Republic.

But these aborigines have not benefited perceptibly by contact with their "civilised" neighbours, who themselves stand at much the same level intellectually and morally as their repatriated forefathers. Since 1874 no interest has been paid on a debt of £100,000 contracted in 1871; the budget generally shows a deficit on the ordinary revenue[2], and no railways or other useful public works have yet been projected. Instead of attending to these matters the "Weegee," as they are called, have constituted themselves into two factions, the "coloured" or half-breeds, and the full-blood negroes who, like the "Blancos" and "Neros" of some South American States, spend most of their time in a perpetual struggle for office. All are of course intensely patriotic, but their patriotism takes a wrong direction, being chiefly manifested in their insolence towards the English and other European traders on the coast, and in their supreme contempt for the "stinking bush-niggers," as they call the surrounding aborigines.

Yet some of these aborigines are both physically and morally scarcely inferior to the free citizens themselves.

The Krumen.

The *Krus* (Kroomen, Krooboys[3]), whose numerous hamlets are scattered along the coast from below Monrovia nearly to Cape Palmas, are assuredly one of the most interesting people in the whole of Africa. Originally from the interior, they have developed in their new homes a most un-African love of the sea, hence are regularly engaged as crews by the European skippers plying along those insalubrious coastlands.

[1] This increase, however, appears to be due to a steady immigration from the Southern States, but for which the Liberians proper would die out, or become absorbed in the surrounding native populations.

[2] *Statesman's Year Book*, 1898, p. 735–6.

[3] Possibly the English word "crew," but more probably an extension of *Kraoh*, the name of a tribe near Settra-kru, to the whole group.

In this service, in which they are known by such nicknames as "Bottle-of-Beer," "Mashed-Potatoes," "Bubble-and-Squeak," "Pipe-of-Tobacco," and the like, their word may always be depended upon. But it is to be feared that this loyalty, which with them is a strict matter of business, has earned for them a reputation for other virtues to which they have little claim. Despite the many years that they have been in the closest contact with the missionaries and traders, they are still at heart the same brutal savages as ever. After each voyage they return to the native village to spend all their gains and pilferings in drunken orgies, and relapse generally into sheer barbarism till the next steamer rounds the neighbouring headland. "It is not a comfortable reflection," writes Bishop Ingham, whose testimony will not be suspected of bias, "as we look at this mob on our decks, that, if the ship chance to strike on a sunken rock and become unmanageable, they would rise to a man, and seize all they could lay hands on, cut the very rings off our fingers if they could get them in no other way, and generally loot the ship. Little has been done to Christianise these interesting, hard-working, cheerful, but ignorant and greedy people, who have so long hung on the skirts of civilisation[1]."

The case is mentioned of a gang about to land at their own village, one member of which is ailing. So they tell the captain—"We no want that man; he go die." As however they want his effects and cannot have them without the man himself, they agree to take him ashore. But no sooner is the ship at a safe distance, than they take their moribund kinsman by the head and feet, and fling him overboard[2]. And so is dissipated the mirage that has hitherto hung round the reputation of the Kruboy for half the virtues under heaven.

The Upper Guinea Peoples.

But the very worst "sweepings of the Sudanese plateau" seem to have gathered along the Upper Guinea Coast, occupied by the already mentioned *Tshi*, *Ewe*, and *Yoruba* groups. They constitute three branches of one linguistic, and probably also of one ethnical family, of which,

[1] *Sierra Leone after a Hundred Years*, p. 280.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 281.

owing to their historic and ethnical importance, the reader may be glad to have here subjoined a somewhat complete tabulated scheme:

Tribes of Tshi and Ga Speech *Gold Coast*	Tribes of Ewe Speech *Slave Coast West*	Tribes of Yoruba Speech *Slave Coast East and Niger Delta*
Ashanti	Dahomi	Yoruba
Safwhi	Eweawo	Ibadan
Denkera	Agotine	Ketu
Bekwai	Anfueh	Egba
Nkoranza	Krepe	Jebu
Adansi	Avenor	Remo
Assin	Awuna	Ode
Wassaw	Agbosomi	Ilorin
Ahanta	Aflao	Ijesa
Fanti	Ataklu	Ondo
Agona	Krikor	Mahin
Akwapim	Geng	Benin (Bini)
Akim	Attakpami	Kakanda
Akwamu	Aja	Wari
Kwao	Ewemi	Ibo
Ga	Appa	Efik

The *Ga* of the Volta delta are here bracketed with the Tshi because the late Col. Ellis, our great authority on the Guinea peoples[1], considers the two languages to be distantly connected. He also thinks there is a foundation of fact in the native traditions, which bring the dominant tribes—Ashanti, Fanti, Dahomi, Yoruba, Bini—from the interior to the coast districts at no very remote period. Thus it is recorded of the Ashanti and Fanti, now hereditary foes, that ages ago they formed one people who were reduced to the utmost distress during a long war with some

[1] The services rendered to African anthropology by this distinguished officer call for the fullest recognition, all the more that somewhat free and unacknowledged use has been made of the rich materials brought together in his classical works on *The Tshi-speaking Peoples* (1887), *The Ewe-speaking Peoples* (1890), and *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples* (1894).

inland power, perhaps the conquering Muhammadans of the Ghana or Mali empire. They were saved, however, some by eating of the *shan*, others of the *fan* plant, and of these words, with the verb *di*, "to eat," were made the tribal names *Shan-di*, *Fan-di*, now *Ashanti*, *Fanti*. The *seppiriba* plant, said to have been eaten by the Fanti, is still called *fan* when cooked.

Ashanti Folklore.

Other traditions refer to a time when all were of one speech, and lived in a far country beyond Salagha, open, flat, with little bush, and plenty of cattle and sheep, a tolerably accurate description of the inland Sudanese plateaux. But then came a red people, said to be the Fulahs, Muhammadans, who oppressed the blacks and drove them to take refuge in the forests. Here they thrived and multiplied, and after many vicissitudes they came down, down, until at last they reached the coast, with the waves rolling in, the white foam hissing and frothing on the beach, and thought it was all boiling water until some one touched it and found it was not hot, and so to this day they call the sea *Eh-huru den o nni shew*, "Boiling water not hot," but far inland the sea is still "Boiling water[1]."

To Col. Ellis we are indebted especially for the true explanation of the much used and abused term *fetish*, as applied to the native beliefs. It was of course already known to be not an African but a Portuguese word[2], meaning a charm, amulet, or even witchcraft. But Ellis shows how it came to be wrongly applied to all forms of animal and nature worship, and how the confusion was increased by De Brosses' theory of a primordial fetishism, and by his statement that it was impossible to conceive a lower form of religion than fetishism, which might therefore be assumed to be the beginning of all religion[3].

Fetishism—its true inwardness.

[1] *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 332 sq.

[2] *Feitiço*, whence also *feiticeira*, a witch, *feiticeria*, sorcery, &c., all from *feitiço*, artificial, handmade, from Lat. *facio* and *factitius*.

[3] *Du Culte des Dieux Fétiches*, 1760. It is generally supposed that the word was invented, or at least first introduced, by De Brosses; but Ellis shows that this also is a mistake, as it had already been used by Bosman in his *Description of Guinea*, London, 1705.

On the contrary it represents rather an advanced stage, as Ellis discovered after four or five years of careful observation on the spot. A fetish, he tells us, is something tangible and inanimate, which is believed to possess power in itself, and is worshipped for itself alone. Nor can such an object be picked up anywhere at random, as is commonly asserted, and he adds that the belief "is arrived at only after considerable progress has been made in religious ideas, when the older form of religion becomes secondary and owes its existence to the confusion of the tangible with the intangible, of the material with the immaterial; to the belief in the indwelling god being gradually lost sight of until the power originally believed to belong to the god, is finally attributed to the tangible and inanimate object itself."

But now comes a statement that may seem paradoxical to most students of the evolution of religious ideas. We are assured that fetishism thus understood is not specially or at all characteristic of the religion of the Gold Coast natives, who are in fact "remarkably free from it" and believe in invisible intangible deities. Some of them may dwell in a tangible inanimate object, popularly called a "fetish"; but the idea of the indwelling god is never lost sight of, nor is the object ever worshipped for its own sake. True fetishism, the worship of such material objects and images, prevails, on the contrary, far more "amongst the Negroes of the West Indies, who have been christianised for more than half-a-century, than amongst those of West Africa. Hence the belief in Obeah, still prevalent in the West Indies, which formerly was a belief in indwelling spirits which inhabited certain objects, has now become a worship paid to tangible and inanimate objects, which of themselves are believed to possess the power to injure. In Europe itself we find evidence amongst the Roman Catholic populations of the South, that fetishism is a corruption of a former *culte*, rather than a primordial faith. The lower classes there have confused the intangible with the tangible, and believe that the images of the saints can both see, hear and feel. Thus we find the Italian peasants and fishermen beat and ill-treat their images when their requests have not been complied with....These appear to be instances of true fetishism[1]."

[1] *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, ch. XII. p. 194 and *passim*.

Another phase of religious belief in Upper Guinea is ancestry worship, which has here been developed to a degree unknown elsewhere. As the departed have to be maintained in the same social position beyond the grave that they enjoyed in this world, they must be supplied with slaves, wives, and attendants, each according to his rank. Hence the institution of the so-called "customs," or anniversary feasts of the dead, accompanied by the sacrifice of human victims, regulated at first by the status and afterwards by the whim and caprice of chiefs and kings. In the capitals of the more powerful states, Ashanti, Dahomey, Benin, the scenes witnessed at these sanguinary rites rivalled in horror those held in honour of the Aztec gods. Details may here be dispensed with on a repulsive subject, ample accounts of which are accessible from many sources to the general reader. In any case these atrocities teach no lesson, except that most religions have waded through blood to better things, unless arrested in mid-stream by the intervention of higher powers, as happily in Upper Guinea, where the human shambles of Kumassi, Abomeh, Benin and most other places have now been swept away.

Ancestry Worship and the "Customs."

On the capture of Benin by the English in 1897 a rare and unexpected prize fell into the hands of ethnologists. Here was found a large assortment of carved ivories, woodwork, and especially a series of about 300 bronze and brass plates or panels with figures of natives and Europeans, armed and in armour in full relief, all cast by the *cire perdue* process[1], some barbaric, others, and especially a head in the round of a young negress, showing high artistic skill. These remarkable objects are now mostly in the British Museum, where they have been studied by Messrs C. H. Read and O. M. Dalton[2], who are evidently right in assigning the better class to the sixteenth century, and to the aid, if not the hand, of some Portuguese artificers in the service of the King of Benin. They add that "casting of an inferior kind continues down to the present time"

The Benin Bronzes.

[1] That is, from a wax mould destroyed in the casting. After the operation details were often filled in by chasing or executed in *repoussé* work.

[2] "Works of Art from Benin City," *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.*, February, 1898, p. 362 sq.

and it may here be mentioned that armour has long been and is still worn by the cavalry, and even their horses, in the Muhammadan states of Central Sudan. "The chiefs (*Kashelláwa*) who serve as officers under the Sultan [of Bornu] and act as his bodyguard wear jackets of chain armour and cuirasses of coats of mail[1]." It is clear that metal casting in a large way has long been practised by the semi-civilised peoples of Sudan.

The Mossi.

Within the great bend of the Niger the veil, first slightly raised by Barth in the middle of the nineteenth century, has now been drawn aside by Capt. Binger, Capt. Lugard and later explorers. Here the *Mossi*, *Borgu* and others have hitherto more or less successfully resisted the Moslem advance, and are consequently for the most part little removed from the savage state. Even the "Faithful" wear the cloak of Islám somewhat loosely, and the level of their culture may be judged from the case of the Imám of Diulasu, who pestered Capt. Binger for nostrums and charms against ailments, war, and misfortunes. What he wanted chiefly to know was the names of Abraham's two wives. "Tell me these," he would say, "and my fortune is made, for I dreamt it the other night; you must tell me; I really must have those names or I'm lost[2]."

In some districts the ethnical confusion is considerable, and when Binger arrived at the Court of the Mossi King, Baikary, he was addressed successively in Mossi, Hausa, Sonrhay, and Fulah, until at last it was discovered that Mandingan was the only native language he understood. Waghadugu, capital of the chief Mossi state, comprises several distinct quarters occupied respectively by Mandingans, Marengas (Sonrhays), Zang-wer'os (Hausas), Chilmigos (Fulahs), Mussulman and heathen Mossis, the whole population scarcely exceeding 5000. However, perfect harmony prevails, the Mossi themselves being extremely tolerant despite the

[1] A. Featherman, *Social History of Mankind*, The Nigritians, p. 281. See also *Reclus*, French ed., Vol. XII. p. 718: "Les cavaliers portent encore la cuirasse comme au moyen âge....Les chevaux sont recouverts de la même manière." In the mythical traditions of Buganda also there is reference to the fierce Wakedi warriors clad in "iron armour" (ch. IV.).

[2] *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée*, I. p. 377.

long religious wars they have had to wage against the fanatical Fulahs and other Muhammadan aggressors[1].

African Agnostics.

Religious indifference is indeed a marked characteristic of this people, and the case is mentioned of a nominal Mussulman prince who could even read and write, and say his prayers, but whose two sons "knew nothing at all," or, as we should say, were "Agnostics." One of them, however, it is fair to add, is claimed by both sides, the Moslems asserting that he says his prayers in secret, the heathens that he drinks *dolo* (palm-wine), which of course no true believer is supposed ever to do.

CENTRAL SUDANESE.

General Ethnical and Social Relations.

In Central Sudan, that is, the region stretching from the Niger to Wadai, a tolerably clean sweep has been made of the aborigines, except along the southern fringe and in parts of the Chad basin. For many centuries Islám has here been firmly established, and in Negroland Islám is synonymous with a greater or less degree of miscegenation. The native tribes who resisted the fiery Arab or Tuareg or Tibu proselytisers were for the most part either extirpated, or else driven to the southern uplands about the Congo-Chad water-parting. All who accepted the Koran became merged with the conquerors in a common negroid population, which supplied the new material for the development of large social communities and powerful political states.

Under these conditions the old tribal organisations were in great measure dissolved, and throughout its historic period of about a millennium Central Sudan is found mainly occupied by peoples gathered together in a small number of political systems, each with its own language and special institutions, but all alike accepting Islám as the State religion. Such are or were the

[1] Early in the fourteenth century they were strong enough to carry the war into the enemy's camp and make more than one successful expedition against Timbuktu. At present the Mossi power is declining, and their territory has already (1898) been parcelled out (on paper) between the British and French Sudanese hinterlands.

Sonrhay Empire and the Hausa States; such are the still independent or at least autonomous kingdoms of Bornu with Kanem and Baghirmi, and these jointly cover the whole of Central Sudan as above defined.

Sonrhays[1]. How completely the tribe[2] has merged in the people[2] may be inferred from the mere statement that, although no longer an independent nation[2], the Negroid Sonrhays form a single ethnical group of about two million souls, all of one speech and one religion, and all distinguished by somewhat uniform physical and mental characters. This territory lies mainly about the borderlands between Sudan and the Sahara, stretching from Timbuktu east to the Asben oasis and along both banks of the Niger from Lake Debo round to the Sokoto confluence, and also at some points reaching as far as the Hombori hills within the great bend of the Niger.

Sonrhay Domain.

Here they are found in the closest connection with the Ireghenaten ("mixed") Tuaregs, and elsewhere with other Tuaregs, and with Arabs, Fulahs or Hausas[3], so that exclusively Sonrhay communities are now somewhat rare. But the bulk of the race is still concentrated in Gurma and in the district between Gogo and Timbuktu, the two chief cities of the old Sonrhay empire.

They are a distinctly Negroid people, presenting various shades of intermixture with the surrounding Hamites and Semites, but generally of a very deep brown or blackish colour, with somewhat regular features and that peculiar long, black, and ringletty hair, which is so characteristic of Negro and Caucasic blends, as seen amongst the

Sonrhay Type and Temperament.

[1] Also *Songhay*, *gh* and *rh* being interchangeable throughout North Africa; *Ghat* and *Khat*, *Ghadames* and *Rhadames*, &c. In the mouth of an Arab the sound is that of the guttural غ *ghain*, which is pronounced by the Berbers and Negroes somewhat like the Northumberland *burr*, hence usually transliterated by *rh* in non-Semitic words.

[2] It should be noticed that these terms are throughout used as strictly defined in *Eth*. Ch. I.

[3] Barth's account of Wulu (IV. p. 299), "inhabited by Tawárek slaves, who are *trilingues*, speaking Temáshight as well as Songhay and Fulfulde" is at present generally applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to most of the Sonrhay settlements.

Trarsas and Braknas of the Senegal, the Bejas, Danakils, and many Abyssinians of the region between the Nile and the Red Sea. Barth, to whom we still owe the best account of this historical people, describes them as of a dull, morose temperament, the most unfriendly and churlish of all the peoples visited by him in Negroland.

Sonrhay Origins.

This writer's suggestion that they may have formerly had relations with the Egyptians[1] has been revived in an exaggerated form by M. Félix Dubois, whose views have received currency in England through uncritical notices of his *Timbouctou la Mystérieuse* (Paris, 1897).

Egyptian Theories.

But there is no "mystery" in the matter. The Sonrhay are a Sudanese people, whose exodus from Egypt is a myth, and whose Kissur language, as it is called, has not the remotest connection with any form of speech known to have been at any time current in the Nile valley[2]. Such dumping down of a whole people on the Niger bend, after traversing some thousands of miles of sandy wastes or densely settled plains, has naturally excited the ridicule of serious students, such as Herr Brix Förster, whose caustic exposure of the myth may be seen in *Globus*, 71, p. 193 sq.[3]

Sonrhay Records.

The Sonrhay empire, like that of the rival Mandingans, claims a respectable antiquity, its reputed founder Za-el-Yemeni having flourished about 680 A.D. Za Kasi, fifteenth in succession from the founder, was the

[1] As so much has been made of Barth's authority in this connection, it may be well to quote his exact words: "It would seem as if they (the Sonrhay) had received, in more ancient times, several institutions from the Egyptians, with whom, I have no doubt, they maintained an intercourse by means of the energetic inhabitants of Aujila from a relatively ancient period" (IV. p. 426). Barth, therefore, does not bring the people themselves, or their language, from Egypt, but only some of their institutions, and that indirectly through the Aujila Oasis in Cyrenaica, and it may be added that this intercourse with Aujila appears to date only from about 1150 A.D. (IV. p. 585).

[2] Hacquard et Dupuis, *Manuel de la langue Sońgay, parlée de Tombouctou à Say, dans la boucle du Niger*, 1897, *passim*.

[3] Of M. Dubois' theory this writer remarks that it "trägt entweder den Stempel phantasiereicher Willkür oder entbehrt des Ruhmes unser Wissen durch neue Thatsachen bereichern zu können," p. 195.

first Muhammadan ruler (1009); but about 1326 the country was reduced by the Mandingans, and remained throughout the 14th and a great part of the 15th century virtually subject to the Mali empire, although Ali Killun, founder of the new Sonni dynasty, had acquired a measure of independence about 1335—6. But the political supremacy of the Sonrhay people dates only from about 1464, when Sonni Ali, 16th of the Sonni dynasty, known in history as "the great tyrant and famous miscreant," threw off the Mandingan yoke, "and changed the whole face of this part of Africa by prostrating the kingdom of Melle[1]." Under his successor, Muhammad Askia[2], "perhaps the greatest sovereign that ever ruled over Negroland[3]," the Sonrhay Empire acquired its greatest expansion, extending from the heart of Hausaland to the Atlantic seaboard, and from the Mossi country to the Tuat Oasis, south of Morocco. Although unfavourably spoken of by Leo Africanus, Askia is described by Ahmed Bábá as governing the subject peoples "with justice and equity, causing well-being and comfort to spring up everywhere within the borders of his extensive dominions, and introducing such of the institutions of Muhammadan civilisation as he considered might be useful to his subjects[4]."

Askia also made the Mecca pilgrimage with a great show of splendour. But after his reign (1492—1529) the Sonrhay power gradually declined, and was at last overthrown by Mulay Hamed, Emperor of Morocco, in 1591—2. Ahmed Bábá, the native chronicler, was involved in the ruin of his people[5], and since then

[1] Barth IV. p. 593–4.

[2] The *Ischia* of Leo Africanus, who tells us that in his time the "linguaggio detto Sungai" was current even in the provinces of Walata and Jinni (VI. ch. 2). This statement, however, like others made by Leo at second hand, must be received with caution. In these districts Sonrhay may have been spoken by the officials and some of the upper classes, but scarcely by the people generally, who were of Mandingan speech.

[3] Barth IV. p. 414. [4] *Ib.* p. 415.

[5] Carried captive into Marakesh, although later restored to his beloved Timbuktu to end his days in perpetuating the past glories of the Sonrhay nation; the one Negroid man of letters, whose name holds a worthy place beside those of Leo Africanus, Ibn Khaldún, El Tunsi, and other Hamitic writers.

the Sonrhay nation has been broken into fragments, subject here to Hausas, there to Fulahs, elsewhere to Tuaregs, and, since the French occupation of Timbuktu (1894), to the hated Giaur.

Hausas. In everything that constitutes the real greatness of a nation, the Hausas may rightly claim preeminence amongst all the peoples of Negroland. No doubt early in the nineteenth century the historical Hausa States, occupying the whole region between the Niger and Bornu, were overrun and reduced by the fanatical Fulah bands under Othmán Dan Fodye. But the Hausas in a truer sense than the Greeks, "have captured their rude conquerors[1]," for they have even largely assimilated them physically to their own type, and while the Fulah political ascendancy is already tottering, the Hausa nationality is again under British auspices asserting its natural social, industrial and commercial predominance throughout Central and even parts of Western Sudan.

The Hausas—their dominant Social Position.

It could not well be otherwise, seeing that the Hausas form a compact body of some twenty million peaceful and industrious Sudanese, living partly in numerous farmsteads amid their well-tilled cotton, indigo, pulse, and corn fields, partly in large walled cities and great trading centres such as Kano[2], Katsena, Yacoba, whose intelligent and law-abiding inhabitants are reckoned by many tens of thousands. Their melodious tongue, of which the Rev. C. H. Robinson has given us a far too meagre account[3], has long been the great medium

Hausa Speech and Mental Qualities.

[1] Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
Intulit agresti Latio. Hor. *Epist.* II. 1, 156–7.

The epithet *agrestis* is peculiarly applicable to the rude Fulah shepherds, who were almost barbarians compared with the settled, industrious, and even cultured Hausa populations, and whose oppressive rule has at last been relaxed by the intervention of England in the Niger-Benue lands.

[2] "One of their towns, Kano, has probably the largest market-place in the world, with a daily attendance of from 25,000 to 30,000 people. This same town possesses, what in central Africa is still more surprising, some thirty or forty schools, in which the children are taught to read and write" (Rev. C. H. Robinson, *Specimens of Hausa Literature*, University Press, Cambridge, 1896, p. x).

[3] This authority seems uncertain whether to class Hausa with the Semitic or the Hamitic family, or in an independent group by itself, and it must be

of intercourse throughout Sudan from Lake Chad to and beyond the Niger, and is daily acquiring even greater preponderance amongst all the settled and trading populations of these regions.

But though showing a marked preference for peaceful pursuits, the Hausas are by no means an effeminate people. Largely enlisted in the British service, they have at all times shown fighting qualities of a high order under their English officers, and a well-earned tribute has been paid to their military prowess amongst others by Sir George Goldie and Lieut. Vandeleur[1]. With the Hausas on her side England need assuredly fear no rivals to her beneficent sway over the teeming populations of the fertile plains and plateaux of Central Sudan, which is on the whole perhaps the most favoured land in Africa north of the equator.

Hausa Origins.

According to the national traditions, which go back to no very remote period, the seven historical Hausa States known as the "Hausa bokoy" ("the seven Hausas") take their name from the eponymous heroes *Biram*, *Daura*, *Gober*, *Kano*, *Rano*, *Katsena* and *Zegzeg*, all said to be sprung from the Deggaras, a Berber tribe settled to the north of Munyo. From Biram, the original seat, the race and its language spread to seven other provinces—*Zanfara*, *Kebbi*, *Nupe* (*Nyffi*), *Gwari*, *Yauri*, *Yariba* and *Kororofa*, which in contempt are called

admitted that some of its features are extremely puzzling. The question cannot here be discussed, but I think further research will show that its affinities are neither with the Semitic nor with the Hamitic, at least directly, but that Hausa is fundamentally a Sudanese Negro language greatly modified by Tibu influences, that in fact it is an outlying member of Nachtigal's Teda-Daza linguistic group. Some light may be thrown on the subject by the studies of Dr G. A. Krause, who, however, starts with the curious and embarrassing theory that Hausa is a combination of two Bantu dialects welded together by people speaking a Hamitic language! It may be incidentally mentioned that Mr Robinson has been instrumental in establishing a Hausa Association "for the purpose of promoting the study of the Hausa language and people" (1891).

[1] *Campaigning on the Upper Nile and Niger*, by Lt Seymour Vandeleur, with an Introduction by Sir George Goldie, 1898. "In camp," writes Lt Vandeleur, "their conduct was exemplary, while pillaging and ill-treatment of the natives were unknown. As to their fighting qualities, it is enough to say that, little over 500 strong (on the Bida expedition of 1897), they withstood for two days 25,000 or 30,000 of the enemy; that, former slaves of the Fulahs, they defeated their dreaded masters," &c.

the "Banza bokoy" ("The Seven Upstarts"). All form collectively the Hausa domain in the widest sense.

Authentic history is quite recent, and even Komayo, reputed founder of Katsena, dates only from about the 14th century. Ibrahim Maji, who was the first Moslem ruler, is assigned to the latter part of the 15th century, and since then the chief events have been associated with the Fulah wars, ending in the absorption of all the Hausa States in the present unstable Fulah empire of Sokoto, now a British protectorate. The Hausas were themselves never a conquering power, and their present expansion and social supremacy seem almost entirely due to the natural intelligence, industrial habits, and commercial enterprise of this remarkable people.

Ethnical and Political Relations in the Chad Basin.

Kanembu; Kanuri[1]*; Baghirmi, Mosgu.* Round about the shores of Lake Chad are grouped three other historical Muhammadan nations, the Kanembu ("People of Kanem") on the north, the Kanuri of Bornu on the west, and the Baghirmi on the south side. The last named is, or has lately been, subject to the Sultan of Waday farther east, and the whole region has been exposed to the ravages of fierce Arab predatory tribes (Salamat and others) from the north, and (since the Madhi's revolt) of Arabo-Nubian armed bands from the east. In other respects these states have hitherto maintained their political independence, although now gravitating towards the rival European powers (England, France, Germany), whose hinterlands have already converged round the Chad basin.

In this region the ethnical relations are considerably more complex than in the Hausa States. Here Islám has had greater obstacles to contend with than on the more open western plateaux, and many of the pagan aborigines have been able to hold their ground either in the archipelagos of Lake Chad (*Yedinas, Kuri*), or in the swampy tracts and uplands of the Logon-Shari basin (*Mosgu, Mandara, Makari* &c.).

[1] By a popular etymology these are *Ka-Núri*, "People of Light." But, as they are somewhat lukewarm Muhammadans, the zealous Fulahs say it should be *Ka-Nari*, "People of Fire," *i.e.* foredoomed to Gehenna!

It was also the policy of the Muhammadans, whose system is based on slavery, not to push their religious zeal too far, for, if all the natives were converted, where could they procure a constant supply of slaves, those who accept the teachings of the Prophet being *ipso facto* entitled to their freedom? Hence the pagan districts were, and still are, regarded as convenient preserves, happy hunting-grounds to be raided from time to time, but not utterly wasted; to be visited by organised razzias just often enough to keep up the supply in the home and foreign markets. This system, controlled by the local governments themselves, has long prevailed about the borderlands between Islám and heathendom, as we know from Barth, Nachtigal, and one or two other travellers, who have had reluctantly to accompany the periodical slave-hunting expeditions from Bornu and Baghirmi to the territories of the pagan Mosgu people with their numerous branches (*Margi*, *Mandara*, *Makari*, *Logon*, *Gamergu*, *Keribina*) and the other aborigines (*Bede*, *Ngisem*, *So*, *Kerrikerri*, *Babir*) on the northern slopes of the Congo-Chad water-parting. As usual on such occasions, there is a great waste of life, many perishing in defence of their homes or even through sheer wantonness, besides those carried away captives. "A large number of slaves had been caught this day," writes Barth, "and in the evening a great many more were brought in; altogether they were said to have taken one thousand, and there were certainly not less than five hundred. To our utmost horror, not less than 170 full-grown men were mercilessly slaughtered in cold blood, the greater part of them being allowed to bleed to death, a leg having been severed from the body[1]." There was probably just then a glut in the market.

The Aborigines.

Islám and Heathendom.

Slave-Hunting.

A curious result of these relations is that in the wooded districts some of the natives have reverted to arboreal habits, taking refuge during the raids in the branches of huge bombax trees converted into temporary strongholds. Round the vertical stem of these forest giants is erected a breast-high look-out, while the higher horizontal

Arboreal Strongholds.

[1] III. p. 194.

branches, less exposed to the fire of the enemy, support strongly-built huts and store-houses, where the families of the fugitives take refuge with all their effects, including, as Nachtigal assures us[1], their domestic animals, such as goats, dogs, and poultry. During the siege of the aërial fortress, which is often successfully defended, long light ladders of withies are let down at night, when no attack need be feared, and the supply of water and provisions is thus renewed from *caches* or hiding-places round about. In 1872 Nachtigal accompanied a predatory excursion to the pagan districts south of Baghirmi, when an attack was made on one of these tree-fortresses. Such citadels can be stormed only at a heavy loss, and as the Gaberi (Baghirmi) warriors had no tools capable of felling the great bombax-tree, they were fain to rest satisfied with picking off a poor wretch now and then, and barbarously mutilating the bodies as they fell from the overhanging branches.

Mosgu Types and Contrasts.

Some of these aborigines disfigure their faces by the disk-like lip-ornament, which is also fashionable in Nyassaland, and even amongst the South American Botocudos. The type often differs greatly, and while some of the wide-spread Mosgu tribes are of a dirty black hue, with disagreeable expression, wide open nostrils, thick lips, high cheek-bones, coarse bushy hair, and disproportionate knock-kneed legs, other members of the same family astonished Barth "by the beauty and symmetry of their forms, and by the regularity of their features, which in some had nothing of what is called the Negro type. But I was still more astonished at their complexion, which was very different in different individuals, being in some of a glossy black, and in others of a light copper, or rather rhubarb colour, the intermediate shades being almost entirely wanting. I observed in one house a really beautiful female who, with her son, about eight or nine years of age, formed a most charming group, well worthy of the hand of an accomplished artist. The boy's form did not yield in any respect to the beautiful symmetry of the most celebrated Grecian statues. His hair, indeed, was very short and curled, but not woolly. He, as well as his mother and the

[1] *Sahara and Sudan*, II. p. 628.

whole family, were of a pale or yellowish-red complexion, like rhubarb[1]."

There is no suggestion of albinoism, and the explanation of such strange contrasts must await further exploration in the whole of this borderland of Negroes and Bantus about the divide between the Chad and the Congo basins. The country has hitherto been traversed only by two or three French pioneers, interested more in political than in anthropological matters.

The Cultured Peoples of Central Sudan.

Of the settled and more or less cultured peoples in the Chad basin, the most important are the *Kanembu*[2], who introduce a fresh element of confusion in this region, being more allied in type and speech to the Hamitic Tibus than to the Negro stock, or at least taking a transitional position between the two; the *Kanuri*, the ruling people in Bornu, of somewhat coarse Negroid appearance[3]; and the southern *Baghirmi*, also decidedly Negroid, originally supposed to have come from the Upper Shari and White Nile districts[4]. Their civilisation, such as it is, has been developed exclusively under Moslem influences, but it has never penetrated much below the surface. The people are everywhere extremely rude, and for the most part unlettered, although the meagre and not altogether trustworthy Kanem-Bornu records date from the time of Sef,

[1] II. p. 382–3.

[2] That is, "Kanem-men," the postfix *bu*, *be*, as in *Ti-bu*, *Ful-be*, answering to the Bantu prefix *ba*, *wa*, as in *Ba-Suto*, *Wa-Swahili*, &c. Here may possibly be discovered a link between the Sudanese, Teda-Daza, and Bantu linguistic groups. The transposition of the agglutinated particles would present no difficulty; cf. Umbrian and Latin (*Eth.* p. 214).

[3] Barth draws a vivid picture of the contrasts, physical and mental, between the Kanuri and the Hausa peoples; "Here we took leave of Hausa with its fine and beautiful country, and its cheerful and industrious population. It is remarkable what a difference there is between the character of the ba-Haushe and the Kanuri—the former lively, spirited, and cheerful, the latter melancholic, dejected, and brutal; and the same difference is visible in their physiognomies—the former having in general very pleasant and regular features, and more graceful forms, while the Kanuri, with his broad face, his wide nostrils and his large bones, makes a far less agreeable impression, especially the women, who are very plain and certainly among the ugliest in all Negroland" (II. p. 163–4).

[4] See Nachtigal, II. p. 690.

reputed founder of the monarchy about 800 A.D. Duku, second in descent from Sef, is doubtfully referred to about 850 A.D. Hamé, founder of a new dynasty, flourished towards the end of the 11th century (1086—1097), and Dunama, one of his successors, is said to have extended his sway over a great part of the Sahara, including the whole of Fezzan (1221—59). Under Omar (1394—1398) a divorce took place between Kanem and Bornu, and henceforth the latter country has remained the chief centre of political power in the Chad basin.

Kanem-Bornu Records.

A long series of civil wars was closed by Ali (1472—1504), who founded the present capital, Birni, and whose grandson, Muhammad, brought the empire of Bornu to the highest pitch of its greatness (1526—45). Under Ahmed (1793—1810) began the wars with the Fulahs, who, after bringing the empire to the verge of ruin, were at last overthrown by the aid of the Kanem people, and since 1819 Bornu has been ruled by the present Kanemíyín dynasty, while Kanem itself has been wasted by the lawless Tuaregs and made "the wild hunting-ground of continual adventurous ghazzias from every quarter." In Barth's time Barawa, at the eastern end of the Anglo-French border-line, running from the Niger to Lake Chad, had to pay blackmail to the Tuareg freebooters.

Eastern Sudanese.

Range of the Negro in Eastern Sudan.

As some confusion prevails regarding the expression "Eastern Sudan," I may here explain that it bears a very different meaning, according as it is used in a political or an ethnical sense. Politically it is practically synonymous with Egyptian Sudan, that is the whole region from Darfur to the Red Sea which was ruled or misruled by the Khedivial Government before the revolt of the Mahdi (1883—4), and has been restored to Egypt by the British occupation of Khartum in 1898. Ethnically Eastern Sudan comprises all the lands east of the Chad Basin, where the Negro or Negroid populations are predominant, that is to say, Waday, Darfur, and Kordofan in the West, the Nile Valley from the frontier of Egypt

proper south to Lake Albert Nyanza, both slopes of the Nile-Congo divide (the western tributaries of the White Nile and the Welle-Makua affluent of the Congo), lastly the Sobat Valley with some Negro enclaves east of the White Nile, and even south of the equator (Kavirondo, Semliki Valley).

The Mabas.

Throughout the whole of this region the fusion of the aborigines with the Arab, Tuareg, or Tibu Moslem intruders, wherever they have penetrated, has been far less complete than in Central and Western Sudan. Thus in Waday the dominant Maba people, whence the country is often called Dar-Maba ("Mabaland"), are rather Negro than Negroid, with but a slight strain of Caucasic blood. In the northern districts the *Zoghāwa*, *Gura'an*, *Baele* and *Bulala* Tibus keep quite aloof from the blacks, as do elsewhere the *Aramkas*, as the Arabs are collectively called in Waday. Yet the *Mahamīds* and some other Bedouin tribes have here been settled for over 500 years, and it was through their assistance that the Mabas acquired the political supremacy they have enjoyed since the seventeenth century, when they reduced or expelled the *Tynjurs*[1], the former ruling race, said to be Nubians originally from Dongola. It was Abd-el-Kerim, founder of the new Moslem Maba state, who gave the country its present name in honour of his grandfather, *Wadaï*. His successor Kharúb I. removed the seat of government to Wara, where Vogel was murdered in 1856. Abeshr, the present capital, dates only from the year 1850.

Ethnical Relations in Waday.

Waday has hitherto been visited by no other Europeans except Nachtigal, who just crossed the frontier in 1873, and Massari and Matteucei, who passed rapidly through under escort in 1879. Hence we still await details of the ethnical conditions, most of our information being in fact derived from the reports of El Tunsi

[1] These are the same people as the *Tunjurs* (*Tunzers*) of Darfur, regarding whose ethnical position so much doubt still prevails. Strange to say, they themselves claim to be Arabs, and the claim is allowed by their neighbours, although they are not Muhammadans. Lejean thinks they are Tibbus from the north-west, while Nachtigal, who met some as far west as Kanem, concluded from their appearance and speech that they were really Arabs settled for hundreds of years in the country (*op. cit.* II. p. 256).

("The Tunisian") who visited the country towards the close of the 18th century. But of these reports I have no first-hand knowledge.

Nubas. As in Waday, the intruding and native populations have been either imperfectly or not at all assimilated in Darfur and Kordofan, where the Muhammadan Semites still boast of their pure Arab descent[1], and form powerful confederacies of pastoral tribes, who with their *Nubian* allies constitute the great disturbing element throughout Egyptian Sudan. The Nubians themselves present one of the hardest problems in the whole range of ethnological studies. Having elsewhere discussed the question somewhat fully[2], I will here confine myself to a statement of the general conclusions which I have arrived at, and which have not been seriously questioned. We have first of all to get rid of the "Nuba-Fulah" family, which was introduced by Fr. Müller and accepted by some English writers, but has absolutely no existence. The two languages, although both of the agglutinative Sudanese type, are radically distinct in all their structural, lexical, and phonetic

The Nubian Problem.

[1] Yet some, such as the dominant Baggáras, are almost as dark as the blackest Negroes, but with quite regular well-shaped features. "These Baggáras looked like the fiends they really are—of most sinister expression, with murder and every crime speaking from their savage eyes. The Baggára were ever known as a cruel, bloodthirsty people. Courage is their one good quality" (*Times Correspondent*, July 28, 1896). Of the rival *Jaalin* (*Jalin, Jahalin*) the same observer remarks that they are "a proud and religious people, claiming descent from Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet. They have for a long time been the principal slave-hunters in the Sudan (the famous Zubeir was of this tribe), and were formerly among the most zealous Mahdists" (*ib.*). All these Nilotic, Atbara, and Kordofan Bedouins (Baggára, Jaalin, Kababish, Shukrieh, Robabát, Homrán, Hassanieh, Dobeina, Yemanieh) speak Arabic, but mostly as Chaucer's nun spoke French, and the pronunciation, especially of the Baggára and Kababish tribes, differs greatly from that of the true Arabs. Many of the characteristic Semitic sounds have been replaced by others possibly inherited from a now extinct language, which could scarcely be any other than the Hamitic still current amongst the Bejas beyond the Nile. Baggára, for instance, should be Baqqára, *i.e.* "cowherds," while many of the Jaalin sub-tribes have the Beja patronymic ending *ab*; Gebálab, Kaliab, Sadab, Timerab, &c.

[2] *Ethnology of Egyptian Sudan*, 1884, p. 12 sq. See also *Eth.* p. 270.

elements, and the two peoples are equally distinct. The Fulahs belong originally to the Hamitic stock, although many have in recent times been largely assimilated to their black Sudanese subjects. The Nubians on the contrary belong originally to the Negro stock, although many have long been assimilated to the Hamitic type through secular interminglings in that part of the Nile Valley which from them takes the relatively modern name of *Nubia*.

But rightly to understand the question we have carefully to distinguish between these half-caste Nubians and the full-blood Negro *Nubas*, who give their name to the Nuba Mountains, Kordofan, true cradle of the race, where most of the aborigines (*Kargo*, *Kulfan*, *Kolaji*, *Tumali*) still belong to this connection. From Kordofan, which is itself a Nuba word meaning "Land of the Kordo" (*fán* = Arab. *dár*, land, country), they spread in remote times west to Darfur and Waday—where they are now represented by the *Furs*, *Kunjaras*, and *Tynjurs*—and in historic times along the Nile north to the Egyptian frontier. Here they are represented by the three groups of *Matokki* (*Kenus*) between the first Cataract and Wadi-el-Arab, the *Mahai* (*Marisi*) between Korosko and Wadi-Halfa, at the second Cataract, and the *Dongolawi*, of the province of Dongola between Wadi-Halfa and Jebel Deja near Meroe.

Nubian Origins and Affinities.

These three groups, all now Muhammadans, but formerly Christians, constitute collectively the so-called "Nubians" of European writers, but call themselves *Barabra*, plural of *Berberi*, *i.e.* people of Berber, although they do not at present extend so far up the Nile as that town[1]. They are unquestionably Strabo's "Noubai, who dwell

[1] This term, however, has by some authorities been identified with the *Barabara*, one of the 113 tribes recorded in the inscription on a gateway of Thutmes, by whom they were reduced about 1700 B.C. In a later inscription of Rameses II. at Karnak (1400 B.C.) occurs the form *Beraberata*, name of a southern people conquered by him. Hence Brugsch (*Reisebericht aus Ægypten* pp. 127 and 155) is inclined to regard the modern *Barabra* as a true ethnical name confused in classical times with the Greek and Roman *Barbarus*, but revived in its proper sense since the Moslem conquest. See also the editorial note on the term *Berber*, in the new English ed. of Leo Africanus, Vol. I. p. 199.

on the left bank of the Nile in Libya [Africa], a great nation &c.[1]"; and are also to be identified with the *Nobatæ*, who in Diocletian's time were settled, some in the Kargey oasis, others in the Nile valley about Meroe, to guard the frontiers of the empire against the incursions of the restless Blemmues. But after some time they appear to have entered into peaceful relations with these Hamites, the present Bejas, even making common cause with them against the Romans; but the confederacy was crushed by Maximinus in 451, though perhaps not before crossings had taken place between the black Nubas and the Caucasic Bejas. Then these Bejas withdrew to their old homes, which they still occupy, between the Nile and the Red Sea above Egypt, while the Nobatæ, embracing Christianity, as is said, in 545, established the powerful kingdom of Dongola which lasted over 800 years, and was finally overthrown by the Arabs in the 14th century, since which time the Nile Nubians have been Muhammadans.

But they still retain their old Nuba speech, which, as shown by Lepsius[2], differs but slightly from that now current amongst the Kordofan Nubas. This is one of those cases where language renders indispensable service to ethnology[3]. Taken in connection

[1] Ἐξ *ἀριστερῶν δὲ ῥύσεως τοῦ Νείλου Νοῦβαι κατοικοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, μέγα ἔθνος* &c. (Book XVII. p. 1117, Oxford ed. 1807). Sayce, therefore, is quite wrong in stating that Strabo knew only of "Ethiopians," and not Nubians, "as dwelling northward along the banks of the Nile as far as Elephantiné" (*Academy*, April 14, 1894).

[2] *Nubische Grammatik*, 1881, *passim*. In this classical work Lepsius, after referring to the "dark bronze colour" of the present Nilotic Nubians, "darker than that of the Abyssinians," adds:—"Der alte Negertypus bricht nicht selten wieder ziemlich deutlich durch; namentlich ist das Wollhaar ziemlich häufig" (p. 74). On these grounds Prichard had already grouped the Nubians not with the Arabs or Hamites, but with the Sudanese Blacks. All the more surprising is Sergi's contention that they are *di stirpe camitica*, "of Hamitic stock."

[3] Even Prof. Sergi, despite his almost exclusive faith in cranial characters as racial tests, admits this: "La traccia e la persistenza del linguaggio attraverso secoli e malgrado il dominio di altra gente e il mutamento di religione, spesso è simile alla persistenza dei caratteri fisici umani; ed allora la lingua è un argomento di molto valore antropologico" (*Africa, Antropologia della Stirpe Camitica*, Turin, 1897, p. 97). But in this case he declines to deal with the linguistic factor ("Non sono io che posso risolvere i problemi linguistici"), and is therefore able still to hold that the Nile Nubians are Hamites ("I Nubi della

with the historic data, it solves the Nubian problem; for it is impossible to suppose that the cultured Nile-Nubians could have ever adopted or acquired the speech of the savage Kordofan Nubas, unless it had always been their own mother-tongue; in other words, unless they were themselves originally Kordofan Nubas. They were Christians, it should be remembered, for many centuries, and although the flourishing Christian Empire of Nubia, with its seventeen bishoprics and its thirteen viceroyalties, all governed by priests, was not founded, as is commonly supposed, by the renowned Silco, "King of the Noubads and of all the Ethiopians," it was strong enough frequently to invade Egypt in defence of their oppressed Greek and Koptic fellow-Christians. So early as 640 a combined army of Nubas and Bejas, said to have numbered 50,000 men with 1500 elephants, penetrated as far north as *Oxyrhynchus* (the Arab *Bahnosa*) where such a surprising store of Greek and other documents was discovered in 1897. Cultured peoples with such glorious records, and traditions going back even to pre-Christian times (Silco and Queen Candace, contemporary of Augustus), do not borrow their language from the rude untutored aborigines on the distant frontiers of their empire. Nevertheless Sayce may be right in conjecturing that the old language of the Meroitic inscriptions was not the present Nubian, but a Hamitic tongue akin to Berber. These inscriptions ante-date the arrival of the Nubians from Kordofan by perhaps 1000 years, and must be referred to the pre-Nuba Hamites of the Nile valley, whom Sayce, I think rightly, identifies with the Berbers. "Two of the Ethiopian deities known to us have a strikingly Libyan (Berber) appearance. One of them is *Dudun*, a name which bears a remarkable resemblance to that of *Didi*, one of the Libyan enemies of Ramses III.[1]" All this harmonises completely with my view that the present Nubians are late intruders in the Nile Valley below Khartum, where they displaced the original Hamitic inhabitants probably not more than 2500 years ago.

valle del Nilo da Asmara a Dongola sono di stirpe camitica" (*ib.* p. 107). But ethnical problems are like algebraic equations; they cannot be solved if some of the necessary factors be overlooked.

[1] *Academy*, Ap. 14, 1894.

The Negro Peoples of the Nile-Congo Watersheds.

Before the incursions of the Nubo-Arab traders and raiders, who began to form settlements (*zeribas*, fenced stations) in the Upper Nile regions above Khartum about the middle of the nineteenth century, most of the Nile-Congo divide (White Nile tributaries and Welle-Makua basin) belonged in the strictest sense to the Negro domain. Sudanese tribes, and even great nations reckoned by millions, had been for ages in almost undisturbed possession, not only of the main stream from the equatorial lakes to and beyond the Sobat junction, but also of the Sobat valley itself, and of the numerous south-western head-waters of the White Nile converging about Lake No above the Sobat junction. Nearly all the Nilotic peoples—the *Shilluks* and *Dinkas* about the Sobat confluence, the *Bari* and *Nuers* of the Bahr-el-Jebel, the *Bongos* (*Dors*), *Rols*, *Golos*, *Mittus*, *Madis*, *Makarakas*, *Abakas*, *Mundus*, and many others about the western affluents, as well as the *Funj* of Senaar—had been brought under the Khedivial rule before the revolt of the Mahdi.

The same fate had already overtaken or was threatening the formerly powerful *Mombuttu* (*Mangbattu*) and *Zandeh* (*Niam-Niam*) nations of the Welle lands, as well as the *Krej* and others about the low watersheds of the Nile-Congo and Chad basins. Since then the Welle groups have been subjected to the jurisdiction of the Congo Free State, while the political destinies of the Nilotic tribes must henceforth be controlled by the British masters of the Nile lands from the Great Lakes to the Mediterranean.

Political Relations.

Although grouped as Negroes proper, very few of the Nilotic peoples present the almost ideal type of the blacks, such as those of Upper Guinea and the Atlantic coast of West Sudan. The complexion is in general less black, the nose less broad at the base, the lips less everted (Shilluks and one or two others excepted), the hair rather less frizzly, the dolichocephaly and prognathism less marked.

Two Physical Types.

Apart from the more delicate shades of transition, due to diverse interminglings with Hamites and Semites, two distinct types may be plainly distinguished—one black, often very tall and long-headed (*Shilluks*,

Dinkas, *Bari*, *Nuers*, *Mittus*), the other reddish or ruddy brown, more thick-set, and short-headed (*Bongos*, *Golos*, *Makarakas*, with the kindred *Zandehs* of the Welle region). The complexion of the latter, as has been suggested by Schweinfurth[1], may possibly, though not probably, be due to the properties of the red, ferruginous soil prevalent in their districts. But no explanation has been offered of their brachycephaly, which is all the more difficult to account for, inasmuch as it is characteristic neither of the aboriginal Negro nor of the intruding Hamitic and Semitic elements. Have we here an indication of the transition suspected by many between the true long-headed Negro and the round-headed Negrito, who is also brownish, and formerly ranged as far north as the Nile head-streams, as would appear from the early Egyptian records (Chap. IV.)? Schweinfurth found that the Bongos were "hardly removed from the lowest grade of brachycephaly[2]," and the same is largely true of the Zandehs and their Makaraka cousins, as noticed by Junker: "The skull also in many of these peoples approaches the round form, whereas the typical Negro is assumed to be long-headed[3]." But so great is the diversity of appearance throughout the whole of this region, including even "a striking Semitic type," that this observer was driven to the conclusion that "woolly hair, common to all, forms in fact the only sure characteristic of the Negro[4]."

Linguistic Groups.

More uniformity appears to prevail amongst the languages of the Nile-Welle lands, and from the rather scanty materials collected by Junker, Dr Fr. Müller was able to construct an "Equatorial Linguistic Family," including the Mangbattu, Zandeh, Barmbo, Madi, Bangba, Krej, Golo and others, on both sides of the water-parting. Prof. Leo Reinisch, however, was not convinced, and in a letter addressed to the author declared that "in the absence of sentences it is impossible to determine the grammatical structure of Mangbattu and the other languages. At the same time we may detect certain relations, not to the Nilotic, but the Bantu tongues.

[1] *Heart of Africa*, *passim*.
[2] *Op. cit.* I. p. 263.
[3] *Travels in Africa*, Keane's English ed., Vol. III. p. 247.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 246.

It may therefore be inferred that Mangbattu and the others have a tolerably close relationship to the Bantu, and may even be remotely akin to it, judging from their tendency to prefix formations[1]." Future research will show how far this conjecture is justified.

Mental Qualities.

Although Islám has made considerable progress, especially amongst the Funj of Senaar, the Shilluks, Dinkas, and other Nilotic tribes, the bulk of the people are still practically nature-worshippers. Witchcraft continues to flourish amongst the equatorial peoples, and important events are almost everywhere attended by sanguinary rites. When preparing for battle the "medicine-man" flays an infant and places the bleeding victim on the war-path, to be trampled by the warriors marching to victory.

Cannibalism.

Cannibalism also, in some of its most repulsive forms, prevails amongst the Zandehs, who barter in human fat as a universal staple of trade, and amongst the Mangbattu, who cure for future use the bodies of the slain in battle and "drive their prisoners before them, as butchers drive sheep to the shambles, and these are only reserved to fall victims on a later day to their horrible and sickly greediness[2]."

The Cannibal Zone.

In fact here we enter the true "cannibal zone," which, as I have elsewhere shown, was in former ages diffused all over Central and South Africa, or, it would be more correct to say, over the whole continent[3], but has in recent times been mainly confined to "the region stretching west and east from the Gulf of Guinea to the western head-streams of the White Nile, and from below the equator northwards in the direction of Adamáwa, Dar-Banda and Dar-

[1] *Travels in Africa*, *ibid.* p. 279. Thus the Bantu *Ba*, *Wa*, *Ama*, &c., correspond to the *A* of the Welle lands, as in *A-Zandeh*, *A-Barmbo*, *A-Madi*, *A-Bangba*, *i.e.* Zandeh people, Barmbo people, &c. Cf. also Kanem*bu*, Ti*bu*, Ful*be*, &c., where the personal particle (*bu*, *be*) is postfixed. It would almost seem as if we had here a transition between the northern Sudanese and the southern Bantu groups in the very region where such transitions might be looked for.

[2] Schweinfurth, *op. cit.* II. p. 93.

[3] Prof. Flinders Petrie has come upon undoubted traces of cannibalism in the Negadah district, Egypt.

Fertit. Wherever explorers have penetrated into this least-known region of the continent they have found the practice fully established, not merely as a religious rite or a privilege reserved for priests, but as a recognised social institution[1]."

Yet many of these cannibal peoples, especially the Mangbattus and Zandehs, are skilled agriculturists, and cultivate some of the useful industries, such as iron and copper smelting and casting, weaving, pottery and wood-carving, with great success. The form and ornamental designs of their utensils display real artistic taste, while the temper of their iron implements is often superior to that of the imported European hardware. Here again the observation has been made that the tribes most addicted to cannibalism also excel in mental qualities and physical energy. Nor are they strangers to the finer feelings of human nature, and above all the surrounding peoples the Zandeh anthropophagists are distinguished by their regard and devotion for their women and children.

Arts and Industries.

In one respect all these peoples show a higher degree of intelligence even than the Arabs and Hamites. "My later experiences," writes Junker, "revealed the remarkable fact that certain negro peoples, such as the Niam-Niams, the Mangbattus and the Bantus of Uganda and Unyoro, display quite a surprising understanding of figured illustrations or pictures of plastic objects, which is not as a rule exhibited by the Arabs and Arabised

High Appreciation of Pictorial Art.

[1] *Africa*, 1895, Vol. II. p. 58. In a carefully prepared monograph on "Endocannibalismus," Vienna, 1896, Dr Rudolf S. Steinmetz brings together a great body of evidence tending to show "dass eine hohe Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür spricht den Endocannibalismus (indigenous anthropophagy) als ständige Sitte der Urmenschen, sowie der niedrigen Wilden anzunehmen" (pp. 59, 60). It is surprising to learn from the ill-starred Bòttego-Grixoni expedition of 1892–3 that anthropophagy is still rife even in Gallaland, and amongst the white ("floridi") Cormoso Gallas. Like the Fans, these prefer the meat "high," and it would appear that all the dead are eaten. Hence in their country Bòttego found no graves, and one of his native guides explained that "questa gente sepellisce i suoi cari nel ventre, invece che nella terra," *i.e.* these people bury their dear ones in their stomach instead of in the ground (*Vittorio Bòttego, Viaggi di Scoperta*, &c., Rome, 1895).

Hamites of North-east Africa. Thus the Unyoro chief, Riongo, placed photographs in their proper position, and was able to identify the negro portraits as belonging to the Shuli, Lango, or other tribes, of which he had a personal knowledge. This I have called a remarkable fact, because it bespoke in the lower races a natural faculty for observation, a power to recognise what for many Arabs or Egyptians of high rank was a hopeless puzzle. An Egyptian pasha in Khartum could never make out how a human face in profile showed only one eye and one ear, and he took the portrait of a fashionable Parisian lady in extremely low dress for that of the bearded sun-burnt American naval officer who had shown him the photograph[1]." From this one is almost tempted to infer that, amongst Moslem peoples, all sense of plastic, figurative, or pictorial art has been deadened by the Koranic precept forbidding the representation of the human form in any way.

Sense of Humour.

The Welle peoples show themselves true Negroes in the possession of another and more precious quality, the sense of humour, although this is probably a quality which comes late in the life of a race. Anyhow it is a distinct Negro characteristic, which Junker was able to turn to good account during the building of his famous *Lacrima* station in Ndoruma's country. "In all this I could again notice how like children the Negroes are in many respects. Once at work they seemed animated by a sort of childlike sense of honour. They delighted in praise, though even a frown or a word of reproach could also excite their hilarity. Thus a loud burst of laughter would, for instance, follow the contrast between a piece of good and bad workmanship. Like children, they would point the finger of scorn at each other[2]."

One morning Ndoruma, hearing that they had again struck work, had the great war-drum beaten, whereupon they rushed to arms and mustered in great force from all quarters. But on finding that there was no enemy to march against, and that they had only been summoned to resume operations at the station, they enjoyed the joke hugely, and after a general explosion of

[1] I. p. 245.

[2] II. p. 140.

laughter at the way they had been taken in, laid aside their weapons and returned cheerfully to work. Some English overseers have already discovered that this characteristic may be utilised far more effectively than the cruel kurbash. Ethnology has many such lessons to teach.

CHAPTER IV.

THE AFRICAN NEGRO: II. BANTUS—NEGRITOES—BUSHMEN—HOTTENTOTS.

The Sudanese-Bantu Divide—Frontier Tribes—*The Bonjo Cannibals*—*The Baya Nation*—A "Red People"—The North-East Door to Bantuland—Semitic Elements of the Bantu Amalgam—Malay Elements in Madagascar only—Hamitic Element everywhere—*The Wahumas*—The Bantus mainly a Negro-Hamitic Cross—The *Lacustrians*—Their Traditions—The Kintu Legend—*The Waganda*, Past and Present—Political and Social Institutions—Totemic System—Bantu Peoples between Lake Victoria and the Coast—*The Wagiryama*—Primitive Ancestry-Worship—Mulungu—*The Waswahili*—The Zang Empire—*The Zulu-Xosas*—Former and Present Domain — Patriarchal Institutions — Genealogies — Physical Type — Social Organization — "Common Law" — *Mashonas* and *Makalakas* —The mythical Monomotapa Empire—The Zimbabwe Ruins—*The Bechuanas*—*The Barotse* Empire—*The Makololo* Episode—Spread of Christianity amongst the Southern Bantus—King Khama—*The Ova-Herero*—*Cattle and Hill Damaras*—*The Kongo People*—Old Kongo Empire—The Kongo Language—The Kongo Aborigines—Perverted Christian Doctrines—*The Kabindas* and "*Black Jews*"—*The Tushilange* Bhang-smokers—*The Balolo* "Men of Iron"—The West Equatorial Bantus—*Bakalai*—*The Cannibal Fans*—Migrations, Type, Origin—*The Camerun Bantus*—Bantu-Sudanese Borderland—Early Bantu Migrations —Eastern Ancestry and Western Nature-worshippers — Conclusion.—*The Negrito Domain*, Past and Present—Negritoes at the Courts of the Pharaohs—Negritoes and Pygmy Folklore—*The Dume* and *Doko* reputed Dwarfs—*The Wandorobbo* Hunters—*The Wochua* Mimics—*The Bushmen and Hottentots*—Former and Present Range—*The Wasandawi*—Hottentot Geographical Names in Bantuland—Hottentots disappearing—Bushman Folklore Literature—Bushman-Hottentot Language and Clicks —Bushman Mental Characters—Bushman Race-Names.

CONSPECTUS.

Distribution in Past and Present Times.

Primeval Home. Bantu: *between the Equatorial Lakes and Indian Ocean;* Negrito: *all the inter-tropical forest zones;* Bushman-Hottentot: *from Lake Tanganyika to the Cape.*

Present Range. Bantu: *S. Africa from the Sudanese frontier to the Cape;* Negrito: *West Equatorial and Congo forest zones;* Bush.-Hot.: *Namaqualands; Kalahari; Lake Ngami and Orange basins.*

Hair. Bantu: *same as Sudanese, but often rather longer;* Negrito: *short, frizzly or crisp, rusty brown;* Bush.-Hot.: *much the same as Sudanese, but tufty, simulating bald partings.* **Colour.** Bantu: *all shades of dark brown, sometimes almost black;* Negrito *and* Bush.-Hot.: *yellowish brown.* **Skull.** Bantu: *generally dolicho, but variable;* Negrito: *almost uniformly brachy;* Bush.-Hot.: *dolicho.* **Jaws.** Bantu: *moderately prognathous and even orthognathous;* Negrito *and* Bush.-Hot.: *highly prognathous.* **Cheek-bones.** Bantu: *moderately or not at all prominent;* Negrito *and* Bush.-Hot.: *very prominent, often extremely so, forming a triangular face with apex at chin.* **Nose.** Bantu: *variable, ranging from platyrrhine to leptorrhine* (index, 56 to 46); Negrito *and* Bush.-Hot.: *short, broad at base, depressed at root, always platyrrhine.* **Eyes,** Bantu: *generally large, black, and prominent, but also of regular Hamitic type;* Negrito *and* Bush.-Hot.: *rather small, deep brown and black.* **Stature.** Bantu: *tall, from 5 ft. 8 in. to 6 ft.;* Negrito: *always much under 5 ft., mean about 4 ft.;* Bushman: *short, with rather wide range, from 4 ft. 8 in. to 5 ft. 2 in.;* Hot.: *undersized, mean 5 ft. 5 in.*

Physical Characters.

Temperament. Bantu: *mainly like the Negroid Sudanese, far more intelligent than the true Negro, equally cruel, but less fitful and more trustworthy;* Negrito: *bright, active and quick-witted, but vindictive and treacherous, apparently not cruel to each other, but rather gentle and kindly;* Bushman: *in all these respects very like the Negrito, but more intelligent;* Hot.: *rather dull and sluggish, but the full-blood (Nama) much less so than the half-caste (Griqua) tribes.*

Mental Characters.

Speech. Bantu: *as absolutely uniform as the physical type is variable, one stock language only, of the agglutinating order, with both class prefixes, alliteration and postfixes;*

shows vague Sudanese, but no Hamitic affinities, hence is originally a Negro language; Negrito: *unknown;* Bush.-Hot.: *agglutinating with postfixes only, with grammatical gender and other remarkable features; is a stock language radically distinct from all others.*

Religion. Bantu: *ancestor-worship mainly in the east, spirit-worship mainly in the west, intermingling in the centre, with witchcraft and gross superstitions everywhere;* Negrito: *unknown;* Bush.-Hot.: *incipient animism and nature-worship, but the religious sentiment scarcely developed.*

Culture. Bantu: *much lower than the Negroid Sudanese, but higher than the true Negro, capacity for progress more evident than actual achievement;* Negrito *and* Bush.: *lowest grade* (*hunting*); Hot.: *incipient* (*pastoral*).

Main Divisions.

Bantus: *Bonjo; Baya; Waganda; Wanyoro; Wapokomo; Wagiryama; Waswahili; Zulu-Xosa; Mashona; Bechuana; Ova-Herero; Eshi-Kongo; Bashilange; Balolo; Manyuema; Bakalai; Fan; Mpongwe; Dwala; Batanga.*

Negritoes: *Akka; Wochua; Dume* (?); *Wandorobbo* (?); *Doko* (?); *Obongo; Batwa.*

Bushmen: *Family Groups; no known tribal names.*

Hottentots: *Wasandawi* (?); *Namaqua; Griqua; Gonaqua; Koraqua; Hill Damaras.*

In ethnology the only intelligible definition of a Bantu is a full-blood or a half-blood Negro of Bantu speech[1]; and, as special anthropology takes no account of language, it follows that from the physical standpoint no very hard and fast line can be drawn between the northern Sudanese and southern Bantu groups, considered as two ethnical units. But these units are made up of endless details, and it is in the study of these details that such physical differences as do exist are discovered and explained.

[1] *Eth.* ch. XI.

Thanks to recent political developments in the interior, the linguistic divide may now be traced with some accuracy right across the continent. In the extreme west, Sir H. H. Johnston has shown that it coincides with the lower course of the Rio del Rey, while farther east the French expedition of 1891 under M. Dybowski found that it ran at about the same parallel (5° N.) along the elevated plateau which here forms the water-parting between the Congo and the Chad basin. From this point the line takes a south-easterly trend along the southern borders of the Zandeh and Mangbattu territories to the Semliki valley between Lakes Albert Edward and Albert Nyanza, near the equator. Thence it pursues a somewhat irregular course, first north by the east side of Lake Albert Nyanza to the mouth of the Somerset Nile, then up that river to Mruli and round the east side of Usoga and the Victoria Nyanza to Kavirondo Bay, where it turns nearly east to the sources of the Tana, and down that river to its mouth in the Indian Ocean.

The Sudanese-Bantu Divide.

At some points the line traverses debatable territory, as in the Semliki valley, where there are Sudanese and Negrito overlappings, and again beyond Lake Victoria, where the frontiers are broken by the Hamitic Masai nomads and their Wandorobbo allies. But, speaking generally, everything south of the line here traced is Bantu, everything north of it Sudanese Negro in the western and central regions, and Hamitic in the eastern section between Lake Victoria and the Indian Ocean.

In some districts the demarcation is not quite distinct, as in the Tana basin, where some of the Galla and Somali Hamites from the north have encroached on the territory of the Wapokomo Bantus on the south side of the river. But on the central plateau M. Dybowski passed abruptly from the territory of the Bonjos, northernmost of the Bantu tribes, to that of the Sudanese Bandziri, a branch of the wide-spread Zandeh people. In this region, about the crest of the Congo-Chad water-parting, the contrasts appear to be all in favour of the Sudanese and against the Bantus, probably because here the former are Negroids, the latter full-blood Negroes. Thus Dybowski[1] found the Bonjos to be a

Frontier Tribes—The Bonjo Cannibals.

[1] *Le Naturaliste*, Jan. 1894.

distinctly Negro tribe with pronounced prognathism, and altogether a rude, savage people, trading chiefly in slaves, who are fattened for the meat market, and when in good condition will fetch about twelve shillings. On the other hand the Bandziri, despite their Niam-Niam connection, are not cannibals, but a peaceful, agricultural people, friendly to travellers, and of a coppery-brown complexion, with regular features, hence perhaps akin to the light-coloured people met by Barth in the Mosgu country.

The Baya Nation.

Possibly the Bonjos may be a degraded branch of the *Bayas* or *Nderes*, a large nation, with many subdivisions widely diffused throughout the Sangha basin, where they occupy the whole space between the Kadei and the Mambere affluents of the main stream (3° to 7° 30′ N.; 14° to 17° E.). They are described by M. F. J. Clozel[1] as of tall stature, muscular, well-proportioned, with flat nose, slightly tumid lips, and of black colour, but with a dash of copper-red in the upper classes. Although cannibals, like the Bonjos, they are in other respects an intelligent, friendly people, who, under the influence of the Muhammadan Fulahs, have developed a complete political administration, with a Royal Court, a Chancellor, Speaker, Interpreter, and other officials, bearing sonorous titles taken chiefly from the Hausa language. Their own Bantu tongue is widespread and spoken with slight dialectic differences as far as the Nana affluents.

A "Red People."

M. Clozel, who regards them as mentally and morally superior to most of the Middle and Lower Congo tribes, tells us that the Bayas, that is, the "Red People," came at an unknown period from the east, "yielding to that great movement of migration by which the African populations are continually impelled westwards." The Yangere section were still on the move some twelve years ago, but the general migration has since been arrested by the Fulahs of Adamawa. Human flesh is now interdicted to the women; they have domesticated the sheep, goat, and dog, and believe in a

[1] *Tour du Monde*, 1896, I. p. 1 sq.; and *Les Bayas; Notes Ethnographiques et Linguistiques*, Paris, 1896.

supreme being called *So*, whose powers are manifested in the dense woodlands, while minor deities preside over the village and the hut, that is, the whole community and each separate family group. Thus both their religious and political systems present a certain completeness, which recalls those prevalent amongst the semi-civilised peoples of the equatorial lake region, and is evidently due to the same cause—long contact or association with a race of higher culture and intelligence.

The North-East Door to Bantuland.

In order to understand all these relations, as well as the general constitution of the Bantu populations, we have to consider that the already-described Black Zone, running from the Atlantic seaboard eastwards, has for countless generations been almost everywhere arrested north of the equator by the White Nile. Probably since the close of the Old Stone Age the whole of the region between the main stream and the Red Sea, and from the equator north to the Mediterranean, has formed an integral part of the Hamitic domain, encroached upon in prehistoric times by Semites and others in Egypt and Abyssinia, and in historic times chiefly by Semites (Arabs) in Egypt, Upper Nubia, Senaar, and Somaliland. Between this region and Africa south of the equator there are no serious physical obstructions of any kind, whereas farther west the Hamitic Saharan nomads were everywhere barred access to the south by the broad, thickly-peopled plateaux of the Sudanese Black-Zone. All encroachments on this side necessarily resulted in absorption in the multitudinous Negro populations of Central Sudan, with the modifications of the physical and mental characters which are now presented by the Kanuri, Hausas, Sonrhays and other Negroid nations of that region, and are at present actually in progress amongst the conquering Fulah Hamites scattered in small dominant groups over a great part of Sudan from Senegambia to Waday.

Semitic Elements of the Bantu Amalgam.

It follows that the leavening element, by which the southern Negro populations have been diversely modified throughout the Bantu lands, could have been drawn only from the Hamitic and Semitic peoples of the north-east. But in this connection the Semites themselves must be considered as almost *une quantité négligeable*,

partly because of their relatively later arrival from Asia, and partly because, as they arrived, they became largely assimilated to the indigenous Hamitic inhabitants of Egypt, Abyssinia, and Somaliland. No doubt other Semites (Minæans, Sabæans, and Himyarites generally) almost certainly reached the east coast below the equator in early historic times. But they appear to have arrived chiefly as traders and miners, and never to have penetrated far inland except in the auriferous regions south of the Zambesi, where their still extant monuments in the Zimbabwe and other districts show that they held the country by military tenure and mixed but slightly with the Negro aborigines.

Still later in Muhammadan times, other Semites also from Arabia did arrive and form permanent settlements along the eastern seaboard as far south as Sofala, and these intermingled more freely with the converted coast peoples (*Waswahili*, from *sahel* = "coast"), but not with the *Kafirs*, or "Unbelievers," farther south and in the interior. In our own days these Swahili half-breeds, with a limited number of full-blood Arabs[1], have penetrated beyond the Great Lakes to the Upper and Middle Congo basin, but rather as slave-hunters and destroyers than as peaceful settlers, and contracting few alliances, except perhaps amongst the Wayao and Magwangara tribes of Mozambique, and the cannibal Manyuemas farther inland.

Malay Elements in Madagascar only.

To this extent Semitism may be recognised as a factor in the constituent elements of the Bantu populations. Malays have also been mentioned, and some ethnologists have even brought the Fulahs of Western Sudan all the way from Malaysia. Certainly if they reached and formed settlements in Madagascar, there is no intrinsic reason why they should not have done the same on the mainland. But I have failed to find any evidence of the fact, and if they ever at any time established themselves on the east coast they have long disappeared, without leaving any clear trace of their presence either in the physical appearance, speech, usages or industries of the aborigines, such as are everywhere conspicuous in Madagascar.

[1] Even Tipu Tib, their chief leader and "Prince of Slavers," was a half-caste with distinctly Negroid features.

There remain the north-eastern Hamites, and especially the Galla branch, as the essential extraneous factor in this obscure Bantu problem. To the stream of migration described by M. Clozel as setting east and west, corresponds another and an older stream, which ages ago took a southerly direction along the eastern seaboard to the extremity of the continent, where are now settled the Zulu-Xosa nations, almost more Hamites than Negroes.

Hamitic Element everywhere.

The impulse to two such divergent movements could have come only from the north-east, where we still find the same tendencies in actual operation. During his exploration of the east equatorial lands, Capt. Speke had already observed that the rulers of the Bantu nations about the Great Lakes (Karagwe, Waganda, Wanyoro, &c.) all belonged to the same race, known by the name of *Wahuma*, that is, "Northmen," a pastoral people of fine appearance, who were evidently of Galla stock, and had come originally from Gallaland. Since then Schuver found that the Negroes of the Afilo country are governed by a Galla aristocracy[1], and we now know that several Wahuma communities bearing different names live interspersed amongst the mixed Bantu nations of the lacustrian plateaux as far south as Lake Tanganyika and Unyamwezi-land. Here the Watusi, Wahha, and Waruanda are or were all of the same Hamitic type, and M. Lionel Dècle "was very much struck by the extraordinary difference that is to be found between them and their Bantu neighbours[2]." Then this observer adds: "Pure types are not common, and are only to be found amongst the aristocracy, if I may use such an expression for Africans. The mass of the people have lost their original type through intermixture with neighbouring tribes[3]."

The Wahumas.

With these words M. Dècle put his finger on the key of the whole situation. From these indications and many others

[1] "Afilo wurde mir vom Lega-König als ein Negerland bezeichnet, welches von einer Galla-Aristokratie beherrsch wird" (*Petermann's Mitt.* 1883, v. p. 194).

[2] *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1895, p. 424. For details of the Wahuma type see *Eth.* p. 389.

[3] *Ibid.*

that might easily be adduced, it may be concluded with some confidence that the great mass of the Bantu populations are essentially Negroes, leavened in diverse proportions for the most part by Wahuma, that is, Galla or Hamitic elements percolating for thousands of generations[1] from the north-eastern section of the Hamitic domain into the heart of Bantuland.

The Bantus mainly a Negro-Hamitic Cross.

No doubt all now speak various forms of the same organic Bantu mother-tongue. But this linguistic uniformity is strictly analogous to that now prevailing amongst the multifarious peoples of Aryan speech in Eurasia, and is due to analogous causes—the diffusion in extremely remote times of a mixed Hamito-Ethiopic people of Bantu speech in Africa south of the equator. It might perhaps be objected that the present Wahuma pastors are of Hamitic speech, because we know from Stanley that the late king M'tesa of Buganda was proud of his Galla ancestors, whose language he still spoke as his mother-tongue. But he also spoke Luganda, and every echo of Galla speech has already died out amongst most of the Wahuma communities in the equatorial regions. So it was with what I may call the "Proto-Wahumas," the first conquering Galla tribes, Schuver's and Dècle's "aristocracy," who were gradually blended with the aborigines in a new and superior nationality of Bantu speech, because "there are many mixed races,... but there are no mixed languages[2]."

These views are confirmed by the traditions and folklore still current amongst the "Lacustrians," as the great nations may be called, who are now grouped round about the shores of Lakes

[1] I have elsewhere shown that the recent date assigned by Sir H. H. Johnston (*British Central Africa*, p. 480) to the Bantu migrations, as imagined by him, is not warranted by his facts, while it is quite untenable on other grounds. (*Academy*, Aug. 21, 1897, p. 145.) Cf. also Karl Ritter (French ed. I. p. 127): "De même que les Goths et les Vandales se répandirent sur une grande partie de l'Europe, les Galla s'étendirent successivement sur ces contrées de l'Afrique à mesure qu'ils trouvaient des lieux propres à s'établir: comme les Goths et les Vandales, ils se sont naturalisés en peu de temps sur le sol qu'ils avaient envahi, et ont pris la langue, les coutumes, et les mœurs des peuples vaincus."

[2] *Ethnology*, p. 199.

Victoria and Albert Nyanza. At present, or rather before the recent extension of the British administration to East Central Africa, these peoples were constituted in a number of separate kingdoms, the most powerful of which were Buganda (Uganda), Bunyoro (Unyoro), and Karagwe. But they remember a time when all these now scattered fragments formed parts of a mighty monarchy, the vast Kitwara Empire, which comprised the whole of the lake-studded plateau between the Ruwenzori range and Kavirondoland.

The Lacustrians.

The story is differently told in the different States, each nation being eager to twist it to its own glorification; but all are agreed that the founder of the empire was Kintu, "The Blameless," at once priest, patriarch and ruler of the land, who came from the north hundreds of years ago, with one wife, one cow, one goat, one sheep, one chicken, one banana-root, and one sweet potato. At first all was waste, an uninhabited wilderness, but it was soon miraculously peopled, stocked, and planted with what he had brought with him, the potato being apportioned to Bunyoro, the banana to Buganda, and these form the staple food of those lands to this day.

Their Traditions—The Kintu Legend.

Then the people waxed wicked, and Kintu, weary of their evil ways and daily bloodshed, took the original wife, cow, and other things, and went away in the night and was seen no more. But nobody believed him dead, and a long line of his mythical successors appear to have spent the time they could spare from strife and wars and evil deeds in looking for the lost Kintu. Kimera, one of these, was a mighty giant of such strength and weight that he left his footprints on the rocks where he trod, as may still be seen on a cliff not far from Ulagalla, the old capital of Buganda. There was also a magician, Kibaga, who could fly aloft and kill the Banyoro people (this is the Buaganda version) by hurling stones down upon them, and for his services received in marriage a beautiful Banyoro captive, who, another Delilah, found out his secret, and betrayed him to her people.

At last came king Ma'anda, who pretended to be a great hunter, but it was only to roam the woodlands in search of Kintu, and thus have tidings of him. One day a peasant, obeying

the directions of a thrice-dreamt dream, came to a place in the forest, where was an aged man on a throne between two rows of armed warriors, seated on mats, his long beard white with age, and all his men fair as white people and clothed in white robes. Then Kintu, for it was he, bid the peasant hasten to summon Ma'anda thither, but only with his mother and the messenger. At the Court Ma'anda recognised the stranger whom he had that very night seen in a dream, and so believed his words and at once set out with his mother and the peasant. But the Katikiro, or Prime-Minister, through whom the message had been delivered to the king, fearing treachery, also started on their track, keeping them just in view till the trysting-place was reached. But Kintu, who knew everything, saw him all the time, and when he came forward on finding himself discovered the enraged Ma'anda pierced his faithful minister to the heart and he fell dead with a shriek. Thereupon Kintu and his seated warriors instantly vanished, and the king with the others wept and cried upon Kintu till the deep woods echoed Kintu, Kintu-u, Kintu-u-u. But the blood-hating Kintu was gone, and to this day has never again been seen or heard of by any man in Buganda. The references to the north and to Kintu and his ghostly warriors "fair as white people" need no comment[1]. It is noteworthy that in some of the Nyassa-land dialects *Kintu* (*Chintu*) alternates with *Mulungu* as the name of the Supreme Being, the great ancestor of the tribe[2].

The Waganda, past and present.

Then follows more traditional or legendary matter, including an account of the wars with the fierce Wakedi, who wore iron armour, until authentic history is reached with the atrocious Suna II. (1836—60), father of the scarcely less atrocious M'tesa. After his death in 1884 Buganda and the neighbouring states passed rapidly through a series of astonishing political, religious, and social vicissitudes,

[1] The legend is given with much detail by H. M. Stanley in *Through the Dark Continent*, Vol. I. p. 344 sq. Another and less mythical account of the migrations of "the people with a white skin from the far north-east" is quoted from Emin Pasha by the Rev. R. P. Ashe in *Two Kings of Uganda*, p. 336. Here the immigrant Wahuma are expressly stated to have "adopted the language of the aborigines" (p. 337).

[2] Sir H. H. Johnston, *op. cit.* p. 514.

resulting in the present *pax Britannica*, and the conversion of large numbers, some to Islám, others to one form or another of Christianity. At times it might have been difficult to see much religion in the ferocity of the contending factions; but since the establishment of harmony by the secular arm, real progress has been made, and the Waganda especially have displayed a remarkable capacity as well as eagerness to acquire a knowledge of letters and of religious principles, both in the Protestant and the Roman Catholic communities. Printing-presses, busily worked by native hands, are needed to meet the steadily increasing demand for a vernacular literature, in a region where blood had flowed continually from the disappearance of "Kintu" till the British occupation.

Political and Social Institutions.

To the admixture of the Hamitic and Negro elements amongst the Lacustrians may perhaps be attributed the curious blend of primitive and higher institutions in these communities. At the head of the State was a Kabaka, king or emperor, although the title was also borne by the queen-mother and the queen-sister. This autocrat had his Lutiko, "Privy Council," of which *ex officio* members were the already mentioned Katikiro, Prime Minister or Chancellor, the Balangira and Bambaja, royal princes and princesses, the Chief Butler and Chief Baker, and others of high rank, such as the Lord High Admiral and Commander-in-Chief, who attended the grand levées in fine, gold-embroidered cloth robes. The whole State was thoroughly organised with "Earls," great feudal lords at the head of the five provinces, and three distinct social classes, the *Bataka*, or landed gentry, the *Batopi*, peasants or serfs, and the *Badu*, slaves or helots without any rights.

Totemic System.

Yet beneath all this parade of higher political and social institutions, the people are still to some extent in the tribal state, being divided into *ebyika*, or clans, each with its animal crest or totem, which may not be eaten by them, and with their exogamous (extra-tribal) marriage rites and restrictions, just as amongst the Australian savages. There are the *Ensenane* or "Grasshoppers," the *Endiga*, "Sheep," the *Engonya*, "Crocodiles," while the king's clan is the royal tribe of the Balangira, "Princes," that is, the Wahuma, as the term is

understood in Buganda. Although despised by the masses as being wandering herdsmen, these "princes" enjoy royal privileges, such as that of wearing brass and copper anklets, and their social position supplies another proof that their Galla forefathers entered the land as conquerors, and only gradually merged with the black aborigines, a process, as we have seen, still everywhere going on throughout East Central Africa.

Bantu peoples between L. Victoria and the Coast.

No direct relations appear to exist between the Lacustrians and the *Wakikuyu*, the *Wakamba*, *Wapokomo*, *Wagweno*, *Wachaga*, *Wateita*, *Wataveita*, and others, who occupy the region east of Lake Victoria, between the Tana, north-east frontier of Bantuland, and the southern slopes of Kilimanjaro. Their affinities seem to be rather with the *Wanyika*, *Waboni*, *Waduruma*, *Wagiryama*, and the other coast tribes between the Tana and Mombasa.

We learn from Sir A. Hardinge[1] that in the British East African Protectorate there are altogether as many as twenty-five distinct tribes, generally at a low stage of culture, with a loose tribal organisation, a fully-developed totemic system, and a universal faith in magic; but there are no priests, idols or temples, or even distinctly recognised hereditary chiefs or communal councils. The Gallas, who have crossed the Tana and here encroached on Bantu territory, have reminiscences of a higher civilisation and apparently of Christian traditions and observances, derived no doubt from Abyssinia. They tell you that they had once a sacred book, the observance of whose precepts made them the first of nations. But it was left lying about, and so got eaten by a cow, and since then when cows are killed their entrails are carefully searched for the lost volume.

Exceptional interest attaches to the Wagiryama, who are the chief people between Mombasa and Melindi, the first trustworthy accounts of whom have been supplied by the Rev. W. E. Taylor[2], and Mr W. W. A. Fitzgerald[3]. Here again Bantus and Gallas are found in close contact, and we learn that the Wagir-

[1] *Official Report on the East African Protectorate*, 1897.

[2] *Vocabulary of the Giryama Language*, S. P. C. K. 1897.

[3] *Travels in the Coastlands of British East Africa*, London, 1898, p. 103 sq.

yama, who came originally from the Mount Mangea district in the north-east, occupied their present homes only about a century ago "upon the withdrawal of the Gallas." The language, which is of a somewhat archaic type, appears to be the chief member of a widespread Bantu group, embracing the Ki-nyika and Ki-pokomo in the extreme north, the Ki-swahili of the Zanzibar coast, and perhaps the Ki-kamba, the Ki-teita, and others of the interior between the coastlands and Lake Victoria. These inland tongues, however, have greatly diverged from the primitive Ki-giryama, which stands in somewhat the same relation to them and to the still more degraded and Arabised Ki-swahili[1] that Latin stands to the Romance languages.

The Wagiryama.

But the chief interest presented by the Wagiryama is centred in their religious ideas, which are mainly connected with ancestry-worship, and afford an unexpected insight into the origin and nature of that perhaps most primitive of all forms of belief. There is, of course, a vague entity called a "Supreme Being" in ethnographic writings, who, like the Algonquian Manitu, crops up under various names (here *Mulungu*) all over east Bantuland, but on analysis generally resolves itself into some dim notion growing out of ancestry-worship, a great or aged person, eponymous hero or the like, later deified in diverse ways as the Preserver, the Disposer, and especially the Creator. These Wagiryama suppose that from his union with the Earth all things have sprung, and that human beings are Mulungu's hens and chickens. But there is also an idea that he may be the manes of their fathers, and thus everything becomes merged in a kind of apotheosis of the departed. They think "the disembodied spirit is powerful for good and evil. Individuals worship the

Primitive Ancestry-worship.

Mulungu and the Shades.

[1] Having become the chief medium of intercourse throughout the southern Bantu regions, Ki-swahili has been diligently cultivated, especially by the English missionaries, who have wisely discarded the Arab for the Roman characters. There is already an extensive literature, including grammars, dictionaries, translations of the Bible and other works, and even *A History of Rome* issued by the S. P. C. K. in 1898.

shades of their immediate ancestors or elder relatives; and the *k'omas* [souls ?] of the whole nation are worshipped on public occasions."

Although the European ghost or "revenant" is unknown, the spirits of near ancestors may appear in dreams, and express their wishes to the living. They ask for sacrifices at their graves to appease their hunger, and such sacrifices are often made with a little flour and water poured into a coconut shell let into the ground, the fowls and other victims being so killed that the blood shall trickle into the grave. At the offering the dead are called on by name to come and partake, and bring their friends with them, who are also mentioned by name. But whereas Christians pray to be remembered of heaven and the saints, the Wagiryama pray rather that the new-born babe be forgotten of Mulungu, and so live. "Well!" they will say on the news of a birth, "may Mulungu forget him that he may become strong and well." This is an instructive trait, a reminiscence of the time when Mulungu, now almost harmless or indifferent to mundane things, was the embodiment of all evil, hence to be feared and appeased in accordance with the old dictum *Timor fecit deos*.

At present no distinction is drawn between good and bad spirits, but all are looked upon as, of course, often, though not always, more powerful than the living, but still human beings subject to the same feelings, passions, and fancies as they are. Some are even poor weaklings on whom offerings are wasted. "The Shade of So-and-so's father is of no use at all; it has finished up his property, and yet he is no better," was a native's comment on the result of a series of sacrifices a man had vainly made to his father's shade to regain his health. They may also be duped and tricked, and when *pombe* (beer) is a-brewing, some is poured out on the graves of the dead, with the prayer that they may drink, and when drunk fall asleep, and so not disturb the living with their brawls and bickerings, just like the wrangling fairies in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

The Waswahili.

Far removed from such crass anthropomorphism, but not morally much improved, are the kindred Waswahili, who by long contact and interminglings have become largely Arabised in dress, religion,

and general culture. They are graphically described by Mr Taylor as "a seafaring, barter-loving race of slave-holders and slave-traders, strewn in a thin line along a thousand miles of creeks and islands; inhabitants of a coast that has witnessed incessant political changes, and a succession of monarchical dynasties in various centres; receiving into their midst for ages past a continuous stream of strange blood, consisting not only of serviles from the interior, but of immigrants from Persia, Arabia, and Western India; men that have come to live, and often to die, as resident aliens, leaving in many cases a hybrid progeny. Of one section of these immigrants—the Arabs—the religion has become the master-religion of the land, overspreading, if not entirely supplanting, the old Bantu ancestor-worship, and profoundly affecting the whole family life."

The Zang Empire.

The Waswahili are in a sense a historical people, for they formed the chief constituent elements of the renowned Zang (Zeng) empire[1], which in Edrisi's time (12th century) stretched along the seaboard from Somaliland to and beyond the Zambesi. When the Portuguese burst suddenly into the Indian Ocean it was a great and powerful state, or rather a vast confederacy of states, with many flourishing cities—Magdoshu, Brava, Mombasa, Melindi, Kilwa, Angosha, Sofala—and widespread commercial relations extending across the eastern waters to India and China, and up the Red Sea to Europe. How these great centres of trade and eastern culture were one after the other ruthlessly destroyed by the Portuguese corsairs *co' o ferro e fogo* ("with sword and fire," Camoens) is told by Duarte Barbosa, who was himself a Portuguese and an eye-witness of the havoc and the horrors that not infrequently followed in the trail of his barbarous fellow-countrymen[2].

1 The name still survives in *Zangue-bar* ("Zang-land") and the adjacent island of *Zanzibar* (an Indian corruption). *Zang* is "black," and *bar* is the same Arabic word, meaning dry land, that we have in *Mala-bar* on the opposite side of the Indian Ocean. Cf. also *barran wa bahran*, "by land and by sea."

2 *Viage por Malabar y Costas de Africa*, 1512, translated by the Hon. Henry E. J. Stanley, Hakluyt Society, 1868.

Beyond Sofala we enter the domain of the *Ama-Zulu*, the *Ama-Xosa*, and others whom I have collectively called *Zulu-Xosas*[1], and who are in some respects the most remarkable ethnical group in all Bantu-land. Indeed they are by common consent regarded as Bantus in a preeminent sense, and this conventional term *Bantu* itself is taken from their typical Bantu language[2]. There is clear evidence that they are comparatively recent arrivals, necessarily from the north, in their present territory, which was still occupied by Bushman and Hottentot tribes probably within the last thousand years or so. Before the Kafir wars with the English (1811—77) this territory extended much farther round the coast than at present, and for many years the Great Kei River has formed the frontier between the white settlements and the Xosas.

The Zulu-Xosas.

Former and Present Domain.

But what they have lost in this direction the Zulu-Xosas, or at least the Zulus, have recovered a hundredfold by their expansion northwards during the 19th century. After the establishment of the Zulu military power under Dingiswayo and his successor Chaka (1793—1828), half the continent was overrun by organised Zulu hordes, who ranged nearly as far north as Lake Victoria, and in many places founded more or less unstable kingdoms or chieftaincies on the model of the terrible despotism set up in Zululand. Such were, beyond the Limpopo, the states of Gaza-land and Matabililand, the latter established about 1838 by

[1] In preference to the more popular form *Zulu-Kafir*, where *Kafir* is merely the Arabic "Infidel" applied indiscriminately to any people rejecting Islám; hence the *Siah Posh Kafirs* ("Black-clad Infidels") of Afghanistan; the *Kufra* oasis in the Sahara, where *Kufra*, plural of *Kafir*, refers to the pagan Tibus of that district; and the Kafirs generally of the East African seaboard. But according to English usage *Zulu* is applied to the northern part of the territory, mainly Zululand proper and Natal, while Kafirland or Kaffraria is restricted to the southern section between Natal and the Great Kei River. The bulk of these southern "Kafirs" belong to the Xosa connection; hence this term takes the place of *Kafir*, in the compound expression *Zulu-Xosa*. *Ama* is explained in *Eth.* p. 272, and the *X* of *Xosa* represents an unpronounceable combination of a guttural and a lateral click, this with two other clicks (a dental and a palatal) having infected the speech of these Bantus during their long prehistoric wars with the Hottentots.

[2] *Eth.* p. 271.

Umsilikatzi, father of Lobengulu, who perished in a hopeless struggle with the English in 1894. Gungunhana, last of the Swazi (Zulu) chiefs in Gazaland, was similarly dispossessed by the Portuguese in 1896.

North of the Zambesi the Zulu bands—Mazitu, Maviti, Mangoni (Angoni), and others—nowhere developed large political states except for a short time under the ubiquitous Mirambo in Unyamweziland. But some, especially the Angoni[1], were long troublesome in the Nyassa district, and others about the Lower Zambesi, where they are known to the Portuguese as "Landins." The Angoni power was finally broken by the English early in 1898, and the reflux movement has now entirely subsided, and cannot be revived, the disturbing elements having been extinguished at the fountain-head by the absorption of Zululand itself in the British Colony of Natal (1895).

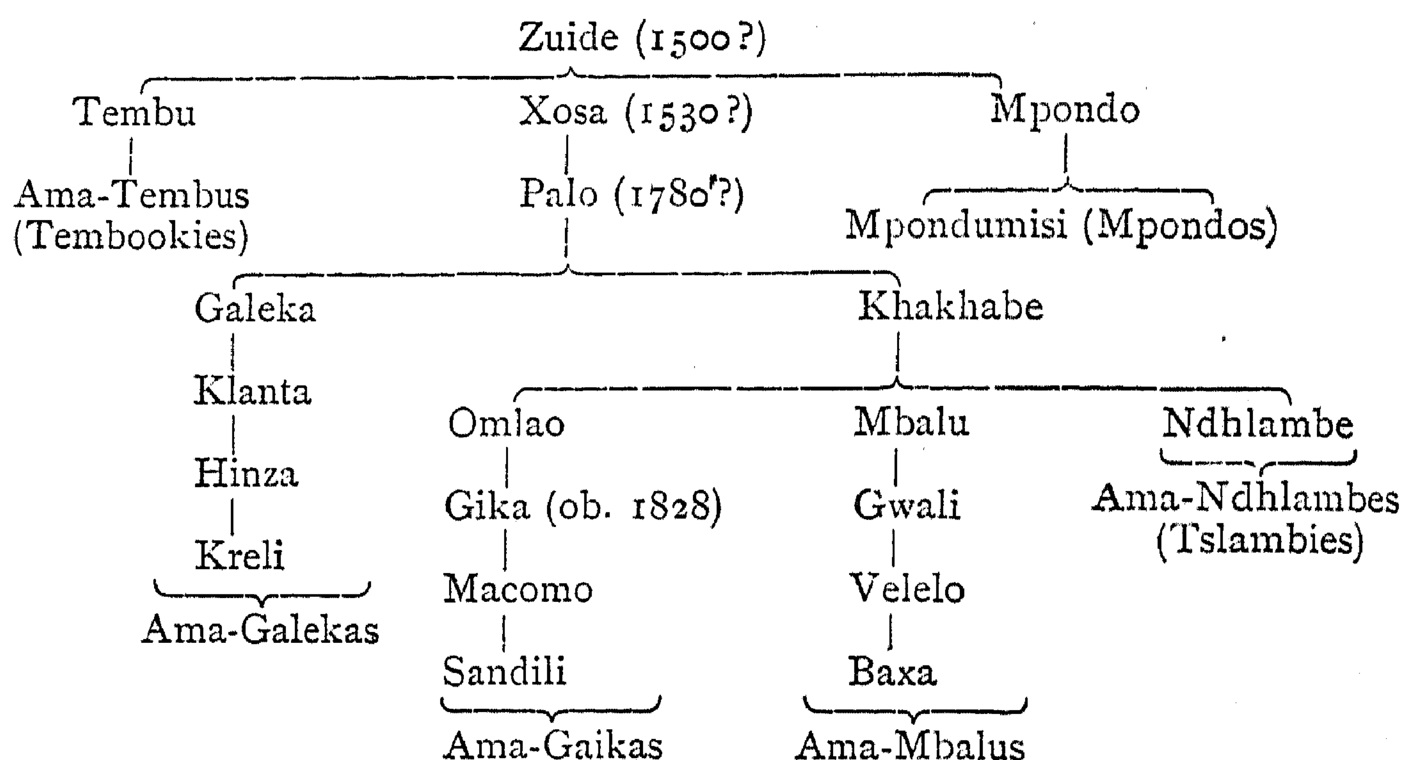
Zulu-Xosa Genealogies.

Nowhere have patriarchal institutions been more highly developed than among the Zulu-Xosas, all of whom, except perhaps the Ama-Fingus and some other broken groups, claim direct descent from some eponymous hero or mythical founder of the tribe. Thus in the national traditions Chaka was seventh in descent from a legendary chief Zulu, from whom they take the name of *Abantu ba-Kwa-Zulu*, that is "People of Zulu's Land," although the true mother-tribe appear to have been the now extinct Ama-Ntombela. Once the supremacy and prestige of Chaka's tribe was established, all the others, as they were successively reduced, claimed also to

[1] Mr Robert Codrington tells us that these Angoni (Abangoni) spring from a Zulu tribe which crossed the Zambesi about 1825, and established themselves south-east of L. Tanganyika, but later migrated to the uplands west of L. Nyassa, where they founded three petty states. Others went east of the Livingstone range, and are here still known as Magwangwara. But all became gradually assimilated to the surrounding populations. Intermarrying with the women of the country they preserve their speech, dress, and usages for the first generation in a slightly modified form, although the language of daily intercourse is that of the mothers. Then this class becomes the aristocracy of the whole nation, which henceforth comprises a great part of the aborigines ruled by a privileged caste of Zulu origin, "perpetuated almost entirely among themselves" (*Central Angoniland*, *Geograph. Jour.* May 1898, p. 512).

be true Zulus, and as the same process went on in the far north, the term Zulu has now in many cases come to imply political rather than blood relationship. Here we have an object lesson, by which the ethnical value of such names as "Aryan," "Kelt," "Briton," "Slav," &c. may be gauged in other regions.

So also most of the southern section claim as their founder and ancestor a certain *Xosa*, sprung from Zuide, who may have flourished about 1500, and whom the Ama-Tembus and Ama-Mpondos also regard as their progenitor. Thus the whole section is connected, but not in the direct line, with the Xosas, who trace their lineage from Galeka and Khakhabe, sons of Palo, who is said to have died about 1780, and was himself tenth in direct descent from Xosa. We thus get a genealogical table as under, which gives his proper place in the Family Tree to nearly every historical "Kafir" chief in Cape Colony, where ignorance of these relations caused much bloodshed during the early Kafir wars:—



Physical Type.

But all, both northern Zulus and southern Xosas, are essentially one people in speech, physique, usages and social institutions. The hair is uniformly of a somewhat frizzly texture, the colour of a light or clear brown amongst the Ama-Tembus, but elsewhere very dark, the Swazis being almost "blue-black"; the head decidedly long (72·54°) and high (195·8°); nose variable, both Negroid and perfectly regular; height above the mean (5 ft. 9 to 11 in.); figure shapely and muscular, though Fritsch's measurements show

G. D. Madgavkar I. C. S.

that it is sometimes far from the almost ideal standard of beauty with which some early observers have credited them.

Mentally the Zulu-Xosas stand much higher than the true Negro, as shown especially in their political organisation, which, before the development of Dingiswayo's military system under European influences, was a kind of patriarchal monarchy controlled by a powerful aristocracy. The nation was grouped in tribes connected by the ties of blood and ruled by the hereditary *inkose*, or feudal chief, who was supreme, with power of life and death, within his own jurisdiction. Against his mandates, however, the nobles could protest in council, and it was in fact their decisions that established precedents and the traditional code of common law. "This common law is well adapted to a people in a rude state of society. It holds everyone accused of crime guilty unless he can prove himself innocent; it makes the head of the family responsible for the conduct of all its branches, the village collectively for all resident in it, and the clan for each of its villages. For the administration of the law there are courts of various grades, from any of which an appeal may be taken to the Supreme Council, presided over by the paramount chief, who is not only the ruler but also the father of the people[1]."

Social Organisation.

"Common Law."

In the interior, between the southern coast ranges and the Zambesi, the Hottentot and Bushman aborigines were in prehistoric ages almost everywhere displaced or reduced to servitude by other Bantu peoples, such as the Makalakas and Mashonas, the Bechuanas and the kindred Basutos. Of these the first arrivals (from the north) appear to have been the Mashonas and Makalakas, who were being slowly "eaten up" by the Matabili when the process was arrested by the timely intervention of the English in Rhodesia.

Mashonas and Makalakas.

Both nations are industrious tillers of the soil, skilled in metalwork and in mining operations, being probably the direct descendants of the natives, whose great chief *Monomotapa*, *i.e.* "Lord of the Mines," as I interpret

The Monomotapa Myth.

[1] Rev. J. Macdonald, *Light in Africa*, p. 194.

the word[1], ruled over the Manica and surrounding auriferous districts when the Portuguese first reached Sofala early in the 16th century. Apparently for political reasons[2] this Monomotapa was later transformed by them from a monarch to a monarchy, the vast empire of Monomotapaland, which was supposed to comprise pretty well everything south of the Zambesi, but, having no existence, has for the last two hundred years eluded the diligent search of historical geographers.

But ages before Portuguese or Monomotapas were heard of, the Makalakas with the kindred Banyai, Basenga and others, may well have been at work in the mines of this auriferous region, in the service of the builders of the Zimbabwe ruins explored and described by the late Theodore Bent[3], and by him rightly, I think, attributed to some ancient cultured people of South Arabia. He mentions the Sabæans, but there is no reason to exclude the still more ancient Minæans, both being closely allied members of the Semitic Himyarite family. It is to be noticed that similar ruins occur also in the Benningwa Hills and various other parts of Matabililand, all apparently connected with long-abandoned gold-mines.

The Zimbabwe Ruins.

Even Barros[4] was aware that all these remains were prior

[1] From *Mwana*, lord, master, and *tapa*, to dig, both common Bantu words.

[2] The point was that Portugal had made treaties with this mythical State, in virtue of which she claimed in the "scramble for Africa" all the hinterlands behind her possessions on the east and west coasts (Mozambique and Angola), in fact all South Africa between the Orange and Zambesi rivers. Further details on the "Monomotapa Question" will be found in my monograph on "The Portuguese in South Africa" in Murray's *South Africa, from Arab Domination to British Rule*, 1891, pp. 11 sq. Five years later Mr G. McCall Theal also discovered, no doubt independently, the mythical character of Monomotapaland in his book on *The Portuguese in South Africa*, 1896.

[3] *Proc. R. Geogr. Soc.* May 1892, and *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*. Sir H. H. Johnston, however, who in my opinion assigns the Bantu migrations to a far too recent date, thinks that "those earlier settlers from Southern Arabia, who mined for gold some 2000 years ago and less in South Africa, were only acquainted with native inhabitants of a Bushman-Hottentot type, to judge by the drawings, engravings, and models they have left, intended to depict natives engaged in the chase" (*British Central Africa*, p. 54).

[4] *Asia*, First Decade, I. i. Lisbon, 1777.

both to the Portuguese and Moslem Arabs, and those who object to the Himyarites should at least be prepared with a reasonable alternative. There are, of course, the Axumites of Abyssinia, with their seaport of Adulis at the head of the Arabian Gulf; but they also were Himyarites, so that it would only be a question of dates. In any case the Christian Axumites are excluded, because the emblems on the monuments are distinctly pagan, and point to Semitic rites, such as those later revealed to the western world by the Phœnicians, who were themselves possibly sprung from a Minæan ancestry.

Probably Himyaritic.

With the Bechuanas, whose territory extends from the Orange river to Lake Ngami and includes Basutoland with a great part of the two Boer states, we again meet a people at the totemic stage of culture. Here the eponymous heroes of the Zulu-Xosas are replaced by baboons, fishes, elephants, and other animals from which the various tribal groups claim descent. The origin of the collective national name has been much discussed ever since the Bechuanas were first visited by Lichtenstein early in the nineteenth century[1]. But there seems little doubt that it is a slightly modified form of *Ba-Chuene*, "People of the *Chuene*," *i.e.* of the Cape baboon, this animal being the totem of the Barotse, who are recognised by all the others as the elder branch or mother-tribe of the family.

The Bechuanas.

With these Barotse is connected one of the most remarkable episodes in the turbulent history of the South African peoples during the nineteenth century. Many years ago a section of the tribe migrated to the Middle Zambesi above the Victoria Falls, where they founded a powerful state, the "Barotse (Marotse) Empire," which despite a temporary eclipse still exists as a British protectorate (1898). The eclipse was caused by another migration northwards of a great body of Makololos, a branch of the kindred Basutos, who under the renowned chief Sebituane reached the Zambesi about 1835 and overthrew the Barotse dynasty, reducing the natives to a state of servitude.

The Barotse Empire.

The Makololo Episode.

[1] *Reisen*, &c., 1803–6, Berlin, 1811. This writer already speaks of the "Beetjuana race" in a collective sense, and he was the first to divine the vast range of the Bantu Linguistic Family, as it was afterwards called.

But after the death of Sebituane's successor, Livingstone's Sekeletu, the Barotse, taking advantage of their oppressors' dynastic rivalries, suddenly revolted, and after exterminating the Makololos almost to the last man, reconstituted the empire on a stronger footing than ever. It now comprises an area of some 250,000 square miles between the Chobe and the Kafukwe affluents, with a population vaguely estimated at over 1,000,000, including the savage Bashukulumbwe tribes of the Kafukwe basin reduced in 1891.

Yet, short as was the Makololo rule (1835—70), it was long enough to impose their language on the vanquished Barotse. Hence the curious phenomenon now witnessed about the Middle Zambesi, where the Makololo have disappeared, while their Sesuto speech remains the common medium of intercourse throughout the Barotse empire. How often have analogous shiftings and dislocations taken place in the course of ages in other parts of the world! And in the light of such lessons how cautious ethnographists should be in arguing from speech to race, and drawing conclusions from these or similar surface relations!

Referring to these stirring events, Mr Mackenzie writes: "Thus perished the Makololo from among the number of South African tribes. No one can put his finger on the map of Africa and say, 'Here dwell the Makololo[1]'." This will puzzle many who since the middle of the nineteenth century have repeatedly heard of, and even been in unpleasantly close contact with, Makololo so called, not indeed in Barotseland, but lower down the Zambesi about its Shire affluent.

The explanation of the seeming contradiction is given by another incident, which is also not without ethnical significance. From Livingstone's *Journals* we learn that in 1859 he was accompanied to the east coast by a small party of Makololos and others, sent by his friend Sekeletu in quest of a cure for leprosy, from which the emperor was suffering. These Makololos, hearing of the Barotse revolt, wisely stopped on their return journey at the Shire confluence, and through the prestige of their name have here succeeded in founding several so-called "Makololo States," which

[1] *Ten Years North of the Orange River.*

still exist, and have from time to time given considerable trouble to the administrators of British Central Africa. But how true are Mr Mackenzie's words, if the political be separated from the ethnical relations, may be judged from the fact that of the original founders of these petty Shire states only two were full-blood Makololos. All the others were, I believe, Barotse, Batoka, or Batonga, these akin to the savage Bashukulumbwe.

Death without Extinction.

Thus the Makololos live on, in their speech above the Victoria Falls, in their name below the Victoria Falls, and it is only from history we know that since about 1870 the whole nation has been completely wiped out everywhere in the Zambesi valley. But even amongst cultured peoples history goes back a very little way, 10,000 years at most anywhere. What changes and shiftings may, therefore, have elsewhere also taken place during prehistoric ages, all knowledge of which is now past recovery!

Spread of Christianity among the Southern Bantus.

Few Bantu peoples have lent a readier ear to the teachings of Christian propagandists than the Xosa, Basuto, and Bechuana natives. Several stations in the heart of Kafirland—Blythswood, Somerville, Lovedale, and others—have for some time been self-supporting, and prejudice alone would deny that they have worked for good amongst the surrounding Gaika, Galeka, and Fingo tribes. Soga, a member of the Blythswood community, has produced a translation of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, described by the Rev. J. Macdonald as "a marvel of accuracy and lucidity of expression[1]"; numerous village schools are eagerly attended, and much land has been brought under intelligent cultivation.

The French and Swiss Protestant teachers have also achieved great things in Basutoland, which may now be regarded as an integral part of Christendom. Here the old tribal system has yielded to a higher social organisation, and the Batau, Baputi and several other tribal groups have been merged in industrious pastoral and agricultural communities professing a somewhat strict form of Protestant Christianity, and entirely forgetful of the former heathen practices associated with witchcraft and ancestry-worship.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 47.

Khama.

In Bechuanaland one great personality dominates the social horizon. Khama, king of the Bamangwato nation, next to the Barotse the most powerful section of the Bechuanas, has for several decades been a true father of his people, a Christian legislator in the better sense of the term, and an enlightened reformer even from the secular point of view.

When these triumphs, analogous to those witnessed amongst the Lacustrians and in other parts of Bantuland, are contrasted with the dull weight of resistance everywhere opposed by the full-blood Negro populations to any progress beyond their present low level of culture, we are the better able to recognise the marked intellectual superiority of the negroid Bantu over the pure black element.

The Ova-Herero.

West of Bechuanaland the continuity of the Bantu domain is arrested in the south by the Hottentots, who still hold their ground in Namaqualand, and farther north by the few wandering Bushman groups of the Kalahari desert. Even in Damaraland, which is mainly Bantu territory, there are interminglings of long standing that have given rise to much ethnical confusion. The *Ova-Herero*, who are here dominant, and the kindred *Ova-Mpo* of Ovampoland bordering on the Portuguese possessions, are undoubted Bantus of somewhat fine physique, though intellectually not specially distinguished. Owing to the character of the country, a somewhat arid, level steppe between the hills and the coast, they are often collectively called "Cattle Damaras," or "Damaras of the Plains," in contradistinction to the "Hill Damaras" of the coast ranges. To this popular nomenclature is due the prevalent confusion regarding these aborigines. The term "Damara" is of Hottentot origin, and is not recognised by the local tribes, who all call themselves Ova-Herero, that is, "Merry People." But there is a marked difference between the lowlanders and the highlanders, the latter, that is, the "Hill Damaras," having a strong strain of Hottentot blood, and being now of Hottentot speech.

Cattle and Hill Damaras.

The whole region is a land of transition between the two races, where the struggle for supremacy has scarcely yet been

arrested by the intervention of the German administrators[1]. Clearness would be gained by replacing the term "Damaraland," a distinct misnomer, by the German "Hereroland," for the whole territory north of Walvisch Bay, and by substituting for Hill Damaras the expression *Ova-Zorotu*, or "Hillmen," as they are called by their neighbours of the plains, who should of course be called Hereros to the absolute exclusion of the expression "Cattle Damaras." These Hereros show a singular dislike for salt; the peculiarity, however, can scarcely be racial, as it is shared in also by their cattle, and may be due to the heavy vapours, perhaps slightly charged with saline particles, which hang so frequently over the coastlands.

No very sharp ethnical line can be drawn between Portuguese West Africa and the contiguous portion of the Congo Free State south and west of the main stream. In the coastlands between the Cunene and the Congo estuary a few groups, such as the historical *Eshi-Kongo* and the *Kabindas*, have developed some marked characteristics under European influences, just as have the cannibal *Manyuemas* of the Upper Congo through association with the Nubo-Arab slave-raiders. But with the exception of the *Tu-Shilange*, the *Ba-Lolo* and one or two others, much the same physical and mental traits are everywhere presented by the numerous Bantu populations within the great bend of the Congo.

The Old Kongo Empire.

The people who give their name to this river present some points of special interest. It is commonly supposed that the old "Kongo Empire" was a creation of the Portuguese. But Mbanza, afterwards re-christened "San Salvador," was already the capital of a powerful State when it was first visited by the expedition of 1491, from which time date its relations with Portugal. At first the Catholic missionaries had great success, thousands were at least baptized, and for a moment it seemed as if all the Congo lands were being swept into the fold. There were great rejoicings on the conversion of the *Mfumu* ("Emperor") himself, on whom

[1] So recently as October, 1890, the famous Hottentot chief Witbooi gained a great victory over the Hereros, killing their chief Epias, and carrying off much plunder.

were lavished honours and Portuguese titles still borne by his present degenerate descendant, the Portuguese State pensioner, "Dom Pedro V., Catholic King of Kongo and its Dependencies." But Christianity never struck very deep roots, and, except in the vicinity of the Imperial and vassal Courts, heathenish practices of the worst description were continued down to the middle of the nineteenth century. About 1870 fresh efforts were made both by Protestant and Catholic missionaries to re-convert the people, who had little to remind them of their former faith except the ruins of the cathedral of San Salvador, crucifixes, banners, and other religious emblems handed down as heirlooms and regarded as potent fetishes by their owners. A like fate, it may be incidentally mentioned, has overtaken the efforts of the Portuguese missionaries to evangelise the natives of the east coast, where little now survives of their teachings but snatches of unintelligible songs to the Blessed Virgin, such as that still chanted by the Lower Zambesi boatmen and recorded by Mrs Pringle:—

Sina mama, sina mamai,
Sina mama Maria, sina mamai...

Mary, I'm alone, mother I have none,
Mother I have none, she and father both are gone, &c.[1]

The Kongo Language.

It is probable that at some remote period the ruling race reached the west coast from the north-east, and imposed their Bantu speech on the rude aborigines, by whom it is still spoken over a wide tract of country on both sides of the Lower Congo. It is an extremely pure and somewhat archaic member of the Bantu family, and the Rev. W. Holman Bentley, our best authority on the subject, is enthusiastic in praise of its "richness, flexibility, exactness, subtlety of idea, and nicety of expression," a language superior to the people themselves, "illiterate folk with an elaborate and regular grammatical system of speech of such subtlety and exactness of idea that its daily use is in itself an education[2]." Kishi-Kongo has the distinction of being the first Bantu tongue ever reduced to written form, the oldest known work in the language being a treatise on Christian Doctrine published in Lisbon in

[1] *Towards the Mountains of the Moon*, 1884, p. 128.

[2] *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language*, 1887, p. xxiii.

1624. Since that time the speech of the "Mociconghi," as Pigafetta calls them[1], has undergone but slight phonetic or other change, which is all the more surprising when we consider the extreme rudeness of the present Mushi-Kongos and others by whom it is still spoken with considerable uniformity. Some of these believe themselves sprung from trees, as if they had still reminiscences of the arboreal habits of a pithecoid ancestry.

The Kongo Aborigines.

Amongst the neighbouring *Bambas*, whose sobas were formerly *ex officio* Commanders-in-chief of the Empire, still dwells a potent being, who is invisible to everybody, and although mortal never dies, or at least after each dissolution springs again into life from his remains gathered up by the priests. All the young men of the tribe undergo a similar transformation, being thrown into a death-like trance by the magic arts of the medicine-man, and then resuscitated after three days. The power of causing the cataleptic sleep is said really to exist, and these strange rites, unknown elsewhere, are probably to be connected with the resurrection of Christ after three days and of everybody on the last day as preached by the early Portuguese evangelists. A volume might be written on the strange distortions of Christian doctrines amongst savage peoples unable to grasp their true inwardness.

Perverted Christian Doctrines.

In Angola the Portuguese distinguish between the *Pretos*, that is, the "civilised," and the *Negros*, or unreclaimed natives. Yet both terms mean the same thing, as also does *Ba-Fiot*[2], "Black People," which is applied in an arbitrary way both to the Eshi-Kongos and their near relations, the *Kabindas* of the Portuguese enclave north of the Lower Congo. These Kabindas, so named from the seaport of that name on the Loango coast, are an extremely intelligent, energetic, and enterprising people, daring seafarers,

The Kabindas and "Black Jews."

1 "Li Mociconghi cosi nomati nel suo proprio idioma gli abitanti del reame di Congo" (*Relatione* &c., Rome, 1591, p. 68). This form is remarkable, being singular (*Moci=Mushi*) instead of plural (*Eshi*); yet it is still currently applied to the rude "Mushi-Kongos" on the south side of the estuary.

2 Often written *Ba-Fiort* with an intrusive *r*.

and active traders. But they complain of the keen rivalry of another dark people, the *Judeos Pretos*, or "Black Jews," who call themselves *Ma-Vambu*, and whose hooked nose combined with other peculiarities has earned for them their Portuguese name. The Kabindas say that these "Semitic Negroes" were specially created for the punishment of other unscrupulous dealers by their ruinous competition in trade.

A great part of the vast region within the bend of the Congo is occupied by the *Baluba* people, whose numerous branches—*Basange* and *Basonge* about the sources of the Sankuru, *Bashilange* (*Tushilange*) about the Lulua-Kassai confluence, and many others—extend all the way from the Kwango basin to Manyuemaland. Most of these are Bantus of the average type, fairly intelligent, industrious and specially noted for their skill in iron and copper work. Iron ores are widely diffused and the copper comes from the famous mines of the Katanga district, of which King Mzidi and his Wanyamwezi followers were dispossessed by the Congo Free State in 1892.

The Tushilange Bhang-Smokers.

Special attention is claimed by the *Tushilange* nation, for our knowledge of whom we are indebted chiefly to Capt. C. S. Latrobe Bateman[1]. These are the people whom Wissmann had already referred to as "a nation of thinkers with the interrogative 'why' constantly on their lips." Bateman also describes them as "thoroughly honest, brave to foolhardiness, and faithful to each other. They are prejudiced in favour of foreign customs and spontaneously copy the usages of civilisation. They are the only African tribe among whom I have observed anything like a becoming conjugal affection and regard. To say nothing of such recommendations as their emancipation from fetishism, their ancient abandonment of cannibalism, and their national unity under the sway of a really princely prince (Kalemba), I believe them to be the most open to the best influences of civilisation of any African tribe whatsoever[2]."

[1] *The First Ascent of the Kassai*, 1889, p. 20 sq. See also my communication to the *Academy*, April 6, 1889, and *Africa* (Stanford's Compendium), 1895, Vol. II. p. 117 sq.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 20.

Their territory about the Lulua affluent of the Kassai is the so-called Lubuka, or land of "Friendship," the theatre of a remarkable social revolution, carried out independently of all European influences, in fact before the arrival of any whites on the scene. It was initiated by the secret brotherhood of the *Bena-Riamba*, or "Sons of Hemp," established about 1870, when the nation became divided into two parties over the question of throwing the country open to foreign trade. The king having sided with the "Progressives," the "Conservatives" were worsted with much bloodshed, whereupon the barriers of seclusion were swept away. Trading relations being at once established with the outer world, the custom of *riamba* (bhang) smoking was unfortunately introduced through the Swahili traders from Zanzibar. The practice itself soon became associated with mystic rites, and was followed by a general deterioration of morals throughout Tushilangeland.

Bantu "Progressives."

North of the Balubas follows the great *Balolo* nation, whose domain comprises nearly the whole of the region between the equator and the left bank of the Congo, and whose Kilolo speech is still more widely diffused, being spoken by perhaps 10,000,000 within the horseshoe bend. These "Men of Iron" in the sense of Cromwell's "Ironsides," or "Workers in Iron," as the name has been diversely interpreted (from *lolo*, iron), may not be all that they have been depicted by the glowing pen of Mrs H. Grattan Guinness[1]; but nobody will deny their claim to be regarded as physically, if not mentally, one of the finest Bantu races. But for the strain of Negro blood betrayed by the tumid under lip, frizzly hair, and wide nostrils, many might pass for average Hamites with high forehead, straight or aquiline nose, bright eye, and intelligent expression. They appear to have migrated about a hundred years ago from the east to their present homes, where they have cleared the land both of its forests and the aborigines, brought extensive tracts under cultivation, and laid out towns in the American chessboard fashion, but with the houses so wide apart that it takes hours to

The Balolo "Men of Iron."

1 *The New World of Central Africa*, 1890, p. 466 sq.

traverse them. They are skilled in many crafts, and understand the division-of-labour principle, "farmers, gardeners, smiths, boat-builders, weavers, cabinet-makers, armourers, warriors, and speakers being already differentiated amongst them[1]."

The West Equatorial Bantus.

From the east or north-east a great stream of migration has also for many years been setting right across the cannibal zone to the west coast between the Ogowai and Camerúns estuary. Some of these cannibal bands, collectively known as *Fans*, *Pahuins*, *Mpangwes*[2], *Oshyebas* and by other names, have already swarmed into the Gabún and Lower Ogowai districts, where they have caused a considerable dislocation of the coast tribes. They are at present the dominant, or at least the most powerful and dreaded, people in West Equatorial Africa, where nothing but the intervention of the French administration has prevented them from sweeping the *Mpongwes*, *Mbengas*, *Okandas*, *Ashangos*, *Ishogos*, *Batekes*, and the other maritime populations into the Atlantic. Even the great

Bakalai.

Bakalai nation, who are also immigrants, but from the south-east, and who arrived some time before the Fans, have been hard pressed and driven forward by those fierce anthropophagists. They are still numerous, certainly over 100,000, but confined mainly to the left bank of the Ogowai, where their copper and iron workers have given up the hopeless struggle to compete with the imported European wares, and have consequently turned to trade. The Bakalai are now the chief brokers and middlemen throughout the equatorial coastlands, and their pure Bantu language is encroaching on the Mpongwe in the Ogowai basin.

The Cannibal Fans.

When first heard of by Bowdich in 1819, the Paämways, as he calls the Fans, were an inland people presenting such marked Hamitic or Caucasic features that he allied them with the West Sudanese Fulahs. Since then there have been inevitable interminglings, by which the type has no doubt been modified, though still presenting distinct non-

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 471.

[2] These *Mpangwe* savages are constantly confused with the *Mpongwes* of the Gabún, a settled Bantu people who have been long in close contact, and on friendly terms, with the white traders and missionaries in this district.

Bantu or non-Negro characters. Burton, Winwood Reade, Oscar Lenz and most other observers separate them altogether from the Negro connection, describing them as "well-built, tall and slim, with a light brown complexion, often inclining to yellow, well-developed beard, and very prominent frontal bone standing out in a semicircular protuberance above the superciliary arches. Morally also, they differ greatly from the Negro, being remarkably intelligent, truthful, and of a serious temperament, seldom laughing or indulging in the wild orgies of the blacks[1]."

Migrations, Type, Origin.

The language also, says Lenz, is "entirely different from those of the other Negro peoples[2]." Yet many ethnologists have suggested affinities with the Zandehs and Mangbattus of the Welle region, chiefly on the ground of their common fondness for human flesh. On this point the Fans certainly yield to none, and although amongst the coast tribes the practice is now restricted to solemn occasions, those untouched by European influences abstain only from their "nearest and dearest," and even these may be disinterred and bartered for others not coming within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity[3].

Still the taste is too universal in the cannibal zone to serve as a racial test, and we are not helped by it to a solution of the difficult Fan problem. Were one to venture on a conjecture, I should suggest that these mysterious hordes are not Fulahs, as supposed by Bowdich, but "belated Hamites," lost like the Fulahs in the seething mass of negrodom. If the language is really not Bantu, as stated by Lenz, it will perhaps prove to be an outlying member of the Hamitic Tibu or Masai group.

In the Camerún region, which still lies within Bantu territory, Sir H. H. Johnston[4] divides the numerous local tribes into two groups, the aborigines, such as the *Bayongs*, *Balongs*, *Basas*, *Abos* and *Wuri*; and the later intruders—*Bakundu*, *Bakwiri*, *Dwala*, "*Great Batanga*" and

The Camerún Bantus.

[1] My *Africa*, II. p. 58. Oscar Lenz, who perhaps knew them best, says: "Gut gebaut, schlank und kräftig gewachsen, Hautfarbe viel lichter manchmal stark ins Gelbe spielend, Haar und Bartwuchs auffallend stark, sehr grosse Kinnbärte" (*Skizzen aus West-Afrika*, 1878, p. 73).

[2] *Ib.* p. 74.

[3] Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, II. p. 18.

[4] *Official Report*, 1886.

Ibea—chiefly from the east and south-east. Best known are the Dwalas of the Camerún estuary, physically typical Bantus with almost European features, and well-developed calves, a character which would alone suffice to separate them from the true Negro. Nor are these traits due to contact with the white settlers on the coast, because the Dwalas keep quite aloof, and are so proud of their "blue blood," that till lately all half-breeds were "weeded out," being regarded as monsters who reflected discredit on the tribe.

Bantu-Sudanese Borderland.

Socially the Camerún natives stand at nearly the same low level of culture as the neighbouring full-blood Negroes of the Calabar and Niger delta. Indeed the transition in customs and institutions, as well as in physical appearance, is scarcely perceptible between the peoples dwelling north and south of the Rio del Rey, here the dividing line between the Negro and Bantu lands. The *Bakish* of the Meme river, almost last of the Bantus, differ little except in speech from the Negro *Efiks* of Old Calabar, while witchcraft and other gross superstitions were till lately as rife amongst the Bakwiri and Bakundu tribes of the western Camerún as anywhere in negroland. It is not long since one of the Bakwiri, found guilty of having eaten a chicken at a missionary's table, was himself eaten by his fellow clansmen. The law of blood for blood was pitilessly enforced, and charges of witchcraft were so frequent that whole villages were depopulated, or abandoned by their terror-stricken inhabitants. The island of Ambas in the inlet of like name remained thus for a time absolutely deserted, "most of the inhabitants having poisoned each other off with their everlasting ordeals, and the few survivors ending by dreading the very air they breathed[1]."

Early Bantu Migrations—a Clue to their Direction.

Having thus completed our survey of the Bantu populations from the central dividing line about the Congo-Chad water-parting round by the east, south, and west coastlands, and so back to the Sudanese zone, we may pause to ask, what routes were followed by the Bantus themselves during the long ages required to spread themselves over an area estimated at nearly six million square miles? I have established, apparently on solid grounds,

[1] Reclus, English ed. XII. p. 376.

a fixed point of initial dispersion in the extreme north-east, and allusion has frequently been made to migratory movements, some even now going on, generally from east to west, and, on the east side of the continent, from north to south, with here an important but still quite recent reflux from Zululand back nearly to Lake Victoria. If a parallel current be postulated as setting on the Atlantic side in prehistoric times from south to north, from Hereroland to the Camerúns, or possibly the other way, we shall have nearly all the factors needed to explain the general dispersion of the Bantu peoples over their vast domain.

Eastern Ancestry and Western Nature Worshippers.

Support is given to this view by the curious distribution of the two chief Bantu names of the "Supreme Being," to which incidental reference has already been made. As first pointed out I think by Dr Bleek, *(M)unkulunkulu* with its numerous variants prevails along the eastern seaboard, *Nzambi* along the western, and both in many parts of the interior; while here and there the two meet, as if to indicate prehistoric interminglings of two great primeval migratory movements. From the subjoined table a clear idea may be had of the general distribution:—

	Munkulunkulu	Nzambi	
Eastern Seaboard and Parts of Interior	Mpondo: Ukulukulu	Eshi-Kongo: Nzambi	Western Seaboard and Parts of Interior
	Zulu: Unkulunkulu	Kabinda: Nzambi Pongo	
	Inhambane: Mulungulu	Lunda: Zambi	
	Sofala: Murungu	Bateke: Nzañi	
	Bechuana: Mulungulu	Barotse: Nyampe	
	Lake Moero: Mulungu	Bihé: Nzambi	
	Lake Tanganyika: Mulungu	Loango: Zambi, Nyambi	
	Makua: Moloko	Bunda: Onzambi	
	Quillimane: Mlugu	Bangala: Nsambi	
	Lake Bangweolo: Mungu	Bakele: Nshambi	
	Tete, Zambesi: Muungu	Rungu: Anyambi	
	Nyasaland: Murungu	Ashira: Aniembie	
	Swahili: Muungu	Mpongwe: Njambi	
	Giryama: Mulungu	Benga: Anyambi	
	Pokomo: Mungo	Dwala: Nyambi	
	Nyika: Mulungu	Yanzi: Nyambi	
	Kamba: Mulungu	Herero: Ndyambi	
	Yanzi: Molongo		
	Herero: Mukuru		

Of *Munkulunkulu* the primitive idea is clear enough from its best preserved form, the Zulu *Unkulunkulu*, which is a repetitive of the root *inkulu*, great, old, hence a deification of the great departed, a direct outcome of the ancestry-worship so universal amongst Negro and Bantu peoples[1]. Thus Unkulunkulu becomes the direct progenitor of the Zulu-Xosas: *Unkulunkulu ukobu wetu*. But the fundamental meaning of *Nzambi* is unknown. The root does not occur in Kishi-Kongo, and Mr Bentley rightly rejects Kolbe's far-fetched explanation from the Herero, adding that "the knowledge of God is most vague, scarcely more than nominal. There is no worship paid to God[2]."

More probable seems Mr W. H. Tooke's suggestion that Nzambi is "a Nature spirit like Zeus or Indra," and that, while the eastern Bantus are ancestor-worshippers, "the western adherents of Nzambi are more or less Nature-worshippers. In this respect they appear to approach the Negroes of the Gold, Slave, and Oil Coasts[3]." No doubt the cult of the dead prevails also in this region, but here it is combined with naturalistic forms of belief, as on the Gold Coast, where *Bobowissi*, chief god of all the southern tribes, is the "Blower of Clouds," the "Rain-maker," and on the Slave Coast, where the Dahoman *Mawu* and the Yoruba *Olorun* are the Sky or Rain, and the "Owner of the Sky" (the deified Firmament), respectively[4].

It would therefore seem probable that the Munkulunkulu peoples from the north-east gradually spread by the indicated routes over the whole of Bantuland, everywhere imposing their speech, general culture, and ancestor-worship on the pre-Bantu

[1] So also in Minahassa, Celebes, *Empung*, "Grandfather," is the generic name of the gods. "The fundamental ideas of primitive man are the same all the world over. Just as the little black baby of the Negro, the brown baby of the Malay, the yellow baby of the Chinaman are in face and form, in gestures and habits, as well as in the first articulate sounds they mutter, very much alike, so the mind of man, whether he be Aryan or Malay, Mongolian or Negrito, has in the course of its evolution passed through stages which are practically identical." (Sydney J. Hickson, *A Naturalist in North Celebes*, 1889, p. 240.)

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 96.

[3] *The God of the Ethiopians*, in *Nature*, May 26, 1892.

[4] E. B. Ellis, *Tshi*, p. 23; *Ewe*, p. 31; *Yoruba*, p. 36.

aborigines, except along the Atlantic coastlands and in parts of the interior. Here the primitive Nature-worship, embodied in Nzambi, held and still holds its ground, both meeting on equal terms—as shown in the above Table—amongst the Bayanzi, the Ova-Herero, and the Bechuanas (*Mulungulu* generally, but *Nyampe* in Barotseland), and no doubt in other inland regions. But the absolute supremacy of one on the east, and of the other on the west, side of the continent, seems conclusive as to the general streams of migration, while the amazing uniformity of nomenclature is but another illustration of the almost incredible persistence of Bantu speech amongst these multitudinous illiterate populations for an incalculable period of time.

Conclusion.

THE NEGRITOES.

Yet, during the whole of this period, a substratum of non-Bantu Negrito, Bushman, and Hottentot elements has also persisted throughout the same ethnical domain. The affinities of these primitive peoples, both to each other and collectively to the true Negro, have already been discussed[1]. The proper domain of the African Negritoes is the inter-tropical forest-land, although they appear to be at present confined to somewhat narrow limits, between about six degrees of latitude north and south of the equator, unless the Bushmen be included. But formerly they probably ranged much farther north, possibly in Neolithic times accompanying their "big brothers" into central Europe (Switzerland), and in historic times finding their way down the Nile valley to Egypt, where they were certainly known some 4000 or 5000 years ago. This is evident from the frequent references to them in the "Book of the Dead" as far back as the 6th Dynasty. Like the dwarfs in mediæval times, they were in high request at the courts of the Pharaohs, who sent expeditions to fetch these *Danga* (*Tank*) from the "Island of the Double," that is, the fabulous region of Shade Land beyond Punt, where they dwelt. The first of whom there is authentic record was brought from this region, apparently the White Nile, to King

The Negrito Domain past and present.

Negritoes at the Courts of the Pharaohs.

[1] *Eth.* Chap. XI.

Assa (3300 B.C.) by his officer, Baurtet. Some 70 years later Heru-Khuf, another officer, was sent by Pepi II "to bring back a pygmy alive and in good health," from the land of great trees away to the south[1]. That the Danga came from the south we know from a later inscription at Karnak, and that the word meant dwarf is clear from the accompanying determinative of a short person of stunted growth.

It is curious to note in this connection that the limestone statue of the dwarf Nem-hotep, found in his tomb at Sakkara and figured by Ernest Grosse, has a thick elongated head suggesting artificial deformation, unshapely mouth, dull expression, strong full chest, and small deformed feet, on which he seems badly balanced. It will be remembered that Schweinfurth's Akkas from Mangbattuland were also represented as top-heavy, although the best observers, Junker and others, describe those of the Welle and Congo forests as shapely and by no means ill-proportioned.

Negritoes and Pygmy Folklore.

Prof. Kollmann also, who has examined the remains of the Neolithic pygmies from the Schweizersbild Station, Switzerland, "is quite certain that the dwarf-like proportions of the latter have nothing in common with diseased conditions. This, from many points of view, is a highly interesting discovery. It is possible, as Dr Nüesch suggests, that the widely-spread legend as to the former existence of little men, dwarfs and gnomes, who were supposed to haunt caves and retired places in the mountains, may be a reminiscence of these Neolithic pygmies[2]."

This is what may be called the picturesque aspect of the Negrito question, which it seems almost a pity to spoil by too severe a criticism. But "ethnologic truth" obliges us to say that the identification of the African Negrito with Kollmann's European dwarfs still lacks scientific proof. Even craniology fails us here, and although the Negritoes are in great majority round-headed, Dr R. Verneau has shown that there may be exceptions[3],

[1] Schiaparelli, *Una Tomba Egiziana*, Rome, 1893.

[2] Prof. James Geikie, *Scottish Geogr. Mag.* Sept. 1897.

[3] Thus he finds (*L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 153) a presumably Negrito skull from the Babinga district, Middle Sangha river, to be distinctly long-headed (73·2) with, for this race, the enormous cranial capacity of about

while the theory of the general uniformity of the physical type has broken down at some other points. Thus the *Dume*, south of Gallaland, discovered by Dr Donaldson Smith[1] in the district where the *Doko* Negritoes had long been heard of, and even seen by Antoine d'Abbadie in 1843, were found to average five feet, or more than one foot over the mean of the true Negrito. D'Abbadie in fact declared that his "Dokos" were not pygmies at all[2], while Donaldson Smith now tells us that "doko" is only a term of contempt applied by the local tribes to their "poor relations." "Their chief characteristics were a black skin, round features, woolly hair, small oval-shaped eyes, rather thick lips, high cheek bones, a broad forehead, and very well formed bodies" (p. 273).

The Dume and Doko, reputed Dwarfs.

The expression of the eye was canine, "sometimes timid and suspicious-looking, sometimes very amiable and merry, and then again changing suddenly to a look of intense anger." Pygmies, he adds, "inhabited the whole of the country north of Lakes Stephanie and Rudolf long before any of the tribes now to be found in the neighbourhood; but they have been gradually killed off in war, and have lost their characteristics by inter-marriage with people of large stature, so that only this one little remnant, the Dume, remains to prove the existence of a pygmy race. Formerly they lived principally by hunting, and they still kill a great many elephants with their poisoned arrows" (p. 274—5).

Some of these remarks apply also to the *Wandorobbo*, another small people who range nearly as far north as the Dume, but are found chiefly farther south all over Masailand, and belong, I have little doubt, to the same connection. They are the henchmen of the Masai nomads, whom they provide with big game in return for divers services, and hold with them much the same amicable relations as the little Neolithic folk held with their tall neighbours in central Europe.

The Wandorobbo Hunters.

Those met by Mr W. Astor Chanler were also "armed with

1440 c.c. Cf. the Akka measured by Sir W. Flower (1372 c.c.), and his Andamanese (1128), the highest hitherto known being 1200 (Virchow).

[1] *Through Unknown African Countries*, &c., 1897.

[2] *Bul. Soc. Geogr.* XIX. p. 440.

bows and arrows, and each carried an elephant-spear, which they called *bonati*. This spear is six feet in length, thick at either end, and narrowed where grasped by the hand. In one end is bored a hole, into which is fitted an arrow two feet long, as thick as one's thumb, and with a head two inches broad. Their method of killing elephants is to creep cautiously up to the beast, and drive a spear into its loin. A quick twist separates the spear from the arrow, and they make off as fast and silently as possible. In all cases the arrows are poisoned; and if they are well introduced into the animal's body, the elephant does not go far[1]."

The Wochua Mimics.

From some of the peculiarities of the Achua (Wochua) Negritoes met by Junker south of the Welle one can understand why these little people were such favourites with the old Egyptian kings. These were "distinguished by sharp powers of observation, amazing talent for mimicry, and a good memory. A striking proof of this was afforded by an Achua whom I had seen and measured four years previously in Rumbek, and now again met at Gambari's. His comic ways and quick nimble movements made this little fellow the clown of our society. He imitated with marvellous fidelity the peculiarities of persons whom he had once seen; for instance, the gestures and facial expressions of Jussuf Pasha esh-Shelahis and of Haj Halil at their devotions, as well as the address and movements of Emin Pasha, 'with the four eyes' (spectacles). His imitation of Hawash Effendi in a towering rage, storming and abusing everybody, was a great success; and now he took me off to the life, rehearsing after four years, down to the minutest details, and with surprising accuracy, my anthropometric performance when measuring his body at Rumbek[2]."

A somewhat similar account is given by Dr Ludwig Wolf of the Batwa pygmies visited by him and Herr Wissmann in the Kassai region. Here are whole villages in the forest-glades inhabited by little people with an average height of about 4 feet 3 inches. They are nomads, occupied exclusively with hunting and the preparation of palm-wine, and are regarded by their Bakubu neighbours as benevolent little people, whose special mission is

[1] *Through Jungle and Desert*, 1896, p. 358—9.

[2] *Travels*, III. p. 86.



1. CONGO NATIVE.
(Bantu Negro Type.)



2. ZULU GIRL.
(Bantu Negroid Type.)



3. NAMA MAN.
(Hottentot Type.)



4. NEW CALEDONIAN.
(Melanesian Type.)

To face page 120]

to provide the surrounding tribes with game and palm-wine in exchange for manioc, maize, and bananas[1].

Despite the above-mentioned deviations, occurring chiefly about the borderlands, considerable uniformity both of physical and mental characters is found to prevail amongst the typical Negrito groups scattered in small hunting communities all over the Welle, Semliki, Congo, and Ogowai woodlands. These groups must therefore be regarded as the fragments of a homogeneous dwarfish race, who have an authentic historical record going back to the early Egyptian dynasties, and still persist in a great part of inter-tropical Africa.

The Bushmen and Hottentots.

Bushmen and Hottentots. Former and Present Range.

Towards the south the Negrito domain was formerly conterminous with that of the Bushmen, of whom traces were discovered by Sir H. H. Johnston[2] as far north as Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika, and who, it is reasonable to suppose, belong to the same primitive stock. The differences mental and physical now separating the two sections of the family may easily be explained by the different environments—hot, moist and densely wooded in the north, and open steppes in the south.

The Wasandawi.

But evidence has now been produced of the presence of a belated Hottentot or Hottentot-Bushman group as far north as the Kwa-Kokue district, between Kilimanjaro and Lake Victoria. The *Wasandawi* people here visited by Herr Oskar Neumann are not Bantus, and speak a language radically distinct from that of the neighbouring

[1] *Im Innern Afrika's*, p. 259 sq. As stated in *Eth.* p. 248, Dr Wolf connects all these Negrito peoples with the Bushmen south of the Zambesi, and I really think this generalisation may now be accepted.

[2] "It would seem as if the earliest known race of man inhabiting what is now British Central Africa was akin to the Bushman-Hottentot type of Negro. Rounded stones with a hole through the centre, similar to those which are used by the Bushmen in the south for weighting their digging-sticks, have been found at the south end of Lake Tanganyika. I have heard that other examples of these 'Bushman' stones have been found nearer to Lake Nyasa, &c." (*Op. cit.* p. 52.)

Bantus, but full of clicks like that of the Bushmen. Two Sandawi skulls examined by Virchow[1] showed distinct Hottentot characters, with a cranial capacity of 1250 and 1265 c.c., projecting upper jaw and orthodolicho head[2]. The geographical prefix *Kwa*, common in the district (Kwa-Kokue, Kwa-Mtoro, Kwa-Hindi), is pure Hottentot, meaning "people," like the postfix *qua* (*Kwa*) of Kora-*qua*, Nama-*qua* &c. in the present Hottentot domain. The transposition of prefixes and postfixes is a common linguistic phenomenon, as seen in the Sumero-Akkadian of Babylonia, in the Neo-Sanskritic tongues of India, and the Latin, Oscan, and other members of the Old Italic group.

Hottentot geographical Names in Bantuland.

Farther south a widely-diffused Hottentot-Bushman geographical terminology attests the former range of this primitive race all over South Africa, as far north as the Zambesi. Lichtenstein had already discovered such traces in the Zulu country[3], and Vater points out that "for some districts the fact has been fully established; mountains and rivers now occupied by the Koossa [Ama-Xosa] preserve in their Hottentot names the certain proof that they at one time formed a permanent possession of this people[4]."

Thanks to the custom of raising heaps of stones or cairns over the graves of renowned chiefs, the migrations of the Hottentots may be followed in various directions to the very heart of South Zambesia. Here the memory of their former presence is perpetuated in the names of such water-courses as Nos-ob, Up, Mol-opo, Hyg-ap, Gar-ib, in which the syllables *ob*, *up*, *ap*, *ib* and others are variants of the Hottentot word *ib*, *ip*, water, river, as in *Gar-ib*, the "Great River," now better known as the Orange

1 *Verhandl. Berliner Gesellsch. f. Anthrop.* 1895, p. 59.

2 Of another skull undoubtedly Hottentot, from a cave on the Transvaal and Orange Free State frontier, Dr Mies remarks that "seine Form ist orthodolichocephal wie bei den Wassandaui," although differing in some other characters (*Centralbl. f. Anthrop.* 1896, p. 50).

3 From which he adds that the Hottentots "schon lange vor der Portugiesischen Umschiffung Afrika's von Kaffer-Stämmen wieder zurückgedrängt wurden" (*Reisen*, I. p. 400).

4 Adelung und Vater, Berlin, 1812, III. p. 290.

River. The same indications may be traced right across the continent to the Atlantic, where nearly all the coast streams—even in Hereroland, where the language has long been extinct—have the same ending[1].

On the west side the Bushmen are still heard of as far north as the Cunene, and in the interior beyond Lake Ngami nearly to the right bank of the Zambesi. But the Hottentots are now confined mainly to Great and Little Namaqualand. Elsewhere there appear to be no full-blood natives of this race, the Koraquas, Gonaquas, Griquas &c. being all Hottentot-Boer or Hottentot-Bantu half-castes of Dutch speech. In Cape Colony the tribal organisation ceased to exist in 1810, when the last Hottentot chief was replaced by a European magistrate. Still the Koraquas keep themselves somewhat distinct about the Upper Orange and Vaal Rivers, and the Griquas in Griqualand East, while the Gonaquas, that is, "Borderers," are being gradually merged in the Bantu populations of the Eastern Provinces. There are at present scarcely 180,000 south of the Orange River, and of these the great majority are half-breeds.

Hottentots disappearing.

Despite their extremely low state of culture, or, one might say, the almost total lack of culture, the Bushmen are distinguished by two remarkable qualities, a certain sense of pictorial or graphic art[2], and a rich imagination displayed in a copious oral folklore, much of which, collected by Bleek, is preserved in manuscript form in Sir George Grey's library at Cape Town. The materials here stored for future use, perhaps long after the race itself has vanished for ever, comprise no less than 84 thick volumes of 3600 double-column pages, besides an unfinished Bushman dictionary with 11,000 entries. There are two great sections, (1) Myths, fables, legends and poetry, with tales about the sun and moon, the stars, the *Mantis* and other animals, legends of peoples who dwelt in the land before the Bushmen, songs, charms, and even prayers; (2) Histories, adventures of

Bushman Folklore Literature.

[1] Such are, going north from below Walvisch Bay, Chuntop, Kuisip, Swakop, Ugab, Huab, Uniab, Hoanib, Kaurasib, and Khomeb.

[2] *Eth.* p. 249.

men and animals, customs, superstitions, genealogies, and so on.

Bushman-Hottentot Language and Clicks.

In the tales and myths the sun, moon, and animals speak either with their own proper clicks, or else use the ordinary clicks in some way peculiar to themselves. Thus Bleek tells us that the tortoise changes clicks in labials, the ichneumon in palatals, the jackal substitutes linguo-palatals for labials, while the moon, hare, and ant-eater use "a most unpronounceable click" of their own. How many there may be altogether, not one of which can be properly uttered by Europeans, nobody seems to know. But grammarians have enumerated nine, indicated each by a graphic sign as under:—

Cerebral...... !	Palatal............ ¡
Dental ...... |	Lateral (Faucal) ||
Guttural......]	Labial .... []
Spiro-dental 7	Linguo-palatal □
Undefined ×	

From Bushman—a language in a state of flux, fragmentary as the small tribal or rather family groups that speak it—these strange inarticulate sounds passed to the number of four into the remotely related Hottentot, and thence to the number of three into the wholly unconnected Zulu-Xosa. But they are heard nowhere else to my knowledge except amongst the newly-discovered Wasandawi people of South Masailand. At the same time we know next to nothing of the Negrito tongues, and it would be strange if clicks did not form an element in their phonetic system also, at least on the assumption of a common origin of all these dwarfish races.

Bushman mental Characters.

M. G. Bertin, to whom we are indebted for an excellent monograph on the Bushman[1], rightly remarks that he is not, at least mentally, so debased as he has been described by the early travellers and by the neighbouring Bantus and Boers, by whom he has always been despised and harried. "His greatest love is for freedom, he acknowledges no master, and possesses no slaves.

[1] *The Bushmen and their Language*, in *Jour. R. Asiatic Soc.* XVIII. Part I.

It is this love of independence which made him prefer the wandering life of a hunter to that of a peaceful agriculturist or shepherd, as the Hottentot. He rarely builds a hut, but prefers for abode the natural caves he finds in the rocks. In other localities he forms a kind of nest in the bush—hence his name of Bushman—or digs with his nails subterranean caves, from which he has received the name of 'Earthman.' His garments consist only of a small skin. His weapons are still the spear, arrow and bow in their most rudimentary form. The spear is a mere branch of a tree, to which is tied a piece of bone or flint; the arrow is only a reed treated in the same way. The arrow and spear-heads are always poisoned, to render mortal the slight wounds they inflict. He gathers no flocks, which would impede his movements, and only accepts the help of dogs as wild as himself. The Bushmen have, however, one implement, a rounded stone perforated in the middle, in which is inserted a piece of wood; with this instrument, which carries us back to the first age of man, they dig up a few edible roots growing wild in the desert. To produce fire, he still retains the primitive system of rubbing two pieces of wood—another prehistoric survival."

Bushman Race-names.

Touching their name, it is obvious that these scattered groups, without hereditary chiefs or social organisation of any kind, could have no collective designation. The term *Khuai*, of uncertain meaning, but probably to be equated with the Hottentot *Khoi*, "Men," is the name only of a single group, though often applied to the whole race. *Saan*, their Hottentot name, is the plural of *Sa*, a term also of uncertain origin; *Ba-roa*, current amongst the Bechuanas, has not been explained, while the Zulu *Abatwa* would seem to connect them even by name with Wolf's and Stanley's *Batwa* of the Congo forest region. Other so-called tribal names (there are no "tribes" in the strict sense of the word) are either nicknames imposed upon them by their neighbours, or else terms taken from the localities, as amongst the Fuegians[1].

[1] *Eth.* p. 9.

CHAPTER V.

THE OCEANIC NEGROES: PAPUASIANS (PAPUANS AND MELANESIANS); AUSTRALIANS; TASMANIANS; NEGRITOES.

General Ethnical Relations in Oceania—The terms PAPUAN, MELANESIAN and PAPUASIAN defined—The Papuasian Domain Past and Present—Primitive Culture—Totemic Myths—Temperament—Cannibalism—Aquatic, Arboreal, and Communal dwellings—Religious ideas—The Melanesian Spirit World—Social Institutions—Cannibalism and Head-hunting—Freemasonry—*The New Caledonians*—Physical Characters—The Stone Age—Early Migrations—The Food Question—Transmigration and Pessimism—*Western Papuasia*—Ethnical Elements—Table of the Islands ethnically disposed—A region of Transition by Displacements and Crossings—Papuan and Malay Contrasts—Ethnical and Biological Divides—*Australians and Tasmanians*—A Region of long Isolation and Ethnical Uniformity—Early peopling of Australia—Unity of Australian Speech—Numeral System—A Typical Hunting Race—Gesture-Speech—Mental Capacity—Religious Ideas—Mythical Heroes—Treatment of the Women—Class Marriages—Communal Marriage System—Australian Humour and Mimicry—The Tasmanians—Undeveloped Speech—The Fire Myth—Rude Implements—Diet—Dwellings—Temperament—*The Oceanic Negritoes*—The Andamanese—Stone Age—Religious Beliefs—Cosmogony—Speech—The Negritoes of the Malay Peninsula: *Semangs, Sakais*—Myths—Physical Appearance—Usages—Speech—Stone Age in the Malay Peninsula—The Negritoes of the Philippines—*The Aetas*—Head-hunters—Untameable Aborigines—The Family everywhere the Social Unit in Negritoland.

CONSPECTUS.

Distribution in Past and Present Times.

Primeval Home. Papuasian: *Malaysia, New Guinea, Melanesia, Micronesia, Polynesia;* Australian *and* Tasmanian: *the whole of Australia and Tasmania respectively;* Negrito: *India (?), Andamans, Malay Peninsula, Java, the Philippines, parts of New Guinea, Timor (?).*

Present Range. Papuasian: *East Malaysia, New Guinea, Melanesia;* Australian: *the unsettled parts of Australia and Reservations;* Tasmanian: *extinct;* Negrito: *Andamans, Malay Peninsula, Philippines.*

Hair. Papuasian: *black, frizzly, mop-like ("Mop-heads"). beard scanty or absent;* Australian: *pitch-black. very wavy or shaggy, though often nearly straight, not coarse, abundant on face and chest, beard often very full;* Tasmanian: *black, closely curled, but shorter and less mop-like than Papuasian;* Negrito: *short and tufty, like Bushman, but always jet black.* **Physical Characters.**

Colour. All: *very deep shades of chocolate brown, often verging on black, a very constant character, lighter shades showing mixture.*

Skull. Papuasian: *extremely dolicho* (68°—72°) *and high* (*hypsistenocephalic*), *but very variable in areas of mixture* (70°—84°); Australian *and* Tasmanian: *dolicho* (70°—72°) *and low* (*Neanderthal type*); Negrito: *brachy* (80°—85°).

Jaws. Papuasian: *moderately or not at all prognathous;* Australian, Tasmanian, *and* Negrito: *generally prognathous, some* (*Semang*) *in the highest degree.* **Cheek-bones.** All: *slightly prominent or even retreating, but Australian often rather high.* **Nose.** Papuasian: *large, straight, even aquiline in true Papuans;* Australian, Tasmanian, *and* Negrito: *triangular, very short, flat, broad at base and deep-rooted, wide nostrils* (*platyrrhine*) *with large thick cartilage.* **Eyes.** All: *moderately large, round and black or very deep brown, with dirty yellowish cornea, generally deep-set with strong overhanging arches;* Australian: *very close-set and often bloodshot, giving a savage expression.*

Stature. Papuasian, Australian, *and* Tasmanian: *above the average, but variable, with rather wide range from 5 ft. 4 in. to 5 ft. 10 in. or 6 ft.;* Negrito: *undersized, but taller than African Negrito* (*4 ft. 6 in. to 5 ft.*).

Temperament. Papuasian: *very excitable, voluble and laughter-loving, fairly intelligent and imaginative, but* **Mental Characters.**

even more cruel than the African Negro; Australian *and* Tasmanian: *distinctly less excitable and intelligent, but also far less cruel, captives never tortured;* Negrito: *active, quick-witted or cunning within narrow limits, naturally kind and gentle.*

Speech. Papuasian, Australian, *and* Tasmanian: *agglutinating with postfixes, many stock languages in West Papuasia, apparently one only in East Papuasia (Melanesian), and in Australia;* Negrito: *scarcely known except in Andamans, where agglutination both by class prefixes and by postfixes has acquired a phenomenal development.*

Religion. *Everywhere except in East Papuasia (spirit-worship, animism) almost absent, or at an extremely low stage of evolution; sacrificial rites and priestcraft, but not witchcraft, entirely absent.*

Culture. Papuasian: *slightly developed; agriculture somewhat advanced (N. Guinea, N. Caledonia); considerable artistic taste and fancy shown in the wood-carving of houses, canoes, outriggers, &c. All others at the lowest hunting stage, without arts or industries of any kind; the Australian boomerang a possible exception.*

Main Divisions.

Papuasian: 1. Western Papuasians (*true Papuans*): *nearly all the* New Guinea *natives;* Aru *and other insular groups thence westwards to* Flores; Torres Straits *and* Louisiade Islands. 2. Eastern Papuasians: *nearly all the natives of* Melanesia *from Bismarck Archipelago to New Caledonia, with most of* Fiji.

Australians: *hundreds of tribal groups, without any characters sufficiently marked to constitute distinct ethnical divisions anywhere.*

Negritoes: 1. Andamanese *Islanders.* 2. Semangs, Sakais *and other scattered groups in the Malay Peninsula.* 3. Aetas, *surviving in most of the Philippine Islands.*

PAPUASIANS.

General Ethnical Relations in Oceania.

FROM the data supplied in *Ethnology*, Chap. XI. a reconstruction may be attempted of the obscure ethnical relations in Australasia on the following broad lines.

1. The two main sections of the Ethiopic division of mankind, now separated by the intervening waters of the Indian Ocean, are fundamentally one.

2. To the Sudanese and Bantu sub-sections in Africa correspond, *mutatis mutandis*, the Papuan and Australian sub-sections in Oceania, the former being distinguished by great linguistic diversity, the latter by considerable linguistic uniformity, and both by a rather wide range of physical variety within certain well-marked limits.

3. In Africa the physical varieties are due mainly to Semitic and Hamitic grafts on the Negro stock; in Oceania mainly to Mongol (Malay) and Caucasian (Indonesian) grafts on the same Negro stock.

4. The Negrito element in Africa has its counterpart in an analogous Negrito element in Oceania (Andamanese, Sakais, Aetas).

5. In both regions the linguistic confusion is mainly confined to a single compact area (Sudan and New Guinea), and in both presents similar features—a large number of languages differing profoundly in their grammatical structure and vocabularies, but all belonging to the same agglutinative order of speech, and also more or less to the same phonetic system.

6. In both regions the linguistic uniformity is similarly confined to one or two geographical areas (Bantuland in Africa; Australia and Melanesia in Oceania); but while the uniformity is almost absolute in Bantuland and Melanesia, it is limited in Australia to identical agglutinative and phonetic systems with more or less grammatical and lexical diversity[1].

7. In Bantuland and Australia the two respective linguistic

[1] Yet the late Horatio Hale, who had given much attention to the subject, held that all the Australian tongues sprang from one stock, which was itself of Dravidian origin. (*Language as a Test of Mental Capacity*, in *Transactions R. Soc. of Canada*, 1891.)

systems show but faint if any resemblances to any other known tongues, whereas the Melanesian group is but one branch, though the most archaic, of the vast Malayo-Polynesian Family, diffused over the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

The terms Papuan, Melanesian and Papuasian defined.

8. Owing to their linguistic, geographical, and to some extent their physical and social differences, it is desirable to treat the Papuans and Melanesians as two distinct though closely related sub-groups, and to restrict the use of the terms PAPUAN and MELANESIAN accordingly, while both may be conveniently comprised under the general or collective term PAPUASIAN.

9. Here, therefore, by *Papuans* will be understood the true aborigines of New Guinea with its eastern Louisiade dependency[1], and in the west many of the Malaysian islands as far as Flores inclusive, where the black element and non-Malay speech predominate; by *Melanesians*, the natives of Melanesia as commonly understood, that is, the "Bismarck" Archipelago (New Britain, New Ireland and Duke of York); the Solomon Islands; Santa Cruz; the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Loyalty, and Fiji, where the black element and Malayo-Polynesian speech prevail almost exclusively. PAPUASIA will thus comprise the insular world from Flores to New Caledonia, forming geologically a northern and north-eastern extension of the Australian Continent.

The Papuasian Domain, Past and Present.

Such appear to be the present limits of the Papuasian domain, which formerly included Micronesia also (the Marianne, Pelew, and Caroline groups), and possibly extended over the whole of Polynesia as far as Easter Island. The results of the Funafuti boring (1897) "indicate almost without doubt that Polynesia is an area of comparatively recent subsidence[2]," so that the insular remnants of that drowned continent may still have been

[1] That is, the indigenous Papuans, who appear to form the great bulk of the New Guinea populations, in contradistinction to the immigrant Melanesians (Motu and others), who are numerous especially along the south-east coast of the mainland and in the neighbouring Louisiade and D'Entrecasteaux Archipelagoes. (*Eth.* p. 287 sq.) But even here the Papuans form the substratum, and despite present overlappings are no doubt the true aborigines.

[2] R. Lydekker, *Knowledge*, Jan. 1, 1898.

contiguous enough to have been reached by the early Papuasian wanderers from Malaysia.

The theory of the comparatively recent occupation of the insular world by the dark races must now be abandoned. A prolonged study, remarks Dr E. T. Hamy, conveys the impression that the Melanesians [Papuasians] are a very old ethnic group, here and there modified on the spot by crossings with populations always on the move (Malays, Bugis, &c.). Everywhere the priority of the Melanesians is manifest; their origins are lost in the depths of an unfathomable past[1], and this vast antiquity is attested also by the multitude of languages often unintelligible outside a narrow district, and by the highly differentiated usages of the insular groups.

Primitive Culture.

Yet there are indications that before their dispersion from the Malaysian cradleland eastwards, the Papuasians had reached a stage of culture high enough to at least build canoes and houses, these terms (*waka*, *ruma*) having an immense range in endless dialectic form from the Malay Peninsula through the Eastern Archipelago to the Loyalty group at the southern extremity of Melanesia. They do not occur amongst the peoples of non-Malay speech in New Guinea, and these aborigines, the true Papuans, stand in some respects almost on the lowest rung of the social ladder. Miklukho-Maclay found the natives of the north-west coast near Astrolabe Bay at the lowest stage of culture, with no knowledge of the metals, all their implements being of stone, wood, or bones. They could not even kindle a fire, which when extinguished in a hut had to be brought from the nearest hearth, and if in all the huts then from the nearest friendly village. Their grandfathers remembered a time when they had no fire, and ate their food quite raw. The dead were not buried if a fire could be kept up for two or three weeks to dry the body, which was placed near it in a sitting posture, covered with coco-palm leaves and guarded by the wife[2].

[1] "Leurs origines se perdent dans les profondeurs d'un insondable passé" (*Les Races nègres*, in *L'Anthropologie*, 1897, p. 257 sq.) See also W. Volz, *Beiträge zur Anthrop. der Südsee*, in *Archiv f. Anthrop.* Nov. 1894, where it is contended that the Melanesians formerly occupied all the Pacific Ocean, having reached it from Malaysia in pre-Malay times.

[2] *Nature*, Dec. 7, 1882, p. 137.

Totemic Myths.

Almost everywhere the tribal organization is extremely loose[1], their social institutions primitive and barbarous to the last degree, and their religious notions, if the expression can be used at all, crude almost beyond belief. Even the totemic systems are undeveloped, as we see from the attitude of the Masingaramu people of the south-east coast towards their "god," the *sible* (crocodile), who may be killed but not eaten.

They have a myth about one Usai, who once heard singing and talking in his own language, and found it was a crocodile playing with his two little ones. He therefore concluded it must be a god, who ought to be secured for the tribe. Next day all the people went and asked him to be their god, but although they promised to keep him in food, he declined the honour. So Nugu, as he was called, was seized with Ulbe, one of his sons, and brought to the village, where, in the absence of their parents, some of the children disappeared every now and then. When their loss was traced to Nugu, it was agreed to supply him with pigs on his giving his word to leave the children alone. The effigies of Nugu and Ulbe are still preserved, and at the hunting feasts are set up in the circle of dancers, refreshed with libations and greased with pig's fat. "The memory of Nugu is also perpetuated in the figure of a man which is kept in the Chief's house, and is the great totem of the tribe[2]."

Temperament.

Like all true Negroes the New Guinea people pass readily from comedy to tragedy, displaying in their temperament a strange blend of boisterous animal spirits and fiendish cruelty. When a neighbouring coast village has to be raided for blood vengeance, the warriors in the canoes get up a tremendous din, shouting and singing to Eaboahine, "the man in the moon," banging the sides of the canoes, beating the drums, and blowing the conch-shell. If the attack is successful the killing and plundering is "accompanied by the most infernal yelling and shouting," which is renewed on reaching the canoes

[1] No priestcraft or statecraft, no totemistic clans except in Torres Straits (?), no hereditary chiefs except in the Trobriand Group (Ray and Haddon).

[2] B. A. Healy, *Official Report*, British New Guinea, 1895, Appendix T, p. 58 sq.

with more hilarious jubilation, dancing, drum-beating, conch-blowing, and so on.

Then the wretched captives' palms are pierced, a string passed through the holes and the hands tied together at the back. On the return voyage they are jeered at and taunted with the prospect of torture, and when the flotilla arrives they are thrown into the water and fished out by those on the beach, sticking barbed spears into the less vulnerable fleshy parts, the use of hands being barred by custom. In the village they are put on mats, a rope secured to a tree is passed round their necks to make them sit with head erect, and their hands held down, while the nearest female relative of the man to be avenged steps forward armed with a sharp-pointed stick. "Is it with this right eye," she asks, "that you have seen my son [or brother, &c.] captured? Is it with this right eye you saw him cut to pieces, cooked and eaten? Well, this is the payment for it," thrusting the stick into his right eye. All the other female relatives then follow, each in her turn inflicting some fresh but not deadly gash, after which he is wrapped in dry coconut leaves, hoisted some six feet from the ground, and slowly roasted with firesticks. "When the rope by which the body is hung is burnt and the body falls to the ground the wildest and most savage scene takes place. The natives rush with knives in their hands, each slashing a piece off the body, which may be still alive, in the midst of diabolical noise and yells of rejoicing[1]."

Cannibalism.

It is to be feared that such scenes are still rife in many parts of the interior, which lie beyond the reach of the British, German, and Dutch administrations. Even in some of the coast districts cannibalism in its most repulsive form was universally practised before the British occupation, and the Rev. James Chalmers tells us that at a periodical feast, which he had been invited to attend, he found the guests strutting about "with pieces of human flesh dangling from their neck and arms." A child destined for this banquet "was spared for a future time, it being considered too small[2]."

These and many other shortcomings are redeemed by scarcely

[1] Dr Lamberto Loria, *Official Report*, 1895, Appendix S, p. 44 sq.

[2] *Work and Adventure in New Guinea*, 1885.

any good qualities, at least amongst the S.E. coast peoples, and Mr H. H. Romilly was inclined, after diligent inquiry, to conclude that "they possess no virtues whatever[1]." It should, however, be stated that intelligent, peaceful, and friendly tribes were met both by the British and German expeditions to the interior in 1896—8. Dr Lauterbach speaks of an upland district in the Bismarck Range thickly inhabited by a settled people "very friendly and communicative," who lived in very long pile buildings in the midst of coconut palm groves[2]; and Sir W. Macgregor met on the Mount Scratchley slopes an isolated community of true Papuans with frizzled hair and of dark bronze colour, who "showed themselves amiable and peaceful, and the state of their arms indicated that they had not been engaged in any warlike undertaking for years[3]." Certainly the worst accounts hitherto received have been of coast tribes, such as the piratical Tarungares and Wandamens of Geelvink Bay, and especially the ferocious Tugara cannibals of the south coast. Even Mr Romilly speaks favourably of some of their physical qualities, keen sight which detects footsteps over rocky ground or through dense scrub, when to the European eye no trace whatever has been left, and an almost equally acute sense of hearing.

Aquatic, Arboreal, and Communal Dwellings.

In some parts of New Guinea the local conditions and tribal usage have given rise to a considerable variety of house architecture, comprising aquatic stations like those of prehistoric Switzerland, huge communal structures of too primitive a type to be compared with the *casas grandes* of the Pueblo Indians, and arboreal dwellings perched in the forks of trees a hundred feet high, provisioned to stand a siege, like those of the Central Sudanese aborigines. Mr J. P. Thompson describes some of the south-east coast villages as "raised upon long piles in the sea from 100 to 300 yards from the beach, encompassed by water of varying depths. Some of these houses are surrounded by fences, and accessible by primitive steps, while others are unprotected

[1] *From my Verandah in New Guinea*, 1889, p. 51.
[2] *Geogr. Jour.* Jan. 1897, p. 94.
[3] *Ib.* April, 1897, p. 449.

and present most curious architectural forms with their grotesque top structures perched upon long piles[1]."

About the lower Fly River and the Gulf of Papua this observer tells us that each village usually possesses one house over 500 feet in length, usually divided by great passages running right through the centre, with lateral subdivisions, "so that the interior section resembles that of a stable with its numerous stalls. These subdivisions possess fire-places, which are used for cooking the family food. The fire is usually kept burning day and night to keep away mosquitoes and other obnoxious insects[2]." Although provided with end and several side doors, these buildings, which stand on piles above the surface of the ground, are always dark and cheerless, while the arboreal structures are at least bright and breezy. "These aerial dwellings are constructed in the highest trees about 100 feet above the ground, and approached by almost perpendicular ladders constructed of long spliced saplings lashed 18 inches apart by cross-bars at every 15 inches. These houses, supplemented by detached platforms, are stocked with food and weapons of defence, and constantly occupied by their owners, who are so intimidated by the raids of their slayers, that they leave their dwellings no longer than they can possibly help for the purpose of procuring their necessary food[3]."

Religious Ideas.

To Mr Romilly's book is prefixed an introduction on "New Guinea Folklore" by Mr Andrew Lang, who questions the author's statement that "the superstitions of the Papuans can hardly be said to resemble any form of religion," adding that "we know from other sources that Papuans in Melanesia have the general elements of religion, like other people[4]." This is a good illustration of the necessity of restricting the use of the term *Papuan* to the aborigines of New Guinea and neighbouring islands, and maintaining the distinction between them and the true Melanesians of

[1] *British New Guinea*, 1892, p. 56. For the *raison d'être* of these aquatic stations see *Eth.* p. 120—1.

[2] *Ib.* p. 121. Almost exactly similar dwellings occur in Geelvink Bay on the north-west coast (*Cruise of Marchesa*, p. 279).

[3] *Ib.* p. 51.

[4] P. xvi.

Malayo-Polynesian speech. Had Mr Lang not overlooked this point, he would have seen that the New Guinea natives, the true Papuans, may well be without any intelligible form of religion, while the Melanesian Papuans, as he calls them, have the elements of religion "like other people." Their Malayo-Polynesian speech alone shows that they must for ages have been in close contact with the Indonesians, from whom they have acquired something more than "the elements of religion."

The Melanesian Spirit World.

Convincing proof of this is supplied by such works as Mr C. M. Woodford's *A Naturalist among the Head-Hunters* (1890), Dr H. B. Guppy's *The Solomon Islands and their Natives* (1887), and especially the Rev. Mr Codrington's *The Melanesians* (1891). The last named shows that, although for lack of an adequate native term the Melanesian Mission has had everywhere to use the English word *God*, all the Melanesians have a religious system developed enough to distinguish between *spirits*, i.e. "supernatural beings that never were in a human body," and *ghosts*, i.e. "men's spirits that have left the body[1]." There is moreover the universal belief in *mana*, a supernatural power or influence, which, though impersonal, is always connected with some persons, spirits or ghosts, who direct or control it. As far as I can understand Mr Codrington's explanation, this *mana* is a kind of spiritual force or virtue, somewhat analogous to the Augustinian *grace*, transmitted from the higher powers to man either directly, or through some material object—a stone of peculiar shape, a tuft of leaves or the like—the possession of which secures luck and success in this life, just as the material water of baptism opens the way to happiness in the next. In any case such a metaphysical conception reveals an immense advance on the gross anthropomorphism of the New Guinea Papuans.

A similar subtle line of thought is manifested in the ideas associated with sacrifice, prayer, invocation, dreams, prophecy, omens, death and burial rites. Lolomboetogitogi, abode of the dead, shows curious analogies with the Hades of the ancients. In Lepers' Island it is reached, like Avernus, by descent through a volcanic vent near a lake, where ghosts assemble, and where the

[1] P. 121.

new-comers are received by Nggalevu, the ghostly ruler of the place. On the far side of the lake, whither no man is known to have come, clouds of steam rise through another cleft, a proof that Nggalevu has heard the cries of the shades who have climbed an overhanging tree and called aloud to him for a sign that he is there. In shade-land are trees and houses where dwell the dead, though they may still visit the glimpses of the moon, and are seen like fire at night, or like dead tree-fern trunks right in the path of the wayfarer, who fears to go farther into the gloomy woodlands. Some of these apparitions are evil-minded, and prey on the living to carry them away to Lolomboetogitogi, where all live a happy if an empty life, free at least from sorrow and earthly woes.

Social Institutions.

Yet most of these Melanesians, capable of assimilating if not inventing such dreams and even sublime fancies, are utter savages, less cruel perhaps than some of the full-blood Papuans, but in many respects not appreciably superior to the average New Guinea native. The most careful observers are unable to free them from the charge of extreme treachery, head-hunting, and other atrocious practices, although some allowance may still be made for these islanders, long exposed to the sudden raids of white kidnappers in quest of "contract" labour for the Peruvian and (formerly) the Queensland plantations.

Cannibalism and Head-hunting.

The extent to which cannibalism prevailed till lately in Fiji may be judged from the fact that, for some offence against the paramount chief, a whole tribe in Viti Levu was condemned to be cooked alive in ovens and eaten by batches at each recurrent taro feast. A great part of the population, bound by the oral common law to bide their time, had thus been consumed, when the survivors were rescued by the British occupation of the Archipelago in 1874. Now the Fijians all profess Christianity, Protestant or Roman Catholic, and the dethroned king Thakombau, who had in his time devoured no inconsiderable number of his heathen subjects, became a devout member of the Wesleyan congregation.

Head-hunting, popularly supposed to be peculiar to the Bornean Dyaks, has on the contrary a very wide range, from the eastern Himalayas right through Malaysia to the utmost limits of

Papuasia. It is rife in the Solomon group, where Dr Guppy tells us that "the chiefs of New Georgia or Rubiana extend their raids to Ysabel, Florida, and Guadalcanar, and thus perform voyages over a hundred miles in length. Within the radius of these raids no native can be said to enjoy the security of his own existence for a single day. In the villages of Rubiana may be seen heaps of skulls testifying to the success of previous expeditions. Capt. Cheyne, when visiting Simbo or Eddystone Island in 1844, found that the natives had just returned from a successful expedition, bringing with them ninety-three heads of men, women, and children[1]."

As in Borneo, the practice is not necessarily associated with cannibalism, and heads are often sought either for the honour of the prize, or in proof of prowess, or for some ceremonial purpose. Thus a new canoe has in some places to be baptized in blood before it can be endowed with the efficacious grace of *mana*. Human sacrifices have also to be provided for, and not only heads but living captives are often carried off and kept in reserve for some great occasion, such as the death of a chief, the foundation of a house, or the launching of a war canoe.

That indifference to physical pain when inflicted on others, so characteristic of all Papuasians, is seen in a method of scarifying which is not, however, peculiar to the Solomon group. "The faces of both men and women," writes Mr Woodford, "are frequently ornamented all over with cicatrices either circular or chevron-shaped. The operation is a painful and costly one, as the professional tattooer has to be highly paid for his trouble, and not every child's friends can afford the fee demanded. The instrument used is the claw of the flying-fox. The unfortunate patient is not allowed to sleep for two or three nights before the operation is performed, and then, when he is ready to drop from weariness, the tattooer begins his work, and completes it at one sitting....A child was brought for my inspection whose face had just been finished off. It was in a painful state of nervous irritation, and the face swelled to an enormous size. A hole was scraped for it at the edge of the sea, where it could lie on its

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 16.

stomach and from time to time dip its fevered face into the water. In a day or two it had quite recovered[1]."

In Guadalcanar Mr Woodford discovered a wide-spread system of what for lack of a better term he calls "castes," but which seems to be a kind of freemasonry with several "lodges" in that and some of the adjacent islands. The *Kema*, *Ravu*, or *Kua*, as they are variously called by the natives in a general way, have each its proper name, such as *Gambata*, the largest and most powerful, in Guadalcanar; *Kiki* in Gela; *Lakoli*, *Kakau* and elsewhere. Tribes of different speech may be members of the same lodge, and it is owing to the protection afforded by them that the associates are able to pass freely from village to village even when war is raging between them. Mr S. H. Ray refers somewhere to the *Supwe*, a similar institution widely diffused throughout the New Hebrides and the Banks group, a kind of social club, which gives a certain prestige or influence to its members, and has a *gamal* ("lodge") in every village, accessible only to the associates. It is interesting to note that the Motu people of British New Guinea, originally from Melanesia[2], call the large communal house in the village *dubu*, probably the same word as *supwe*, *d* and *s* being interchangeable, as in Motu *dala* = Fiji and Rotuma *sala*, and Sesake *mata ki sala*. I do not know whether the club exists as an institution in Motuland, but the name might have been transferred to the separate communal building.

Free-masonry.

Such protection is much needed in a region where the main object of their existence "is to take each other's heads. They are like wild beasts always prowling about for prey, but rarely attacking unless they feel that they have their victim in their power without risk to themselves. Theirs is the same motive that animated the native clergyman whom I once saw in Fiji take a live rat, deliberately chop off its four feet with his knife, and then allow it to struggle, maimed, away. The same motive that animates schoolboys to torture frogs, that inspires the Englishman's inquiry, 'What shall we kill to-day?'—the destructive instinct that, after centuries of civilisation, still lurks in our nature[3]."

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 31. [2] *Eth.* p. 287.
[3] *Ib.* p. 43—4.

The New Caledonians.

The "Kanakas," as the natives of New Caledonia and the Loyalty group are wrongly[1] called by their present rulers, have been carefully studied by some French anthropologists. Perhaps the best account of them is that of M. Augustin Bernard[2], based on the observations of de Rochas, Bourgard, Vieillard, Bertillon, Meinicke, and Keane. Apart from several sporadic Polynesian groups in the Loyalties[3], all are typical Melanesians, long-headed with very broad face at least in the middle, narrow boat-shaped skull (Ceph. Index 70)[4], large, massive lower jaw, often with two supplementary molars[5], colour a dark chocolate, often with a highly characteristic purple tinge; but de Rochas' statement that for a few days after birth infants are of a light reddish yellow hue lacks confirmation; hair less woolly but much longer than the Negro; beard also longish and frizzly, the pepper-corn tufts with simulated bald spaces being an effect due to the assiduous use of the comb[6]; very prominent superciliary arches and thick eyebrows, whence their somewhat furtive look; mean

Physical Characters.

[1] *Kanaka* is a Polynesian word meaning "man," and should therefore be restricted to the brown Indonesian group, but it is indiscriminately applied by French writers to all South Sea Islanders, whether black or brown. This misuse of the term has found its way into some English books of travel even in the corrupt French form "canaque."

[2] *L'Archipel de la Nouvelle Calédonie*, Paris, 1895.

[3] Lifu, Mare, Uvea, and Isle of Pines. These Polynesians appear to have all come originally from Tonga, first to Uvea Island (Wallis), and thence in the 18th century to Uvea in the Loyalties, cradle of all the New Caledonian Polynesian settlements.

[4] This low index is characteristic of most Papuasians, and reaches the extreme of dolichocephaly in the extinct Kai-Colos of Fiji (65°), and amongst some coast Papuans of New Guinea measured by Miklukho-Maclay. But this observer found the character so variable in New Guinea that he was unable to use it as a racial test. In the New Hebrides, Louisiades, and Bismarck group also he found many of the natives to be round-headed, with indices as high as 80 and 85; and even in the Solomon Islands Dr Guppy records cephalic indices ranging from 73 to 82 with a mean of 81 in Treasury Island (*Nature*, April 26, 1883). Thus this feature is no more constant amongst the Oceanic than it is amongst the African Negroes. (See also M. Maclay's paper in *Proc. Linn. Soc. New South Wales*, 1882, p. 171 sq.)

[5] *Eth.* p. 184.

[6] *Eth.* pp. 170, 425.

height 5 ft. 4 in.; speech Melanesian with three marked varieties, that of the south-eastern districts being considered the most rudimentary member of the whole Melanesian group[1].

The Stone Age.

New Caledonia is one of the few places in the Pacific where distinct evidence has been found of an early Stone Age corresponding to that of Palæolithic times in the northern hemisphere. Serpentine hatchets have from time to time been brought to light in pleistocene beds[2], one at Kutomo in the coralline limestone associated with *Bulimus senilis* and other fossil or sub-fossil shells, and at Bonrail M. Glaumont discovered some hearths under 5 feet of alluvia, and at a depth of 20 feet four clay cooking-vessels like those still in use. Alluvial matter, however, accumulates rapidly in this district[3].

Early Migrations.

The present natives, if not the direct descendants of the people of the Stone Age, must still have arrived at a very remote period, probably following the general movement of migration from Malaysia. The direction of the winds offers no obstacle, nor are the trades of the Pacific regular enough to prevent such migratory movements from west to east. The land connections were also, as seen, more continuous than at present, while the taro and yam—apparently of South Asiatic origin, but now widely diffused over the Pacific islands—would seem to indicate the route followed by the early human immigrants.

The Food Question.

From the state of their industries, in some respects the rudest, in others amongst the most advanced in Melanesia, it may be inferred that after their arrival the New Caledonians, like the Tasmanians, the Andamanese, and some other insular groups, remained for long ages almost completely secluded from the rest of the world. Owing to the poverty of the soil the struggle for food must always have been severe. Hence the most jealously guarded privileges of the chiefs were associated with questions of diet, while the paradise of the dead was a region where they had abundance of food and could gorge on yams. Their stomach, like that of the Bushmen,

[1] Bernard, p. 262.
[2] P. 270.
[3] *Rev. d'Ethnogr.* 1889, p. 214.

seems to have acquired an exceptional power of expansion and contraction, enabling them at one time to consume incredible quantities of food, at another to go fasting for days together without feeling any ill effects from such violent oscillations between want and surfeit. They were also earth-eaters, while cannibalism and the institution of taboo, if originally associated with religion, had certainly lost that character in New Caledonia, where they are mainly connected with the eternal food question.

In the absence of game and cattle the natives could become neither hunters nor pastors, and were driven to fishing and agriculture to supplement the scanty resources of the land flora and fauna. Hence it is as fishers and husbandmen that they became one of the most advanced peoples in the Oceanic world. The skill displayed in the irrigation of their taro fields was rivalled only by the natives of Fiji.

Transmigration and Pessimism.

Like the Levites amongst the Jews, the office of *takata* (priest or wizard) was hereditary, and the chief feature of their religion was the cult of the dead. In fact the gods, all evil, were, as in Bantuland, the souls of the departed, and especially of the chiefs, who acquired increased power of working harm by migrating into sharks, the winds, or thunder-storms. Thus the spirits of their forefathers that oppressed them in life bestride the whirlwind in death, and continue to harry the living by disturbing the order of nature. All this developed a gloomy, sullen temperament, a pessimistic mood and the ferocity of despair, as displayed especially at the tribal gatherings (*pilu-pilu*), and in the orgies after the taro feast, which often ended in massacres and hideous scenes of cannibalism.

Western Papuasia.

Returning to the Papuan lands proper, in the insular groups west of New Guinea we enter one of the most entangled ethnical regions in the world. Here are, no doubt, a few islands such as the Aru group, mainly inhabited by full-blood Papuans, men who furnished Wallace with the models on which he built up his true Papuan type, which has since been vainly assailed by so many later observers. But in others—Ceram, Buru, Timor, and so on to Flores—diverse ethnical and linguistic elements are intermingled in almost

hopeless confusion. Discarding the term "Alfuro" as of no ethnical value[1], we find the whole area west to about 120° E. longitude[2] occupied in varying proportions by pure and mixed representatives of three distinct stocks: Negro (Papuans), Mongol (Malayans), and Caucasic (Indonesians). From the data supplied by Crawfurd, Wallace, Forbes, Ten Kate and other trustworthy observers, I have constructed the subjoined table, in which the east Malaysian islands are disposed according to the constituent elements of their inhabitants[3]:—

Ethnical Elements.

Aru Group—True Papuans dominant; Indonesians (Korongo-ei) in the interior.

Kei Group—Malayans; Indonesians; Papuan strain everywhere.

Timor; Wetta; Timor Laut—Mixed Papuans, Malayans and Indonesians; no pure type anywhere.

Serwatti Group—Malayans with slight trace of black blood (Papuan or Negrito).

Roti and Sumba—Malayans.

Savu—Indonesians.

Flores; Solor; Adonera; Lomblen; Pantar; Allor—Papuans pure or mixed dominant; Malayans in the coast towns.

Buru—Malayans on coast; reputed Papuans, but more probably Indonesians in interior.

Ceram—Malayans on coast; mixed Malayo-Papuans inland.

Amboina; Banda—Malayans; Dutch-Malay half-breeds ("Perkeniers").

Goram—Malayans with slight Papuan strain.

Matabello; Tior; Nuso Telo; Tionfoloka—Papuans with Malayan admixture.

Misol—Malayo-Papuans on coast; Papuans inland.

Tidor; Ternate; Sulla; Makian—Malayans.

Batjan—Malayans; Indonesians.

[1] *Eth.* p. 328.

[2] But excluding Celebes, where no trace of Papuan elements has been discovered.

[3] For details see Dr F. H. H. Guillemard, *Australasia*, Vol. II. and Reclus, Vol. XIV.

Gilolo—Mixed Papuans; Indonesians in the north.

Waigiu; Salwatti; Batanta—Malayans on the coast; Papuans inland.

From this apparently chaotic picture, which in some places, such as Timor, presents every gradation from the full-blood Papuan to the typical Malay, Crawfurd concluded that the eastern section of Malaysia constituted a region of transition between the yellowish-brown lank-haired and the dark-brown or black mop-headed stocks. In a sense this is true, but not in the sense intended by Crawfurd, who by "transition" meant the actual passage by some process of development from type to type independently of interminglings. But such extreme transitions have nowhere taken place spontaneously, so to say, and in any case could never have been brought about in a small zoological area presenting everywhere the same climatic conditions. Biological types may be, and have been, modified in different environments, arctic, temperate, or tropical zones, but not in the same zone, and if two such marked types as the Mongol and the Negro are now found juxtaposed in the Malaysian tropical zone, the fact must be explained by migrations and displacements, while the intermediate forms are to be attributed to secular intermingling of the extremes. Why should a man, passing from one side to another of an island 10 or 20 miles long, be transformed from a sleek-haired brown to a frizzly-haired black, or from a mercurial laughter-loving Papuan to a Malayan "slow in movement and thoroughly phlegmatic in disposition, rarely seen to laugh or become animated in conversation, with expression generally of vague wonder or weary sadness"[1]?

A Region of Transition by Displacements and Crossings.

Wallace's classical description of these western Papuans, who are here in the very cradleland of the race, can never lose its charm, and its accuracy has been fully confirmed by all later observers. "The typical Papuan race," he writes, "is in many respects the very opposite of the Malay. The colour of the body is a deep sooty-brown or black, sometimes approaching, but never quite equalling, the jet-black of some negro races. The hair is very

Papuan and Malay Contrasts.

[1] Dr S. J. Hickson, *A Naturalist in North Celebes*, 1889, p. 203.

peculiar, being harsh, dry, and frizzly, growing in little tufts or curls, which in youth are very short and compact, but afterwards grow out to a considerable length, forming the compact, frizzled mop which is the Papuan's pride and glory....The moral characteristics of the Papuan appear to me to separate him as distinctly from the Malay as do his form and features. He is impulsive and demonstrative in speech and action. His emotions and passions express themselves in shouts and laughter, in yells and frantic leapings....The Papuan has a greater feeling for art than the Malay. He decorates his canoe, his house, and almost every domestic utensil with elaborate carving, a habit which is rarely found among tribes of the Malay race. In the affections and moral sentiments, on the other hand, the Papuans seem very deficient. In the treatment of their children they are often violent and cruel, whereas the Malays are almost invariably kind and gentle[1]."

Ethnical and Biological Divides.

The ethnological parting-line between the Malayan and Papuasian races, as first laid down by Wallace, nearly coincides with his division between the Indo-Malayan and Austro-Malayan floras and faunas, the chief differences being the positions of Sumbawa and Celebes. Both of these islands are excluded from the Papuasian realm, but included in the Austro-Malayan zoological and botanical regions.

Australians and Tasmanians.

A Region of long Isolation and ethnical Uniformity.

Both Australians and Tasmanians are, or were, absolutely conterminous with their respective insular domains, where they had, till the British occupation, remained practically secluded from the outer world throughout the whole course of their natural development since the first peopling of the land in the Stone Ages. Similar conditions have prevailed in a large way elsewhere only in America. Hence it is that the inhabitants of these isolated ethnical zones alone present a certain degree of uniformity in their physical and mental characters. The modifications are

[1] *The Malay Archipelago*, Chap. XL.

here everywhere such as may be accounted for on the hypothesis that the present aborigines represent a blend of two, or at most three[1] different elements in extremely remote times, with later interminglings and fresh groupings of these same elements through inevitable local shiftings and disturbances, but without any serious addition of further foreign elements after the first settlements.

To the observer arriving on the north coast of Australia from New Guinea this homogeneous character of the aborigines is very striking. From a region of considerable ethnical confusion, presenting all shades of transition from the full-blood Papuan to the variable Melanesian, he enters a continent in which a strong family likeness is at once detected between all the scattered groups of its primitive inhabitants. This family likeness is moreover so marked that, amid all the local differences, the natives are everywhere instantly recognised as members of a single ethnical division, and we at once realise the vast period of time needed for the development of their highly specialised type. Their arrival is referred by Mr A. W. Howitt to a time anterior to the present distribution of land and water, as they must have reached their present homes by some now submerged land-connection, or at all events across narrow channels navigable by frail canoes or catamarans. An immense period of time, he contends, is "one of the elements of any solution of the problem," and during that period the natives have been completely isolated within a continental area of development. They arrived, he thinks, by a land-bridge either connecting with the Indo-Asiatic continent, or by a land extension of the Austral continent towards the north-west, or over some shallow channels between Australia and those lands[2].

Early Peopling of Australia.

[1] Dr O. Finsch, who studied specimens from regions as wide apart as South Queensland, the Gulf of Carpentaria and West Australia, is satisfied with one: "Auf Grund dieser Untersuchungen überzeugte ich mich, dass die Australier eine eigene Rasse bilden, welche den Melanesiern oder Papuas entfernter stehen als letztere reinen Afrikanischen Negern" (*Reise in der Südsee*, 1884, p. 66).

[2] Paper read at the Meeting of the Australian Ass. for the Adv. of Science, Sydney, Jan. 1898. I need scarcely point out how completely these views harmonise with those advanced in *Eth.* Chap. XI.

Unity of Australian Speech.

Strong support is given to this assumption by the absolutely independent and uniform character of Australian speech. The divergences from a common agglutinative form, radically distinct from any other, are far less than the divergences of the American tongues from a common polysynthetic form, while the phonetic system may be described as everywhere identical. A few traces of sibilants have been noticed, but practically these sounds are unknown to all the Australian dialects. Here we have complete accord between linguistic and anatomical characters, both alike arguing for a common racial origin[1]. All attempts to affiliate this group to the Dravidian of Southern India, or to any other, have signally failed, as we see from the "proofs" of affinity with "words used by the Aryan race" put forward by Mr S. Bennett, Mr Taplin and others[2]. Thus *kiradjee*, a doctor, is equated with the Greek χειρουργός, whereas the comparison, to prove anything, should be with the Greek χείρ, a hand, and ἔργον, work, terms not found in any Australian dialect. So *mah*, to strike = Hindí *mah*, which should be *már*, as *máh* means *month*, and *mah* nothing at all; and it will hardly be credited that *cobbera*, head, is collated with English *cob*, and Spanish *cobra*, which should be Portuguese, only in that language *cobra* does not mean *head*, but *snake*. And the whole process is unscientific, all the native dialects being ransacked for likely words, which are then compared, not with a particular Aryan tongue, but with all of them, ancient and modern, and even with Hebrew, or Arabic, or "Moorish" (*gibber* = *Gibr*-altar), which are not Aryan, but Semitic. Hence, if the comparisons could be established, the logical inference would be that the Australians are proved by their languages to be an amalgam of Aryans and Semites, living and dead, from all parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa. For this reason the comparisons made by Mr Curr with African Negro languages[3] must also be pronounced worthless.

[1] The absence of sibilant sounds is attributed by Prof. Macalister to the macrodont alveolar arch and corresponding modified tongue, which make their utterance a difficult feat to accomplish (*Paper*, Brit. Ass. Edinburgh, 1891).

[2] In R. Brough Smyth's *Aborigines of Victoria*, 1878, Vol. II. p. 5 sq.

[3] I. p. 171 sq.

It is more profitable to note, as an indication of the level of the Australian intellect, that in none of these dialects are there any words for the numerals higher than *one* and *two*, or here and there *three*[1], beyond which *four* = 2 + 2, *five* = many, lots, heaps, and so on. Even *búla*, a common word for *two*, is used in some places for *three*, and in others for *many*, as if the numerical relation were altogether beyond the grasp of the native mind[2]. In any case "no Australian Black in his wild state can, I believe, practically count as high as seven. If you lay seven pins on a table for a Black to reckon, and then abstract two, he would not miss them. If one were removed, he would miss it, because his manner of counting by ones and twos amounts to the same as if he reckoned by odds and evens[3]." In fact the Australian stands practically at the binary stage, and has nowhere yet reached the first of the three natural systems—*quinary* with a 5 base, *decimal* with 10, and *vigesimal* with 20.

Numeral System.

Nor can it be said that they had no need of a more highly developed arithmetic system, for it would be convenient to reckon at least the number of their children and wives, and (as hunters) of the contents of successful "bags." Professor Richard Simon[4] rightly regards them as the typical hunters, in this respect unapproached by the Canadian trapper, the South African Bushman, or any other people savage or civilized. Hence in the wild state the Australian is the most independent of mortals, but at the same time is prevented from making any progress in culture beyond a certain very low level. The difficulty of capturing game with his primitive methods compels him to give his whole time to the quest of food, and spend his days in roaming restlessly over wide

Typical Hunters.

[1] Thus *karbo* = 3 in the Herbert Vale dialect; but radicals beyond 2 are very rare.

[2] Here we are reminded by Dr L. L. Conant that a few languages are absolutely destitute of pure numerical terms. Thus the Bolivian Chiquito has no true word for *one*, and *etama*, so used, really means "alone" (*The Numeral Concept: Its Origin and Development*, 1896).

[3] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, Melbourne, 1886, Vol. I. p. 32.

[4] *Reiseerlebnisse*, &c. *in Australien*, &c., Leipzig, 1896, *passim*.

hunting-grounds, and devising all sorts of artificial methods and precautions for preventing these preserves from becoming over-peopled. As in New Caledonia, the food question was at the base of most social institutions.

Gesture-Speech.

That some system of gesture-language is current amongst the natives has long been known, and Mr A. H. Howitt figures in Brough Smyth[1] a few of the signs of which he had acquired a knowledge amongst the tribes of Cooper's Creek. On this subject Mr Smyth himself writes: "It is believed that they have several signs, known only to themselves or to those amongst the whites who have had intercourse with them for lengthened periods, which convey information readily and accurately[2]." This statement is now fully confirmed by Dr Walter E. Roth, who, during his long residence amongst the Queensland natives, has discovered and become proficient in a tolerably complete gesture-system ranging over a wide area. It seems fully as effective as the West African drum-language, which has also now been mastered by Herr R. Betz in the Camerúns district. Dr Roth has determined the value of no less than 213 manual signs, which are in use amongst a large number of tribes in the North-west-central Queensland district, and serve all the purposes of a *lingua franca*, and, thanks to the keen vision of the natives, have the further advantage of being intelligible at considerable distances. These signs, which he describes and figures[3], are, like those taught in our deaf and dumb schools, capable of expressing a wide range of thought, different plants, animals, natural objects, persons, events, conditions, feelings, and so forth. This gesture-speech thus differs from articulate speech "only in this, that the one appeals to the sense of vision, the other to that of hearing[4]," and should be a complete reply to those philosophers who argue that thought and spoken language are one.

[1] R. Brough Smyth's *Aborigines of Victoria*, 1878, II. p. 308.

[2] II. p. 4.

[3] *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, Brisbane, 1898, Chap. IV. with appended illustrations.

[4] *Eth.* p. 195.

Mental Capacity.

Great efforts have been made by believers in the natural equality of all mankind to present the native institutions, religious ideas, and general capacity in as favourable a light as possible. Brough Smyth shows plainly enough that children in the schools of Victoria are capable of assimilating a certain amount of teaching, and appeal is especially made to their artistic sense and power of delineation, even in the wild state, as shown by the pictorial representations in their caves and rock shelters. Favourite "motives" of this primitive "School of Art," which compares badly with those of the Bushmen and Palæolithic cave-men, are the human hand and the snake, and this is the account given of the "technique" by Mr Ernest Giles: "The drawing [of the hand] is done by filling the mouth with charcoal powder if the device is to be black, if red with red ochre powder, damping the wall where the mark is to be left, and placing the palm of the hand against it, with the fingers stretched out; the charcoal or ochre powder is then blown against the back of the hand; when it is withdrawn, it leaves the space occupied by the hand and fingers clean, while the surrounding portions of the wall are all black or red, as the case may be. One device represents a snake going into a hole; the hole is actually in the rock, while the snake is painted on the wall, and the spectator is to suppose that its head is just inside the hole. The body of the reptile is curled round and round the hole, though its breadth is out of all proportion to its length, being 7 or 8 inches thick and only 2 to 3 feet long. It is painted with charcoal ashes which had been mixed up with some animal's or reptile's fat[1]." The process resembles that of our sand-engraving on glass-ware.

Religious Ideas.

Their sense of right and wrong Mr Giles describes as hazy, and he is uncertain whether they have any knowledge of a Supreme Being, allowing, however, that "nothing of the nature of worship, prayer, or sacrifice has been observed[2]." Elsewhere he argues that they

[1] *Australia Twice Traversed*, 1889, Vol. I. p. 78. For other processes see Mr R. H. Mathews' Paper on *The Rock Paintings and Carvings of the Australian Aborigines*, in *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1896, p. 145.

[2] *Ib.* I. p. 44.

have no beliefs on the subject of God or an after-life, and that those who credit them with such notions "have been imposed upon, and that, until they had learnt something of Christianity from missionaries and others, the Blacks had no beliefs or practices of the sort[1]."

That this is the only possible view seems evident from the crude myths and legends associated with Pundgyl, who is known in various forms to many tribes, and has been selected by the missionaries from the native "theogonies" as the nearest approach to a deity in their religious texts[2]. The Pundgyl (Bunjil) of the Wawurongs of the Yarra River, has a wife, Boiboi, whose face he has never seen, a son Bin-beal and a brother Pal-ly-yan, by whose help he made most things. He is provided with a large knife, and after making the earth he went all over it, cutting and slashing it into rivers and creeks, mountains and valleys. Then, after contact with the whites, there is a curious adaptation of Bunjil to Biblical legends, as when people grow wicked he waxes angry, raises storms and fierce winds which shake the big trees on the hilltops. Thereupon he again goes about with his big knife, cutting this way and that way, and men, women, and children are all cut into very little pieces. But the pieces are alive, and wriggle about like worms, when great storms come, and they are blown about like snowflakes. They are wafted into the clouds, and by the clouds borne hither and thither all over the earth, and thus is mankind dispersed. But the good men and women are carried upwards and become stars, which still shine in the heavens.

Mythical Heroes.

But other myths point at an incipient state of ancestor-worship, and *Nurunderi*, the wonderful god or eponymous hero of the Narringeri tribe on the Lower Murray River, is described as originally coming down the Darling River, and sending back two messengers to report his

[1] I. p. 45. So also Carl Lumholtz, one of our safest guides in all that concerns the mental state and usages of the natives: "At all events it is certain that neither idolatry nor sacrifices are to be found in Australia. Nor have the natives so far as I know, ever been seen to pray" (*Among Cannibals*, 1889, p. 284).

[2] Thus, Gen. I. 1, *Ganbronin Pundgyl Marman monguit woorworer bar beek*, in a Victoria dialect (Brough Smyth, II. p. 130).

arrival to the up-country people. They cross over to Lake Albert, where they meet hostile tribes, and marvellous contests ensue. Nurunderi throws flat stones into Lake Alexandrina, which become bream, and he goes up to the Coorong, where he slays a chief who has kidnapped his children. When he reaches Encounter Bay his wives forsake him, but he calls upon the sea to overflow, and they are all swallowed up in the waves. In the end he goes up to *Wyirrewarri*, i.e. Cloudland, where he now dwells.

Although the practice of cannibalism has been questioned, Lumholtz shows that the aborigines are omnivorous in the strictest sense of the word, devouring everything at all digestible, from vermin and insects to man. He mentions live beetles and their larvæ, fleas, *pediculi*, grasshoppers, children (by their mothers), captives, and people generally. "The Australians are cannibals. A fallen foe, be it man, woman, or child, is eaten as the choicest delicacy; they know no greater luxury than the flesh of a blackman[1]." Religious rites and ceremonial customs do not apply here, the natives knowing nothing of such observances.

Treatment of the Women.

A common test of a people's culture is the treatment of their women, and in this respect the Australians must, as Prof. R. Semon shows[2], be ranked below the Bushman and on a level with the Fuegians. When we read the accounts of the barbarous treatment to which the Australian *lubra* is habitually subjected, all our preconceived notions of the "noble savage" are quickly dispelled, and we begin to wonder how mankind ever succeeded in struggling upward to a higher state. Brough Smyth gives us a truly pathetic account of the marriage customs in vogue among the Victorian tribes: "A man having a daughter of 13 or 14 years of age arranges with some elderly person for the disposal of her; and, when all are agreed, she is brought out and told that her husband wants her. Perhaps she has never seen him but to loathe him. The father carries a spear and a waddy, or a tomahawk, and, anticipating resistance, is thus prepared for it. The poor girl, sobbing and sighing, and muttering

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 101.
[2] *Die Natur*, 1896, No. 20.

words of complaint, claims pity from those who will show none. If she resists the mandates of her father, he strikes her with his spear; if she rebels and screams, the blows are repeated; and if she attempts to run away, a stroke on the head from the waddy or tomahawk quiets her. The mother screams and scolds and beats the ground with her *kan-nan* (fighting-stick); the dogs bark and whine; but nothing interrupts the father, who, in the performance of his duty, is strict and mindful of the necessity of not only enforcing his authority, but of showing to all that he has the means to enforce it. Seizing the bride by her long hair he drags her to the home prepared for her by her new owner. Further resistance often subjects her to brutal treatment. If she attempts to abscond, the bridegroom does not hesitate to strike her savagely on the head with his waddy, and the bridal screams and yells make the night hideous[1]."

Class Marriages.

But the aborigines are at least exonerated by Mr Curr from the charge of present or former promiscuity, involved in the current theories on the complicated questions connected with the marriage-systems of the Australians and other lower races. Here it is necessary to distinguish carefully between *class*-marriages and the so-called "communal" or "group" marriages; the former having for their sole object, not, as is commonly supposed, the prevention of close consanguineous unions but the proper disposal of the stock of available food[2], the latter implying on the contrary absolute

[1] *Op. cit.* I. p. 76.

[2] This point seems fairly well established, and for the first time, by Dr W. E. Roth (*op. cit.* Chap. III.) who, thanks to his thorough knowledge of the local dialects, has been able to penetrate the secret, and to show that unions with near relations are not necessarily barred by the class system, while marriage may be prevented between persons unconnected by any ties of blood. His conclusion is that the whole intricate process is based on the food supply, being developed by a kind of natural selection, with a view to make the most of the total quantity at the disposal of the tribe. As in New Caledonia certain items are reserved for the chiefs, so in Australia husband and wife fare differently from each other, and both from their children, and the classes that thus arise have to be kept up by strict marriage laws, which have in principle nothing to do with degrees of consanguinity. The weak point of the current theory is that it implies an interest in the permanent good of the community,

promiscuity within certain wide limits in the past, and sanctioning the same within narrower limits in the present. About the class-marriages there is no difficulty. Their general existence is established beyond all question both amongst exogamous and endogamous tribes in Australia, North America, and other regions. Indeed their special importance is due to the fact that strikingly analogous systems still prevail in so many other remote lands, "a circumstance which should go far to uphold the doctrine of the unity of the human race[1]."

But in the present connection their interest lies in the fact that they *exclude* the idea of community of women, so that, were class-marriages universal in Australia, Mr Curr would be right in asserting that "the husband is the absolute owner of his wife (or wives)[2]," and there would be no room for any form of legalised promiscuity. This is seen from the very conditions of the class-system, the chief points of which are:—1. All male and female members of a class belong each to a special class determined by parentage; 2. Marriage within the several classes is barred to their several members, so that no one of, say, Class A, can marry anyone of that class; 3. Marriage is restricted to certain prescribed classes, so that no one of Class A can marry into *any* other class, but only into Class B or other prescribed class. 4. Except in one doubtful case (the Kurnai) the children belong to a class, which is not that of either parent, but results nevertheless from parentage. This leads to complications, developing into a system "which seems too intricate to have been the invention of tribes so low down in the scale of mental capacity[3]" and leads eventually to disintegration.

Communal Marriage System Pretended.

But although general, the system is not universal, so that theoretically room might be made for the group or communal system, first described by the Rev. Lorimer Fison[4], then accepted by the late Lewis H. Morgan[4], and despite Mr Curr's crushing exposure, still taken

of which, as pointed out in *Ethnology*, p. 9, primitive man can have no thought, though fully alive to the necessity of providing for his daily bread.

[1] Curr, *op. cit.* I. p. 111. [2] *Ib.* p. 109. [3] *Ib.* p. 118.

[4] In *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, 1880. Mr A. W. Howitt, joint author of this work, does not commit himself to the theory; but Prof. Morgan, who

for granted probably by most ethnologists. Mr Fison assumes that formerly there was no individual marriage, but that the class formed two or more "groups," in which the males of one had as wives the females of the other or of some other, but that later this promiscuous arrangement gave way—in some measure in practice though not in theory—to individual marriage, the man still retaining a more or less exclusive right to certain women, who stand to him in the relation of wives. In fact "marriage is theoretically communal," the relation being not of one individual to another, but of one group to another, while the ancient assumed rule underlies the present assumed lax usage. Without entering into details, it will suffice here to state generally that, after a careful enquiry into the whole subject on the spot, Mr Curr sweeps all these assumptions away, disproves the "facts" on which they are based, and shows convincingly that the promiscuity here in question neither did nor does exist in any part of Australia. Is it too much to hope that visionary group or communal systems, supposed to be survivals of an equally visionary state of promiscuity, may be henceforth banished from works dealing with the primitive social institutions of mankind?

Australian Humour and Mimicry.

Another redeeming quality of the natives is their high sense of humour, and mimetic powers comparable to those of the African Negritoes. "What is comic to the blacks strikes them at once, and makes them laugh immediately. They are very humorous, have a decided talent for drollery, and are skilful mimics. I once saw a young Australian receive an order from his master, whereupon

contributes a Prefatory Note, fully accepts it with all its logical consequences: "Amongst the Australian savages, as this memoir fully shows, groups of males are found united to groups of females, not by any ceremony of a formal marriage to which the groups are parties, but by an organic law, respected by tribal usage, recognized over large areas, and followed in actual practice by the cohabitation of the parties. A woman is found one day living with one man in the marriage relation, and on the next day with another man of *the same group* in the same relation, and perhaps several women with several men at the same time" (p. 10). Of course Prof. Morgan's great authority, as author of the now somewhat discredited *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, made the fortune of this absolutely baseless theory.

he immediately went to his companions and imitated his master's manner of speaking and acting, to the great amusement of the whole camp. In their dances they imitate in a striking manner the hopping of the kangaroo and the solemn movements of the emu, and never fail to make the spectators laugh[1]." But they will never "laugh the sense of misery far away," for it is always with them, and surely killing them as it has already killed their Tasmanian kinsmen.

The Tasmanians.

These "eolithic Tasmanians[2]" stood even at a lower level of culture than the Australians. At the occupation the scattered bands, with no hereditary chiefs or social organization, numbered altogether 2000 souls at most, speaking several distinct dialects, whether of one or more stock languages is uncertain. In the absence of sibilants and some other features they resembled the Australian, but were of ruder or less developed structure, and so imperfect that according to Joseph Milligan, our best authority on the subject, "they observed no settled order or arrangement of words in the construction of their sentences, but conveyed in a supplementary fashion by tone, manner, and gesture those modifications of meaning which we express by mood, tense, number, &c.[3]" Abstract terms were rare, and for every variety of gum-tree or wattle-tree there was a name, but no word for "tree" in general, or for qualities, such as hard, soft, warm, cold, long, short, round, &c. Anything hard was "like a stone," round, "like the moon," and so on, "usually suiting the action to the word, and confirming by some sign the meaning to be understood."

Undeveloped Speech.

The Fire Myth.

Though they carried fire-sticks about, it is doubtful whether they possessed the art of making fire by friction or otherwise. But they remembered a time when there was no fire at all, until two blackfellows standing on a hill-top threw it about like stars; at which the people were frightened and ran away, but came back and made

[1] Lumholtz, *op. cit.* p. 291.
[2] *Ethnology*, p. 294.
[3] Paper in Brough Smyth's work, II. p. 413.

a fire of wood, after which "no more was fire lost in our land. The two blackfellows are in the clouds; in the clear night you see them like stars. These are they who brought fire to our fathers[1]."

During the disgraceful colonial wars of extermination, a few weapons of a better type appear to have been introduced from the mainland. But before that time they possessed neither the boomerang nor the throwing-stick, nor the shield of the Australians, nothing in fact except the waddy, not unlike the Irish shillelagh, and two kinds of primitive spears, one a mere sapling some 15 feet long, pointed and hardened by fire, the other about 10 feet long and lighter. As neither had any stone or bone attachments, these rude weapons were really inferior to those of the Old Stone Age, to which were fixed some of those flint or other spear-heads now found in such abundance in the caves and pleistocene beds of the northern hemisphere.

Rude Implements.

In the native diet were included "snakes, lizards, grubs and worms," besides the opossum, wombat, kangaroo, birds and fishes, roots, seeds and fruits, but not human flesh, at least normally. Like the Bushmen, they were gross feeders, consuming enormous quantities of food when they could get it, and the case is mentioned of a woman who was seen to eat from 50 to 60 eggs of the sooty petrel (larger than a duck's), besides a double allowance of bread, at the station on Flinders Island. They had frail bark canoes made fast with thongs or rushes, besides rafts like those of Torres Straits, but no permanent abodes or huts, beyond branches of trees lashed together, supported by stakes, and disposed crescent-shape with the convex side to windward. On the uplands and along the sea-shore they took refuge in caves, rock-shelters and natural hollows. Usually the men went naked, the women wore a loose covering of skins, and personal ornamentation was limited to cosmetics of red ochre, plumbago, and powdered charcoal, with occasionally a necklace of shells strung on a fibrous twine.

Diet.

Dwellings.

[1] *Op. cit.* II. p. 461.

Tempera-ment.

During the hopeless struggle with the early settlers, the natives developed a degree of ferocity equal to that of their exterminators. But when first encountered by Cook, Péron and other navigators, they appeared to be a mild, inoffensive people, disposed to be friendly or at least not hostile, diffident rather than distrustful. Little or no reference is made to atrocious tribal practices, mutilations and other horrors, which make detailed accounts of the Australian peoples such unpleasant reading. The reason is obvious enough. The Tasmanians had not yet passed from the rude primitive state of the family life to the social condition of the clan and tribe, when complications arise, and the "commonweal" has to be safeguarded by all manner of drastic measures. In the general evolution of human progress the intermediate stages will often be found more unpleasant than either extreme.

THE OCEANIC NEGRITOES.

In Africa the Negrito substratum, partly sheltered by trackless tropical woodlands, may still be traced in scattered fragments from Mangbattuland to the Cape. In Oceania the Negrito substratum, formerly diffused throughout the Malayan lands, survives only in four widely separated *enclaves*—the Andaman Islands, the Malay Peninsula, the Philippines, and parts of New Guinea.

The Anda-manese.

The "Mincopies," as the Andamanese used to be called, nobody seems to know why, were visited in 1893 by Dr Louis Lapique, who examined a large kitchen-midden near Port Blair, but some distance from the present coast, hence of great age[1]. Nevertheless he failed to find any worked stone implements, although flint occurs in the island. Indeed, chipped or flaked flints, now replaced by broken glass, were formerly used for shaving and tattooing. But, as the present natives use only fishbones, shells, and wood, Dr Lapique somewhat hastily concluded that these islanders, like some other primitive groups, have never passed through a Stone Age at all. The shell-mounds have certainly yielded arrow-heads and polished adzes "indistinguishable from any of the

Stone Age.

[1] *A la Recherche des Negritos*, &c. in *Tour du Monde*, New Series, Livr. 35—38. The midden was 150 ft. round, and over 12 ft. high.

European or Indian celts of the so-called Neolithic period[1]." But there is no reason to think that the archipelago was ever occupied by a people different from its present inhabitants. Hence we may suppose that their ancestors arrived in the Stone Ages, but afterwards ceased to make stone implements, as less handy for their purposes and more difficult to make than the shell or bone-tipped darts, arrows, and nets with which they capture game and fish "more readily than the most skilful fisherman with hook and line[2]." Similarly they would seem to have long lost the art of making fire, having once obtained it from a still active volcano in the neighbouring Barren Island[3].

Many wild statements regarding this primitive Negrito race, due chiefly to the careless observations of passing navigators, but still current in popular ethnographic works, have been dispelled by Mr Man, who shows that they do not make holes in the sand to burrow in like rabbits, that there are no so-called "oven-trees" where pigs are roasted, no cannibalism, nor any bow-traps, boomerangs, wameras (Australian throwing-sticks), or blow-pipes, useless without poison, of which they make no use whatsoever. But they do possess two kinds of boats, one a very rude outrigger of primitive type, just as they have two or three kinds of dwellings, one also very frail and primitive—mere leafy shelters like those of the Brazilian Puri, but usually erected only on temporary camping-grounds.

In temperament they resemble the Papuans and other dark peoples, "being merry, talkative, petulant, inquisitive, and restless; their speech is rapid, with a constant repetition of the same idea; a joke, if it does not take too practical a form, is heartily appreciated, while all insults or injuries are promptly resented[4]." A pleasing characteristic is the attitude of the men towards their wives, who, though necessarily doomed to much drudgery, are treated as real helpmates on a footing of perfect equality. Despite

[1] E. H. Man, *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1881, p. 271.

[2] *Ib.* p. 279.

[3] Close to Barren is the extinct crater of *Narcondam*, i.e. *Narak-andam* (*Narak* = Hell), from which the *Andaman* group may have taken its name (Sir H. Yule, *Marco Polo*).

[4] *Ib.* p. 284.

the misrepresentations of some explorers, marriage is a permanent tie, divorce being unknown, and "conjugal fidelity till death the rule and not the exception[1]."

Religious Beliefs.

No forms of worship have been noticed, though there is a vague belief in *Púluga*, an immortal, invisible being, who lives in a large stone house in the sky, knows everything, even the thoughts of men, in the daylight, but not in the dark, and has made all things except three or four evil spirits, for whose misdeeds he is not accountable. He pities the victims, sometimes affords them relief, and shows in the thunderstorm his anger at certain crimes and offences. But nothing can lessen their dread of the evil one, to whose machinations nearly all deaths, sickness, and other calamities are attributed. There is a curious notion about wax-burning, which, being distasteful to Púluga, is often secretly done when the enemy is a-hunting or a-fishing, in order to stir his wrath and thus spoil the sport. Hence in the criminal code, after falsehood, theft, assault, murder, and adultery, follows wax-burning, the greatest crime of all, equivalent to our sacrilege!

Cosmogony.

Original also is the native cosmogony, which teaches that the earth[2], flat as a plate, rests on the top of a very tall tree, and is doomed one day to be upset by a great earthquake. Then the living and the dead will change places, and the latter, to hasten the consummation, every now and then combine to shake the tree and so displace the wicker ladder by which it is connected with heaven, but this must be done only in the rainy season, as at other times the parched earth might crumble and crush them all.

Speech.

Mr Man has carefully studied and reduced to writing the Andamanese language, of which there are at least nine distinct varieties, corresponding to as many

[1] Man, *Ib.* p. 237.

[2] That is, the Andaman Islands, which they supposed to comprise the whole world. Hence the few strangers that occasionally arrived were their deceased forefathers, who dwelt on a neighbouring islet and were allowed now and then to revisit the *érema*, or world. Hence also the natives of India who now come regularly are still called *chàugala*, i.e. "departed spirits."

tribal groups. It has no clear affinities to any other tongue[1], the supposed resemblances to Dravidian and Australian being extremely slight, if not visionary. Its phonetic system is astonishingly rich (no less than 24 vowels and 17 consonants, but no sibilants), while the arithmetic stops at *two*. Nobody ever attempts to count in any way beyond *ten*, which is reached by a singular process. First the nose is tapped with the finger-tips of either hand, beginning with the little finger, and saying *úbatúl* (one), then *íkpór* (two) with the next, after which each successive tap makes *anká*, "and this." When the thumb of the second hand is reached, making *ten*, both hands are brought together to indicate 5 + 5, and the sum is clenched with the word *àrdúru* = "all." But this feat is exceptional, and usually after *two* you get only words answering to several, many, numerous, countless, which flight of imagination is reached at about 6 or 7.

Method of Counting.

Yet with their infantile arithmetic these paradoxical islanders have contrived to develop an astonishingly intricate form of speech characterised by an absolutely bewildering superfluity of pronominal and other elements. Thus the possessive pronouns have as many as sixteen possible variants according to the class of noun (human objects, parts of the body, degrees of kinship, &c.) with which they are in agreement. For instance, *my* is *día*, *dót*, *dóng*, *dig*, *dab*, *dar*, *dákà*, *dóto*, *dai*, *dár*, *ad*, *ad-en*, *deb*, with *man*, *head*, *wrist*, *mouth*, *father*, *son*, *step-son*, *wife*, &c. &c.; and so with *thy*, *his*, *our*, *your*, *their!* This grouping of nouns in classes is analogous to the Bantu system, and it is curious to note that the number of classes is about the same. On the other hand there is a wealth of postfixes attached as in normal agglutinating forms of speech, so that "in adding their affixes they follow the principles of the ordinary agglutinative tongues; in adding their prefixes they follow the well-defined principles of the South African tongues. Hitherto, as far as I know, the two principles in full play have never been found together in any other language...In Andamanese both are

Grammatical Structure.

[1] "The Andaman languages are one group; they have no affinities by which we might infer their connection with any other known group" (Lieut. R. C. Temple, quoted by Mr Man, *Anthrop. Jour.* 1882, p. 123).

fully developed, so much so as to interfere with each other's grammatical functions[1]." The result often is certain *sesquipedalia verba* comparable in length to those of the American polysynthetic languages. A savage people, who can hardly count beyond two, possessed of about the most intricate language spoken by man, is a pyschological puzzle which I cannot profess to fathom.

The Semangs.

In the Malay Peninsula the indigenous element is certainly the Negrito, who, known by many names—Semang, Sakai, Dina, Liar, Senoi, Mantra, Jakun—forms a single ethnical group presenting some striking analogies with the Andamanese. But, surrounded from time out of mind by Malay peoples, some semi-civilised, some nearly as wild as themselves, but all alike slowly crowding them out of the land, these aborigines have developed defensive qualities unneeded by the more favoured insular Negritoes, while their natural development has been arrested at perhaps a somewhat lower plane of culture. In fact, doomed to extinction before their time came, they never have had a chance in the race, as Mr Hugh Clifford sings in *The Song of the Last Semangs*:—

"The paths are rough, the trails are blind
  The Jungle People tread;
The yams are scarce and hard to find
  With which our folk are fed.
We suffer yet a little space
  Until we pass away,
The relics of an ancient race
  That ne'er has had its day."

Myths.

These particular Semangs, who have hitherto succeeded in maintaining their independence, have a weird legend of a mysterious nation of great Amazons destined one day to come and smite the faithless Sakai people, who have gone over to the enemy's camp, and now join with them in tracking and hunting down their own kinsfolk. These female warriors—who dwell in the depths of the dark woodlands beyond the Gunong Korbu heights, and are stronger, taller, bolder, and of paler colour than any men—have even been seen, and their bows and blow-pipes also, larger and truer and better carved than any

[1] Lieut. R. C. Temple, quoted by Mr Man, *Anthrop. Jour.* 1882, p. 123.

others, are found now and then in the deep recesses of the forests. A Semang chief tells how "many moons ago" he and his two brothers, when following the trail of a wounded stag, found it lying by a brook, killed by a larger arrow than theirs, and that instant looking up, on hearing a loud threatening cry in a strange tongue, he beheld a gigantic pale-skinned woman breaking through the jungle, and then his elder brother fell pierced by an arrow. He escaped by flight, and alone lived to tell the tale, for the two brothers were never seen again.

Mr Clifford, who relates this story[1], and has perhaps been more intimately associated with the "Orang-utan" (Wild men) as the Malays often call them, than any other white man, describes those of the Plus River valley as "like African Negroes seen through the reverse end of a field-glass. They are sooty-black in colour; their hair is short and woolly, clinging to the scalp in little crisp curls; their noses are flat, their lips protrude, and their features are those of the pure negroid type. They are sturdily built and well set upon their legs, but in stature little better than dwarfs. They live by hunting, and have no permanent dwellings, camping in little family groups wherever, for the moment, game is most plentiful[2]."

Physical Appearance.

Their shelters—huts they cannot be called—are exactly like the frailest of the Andamanese, mere lean-to's of matted palm-leaves crazily propped on rough uprights; clothes they have next to none, and their food is chiefly yams and other jungle roots, fish from the stream, and sun-dried monkey, venison and other game, this term having an elastic meaning. Salt, being rarely obtainable, is a great luxury, as amongst almost all wild tribes. Some Chinese rock-salt, once brought to an encampment by Mr Clifford, was eagerly clutched and swallowed in handfuls. "This coarse stuff would take the skin off the tongues of most human beings who attempted to eat it in this way, but I suppose that nature gives the Semang the power to take in abnormally large quantities at one time, because his opportunities of eating it in small daily instalments

Usages.

[1] *In Court and Kampong*, 1897, p. 179 sq.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 172.

are few and far between[1]." Such a picture will help to explain the large part played by salt in the folklore and superstitions of so many civilised peoples. "The Romans began their feasts by prayers and libations to the gods. The table was consecrated by placing upon it the images of the Lares and saltcellars. A family salt-holder was kept with great care, and to spill the salt at table was esteemed ominous. The prominence of salt as a religious and social symbol is doubtless due to the fact that it became a necessity to most nations at an early stage of civilization, and that it was a luxury very hard for primitive man to obtain in many parts of the world[2]."

All the faculties are sharpened mainly in the quest of food, and of means to elude the enemy now closing round their farthest retreats in the upland forests. When hard pressed and escape seems impossible, they will climb trees and stretch rattan ropes from branch to branch where these are too wide apart to be reached at a bound, and along such frail aërial bridges women and all will pass with their cooking-pots and other effects, with their babies also at the breast, and the little ones clinging to their mothers' heels. For like the Andamanese they love their women-folk and children, and in this way rescue them from the Malay raiders and slavers. But unless the British raj soon intervenes their fate is sealed. They may slip from the Malays, but not from their own traitorous kinsmen, who often lead the hunt, and squat all night long on the tree-tops, calling one to another and signalling from these look-outs when the leaves rustle and the rattans are heaved across, so that nothing can be done, and another family group is swept away into bondage.

Speech.

From their physical resemblance, undoubted common descent, and geographical proximity, one might also expect to find some affinity in the speech of the Andaman and Malay Negritoes. But Mr Clifford, almost the only European who has made a special study of the dialects on the

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 174.

[2] Marie Goldsmith West, *The Symbolism of Salt*, in *Popular Science Monthly*, December, 1897, p. 241. The writer refers to Hor. *Od.* II. 16. 14. A more significative though less known passage occurs in Arnob. II.: *Sacras facitis mensas salinorum apposita, et simulacris Deorum.*



1. MULGRAVE NATIVE.
(Australian Type.)



2. AETA WOMAN.
(Negrito Type, Philippines.)



3. PANYAN WOMAN.
(Negrito Type, India.)



4. ROTUMA GIRL.
(Sub-Melanesian Type.)

To face page 164]

mainland, can discover no points of contact between them and any other linguistic group[1]. This, however, need cause no surprise, being in no discordance with recognised principles[2]. As in the Andamans, stone implements have been found in the Peninsula, and specimens are now in the Pitt-Rivers collection at Oxford[3]. But the present aborigines do not make or use such tools, and there is good reason for thinking that they were the work of their ancestors arriving, as in the Andamans, during the Stone Ages. Hence the two groups have been separated for many thousands of years, and their speech has diverged too widely to be now traced back to a common source.

Stone Age.

With the Negritoes of the Philippines we enter a region of almost hopeless ethnical complications[4], amid which, however, the dark dwarfish *Aeta* peoples crop out almost everywhere as the indigenous element, and in many places as even the recognised owners of the soil long after the arrival of the Malayan intruders. This curious point, hitherto scarcely noticed, has been brought out by Mr John Foreman, one of the best observers of the social relations in the archipelago[5]. After a graphic description of these aborigines, "black as African Negroes," with "curly matted hair like Astrakhan fur," and still widely diffused in small bands "over the whole group of islands," he writes: "For a long time they were the sole masters of Luzon Island, where they exercised seignorial rights over the Tagalogs and other immigrants, until

The Aetas.

[1] Senoi grammar and glossary in *Jour. Straits Branch R. Asiat. Soc.* 1892, No. 24.

[2] See *Ethnology*, Chap. IX.

[3] See Mr L. Wray's Paper *On The Cave Dwellers of Perak*, in *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1897, p. 36 sq. This observer thinks "the earliest cave dwellers were most likely the Negritoes" (p. 47), and the great age of the deposits is shown by the fact that "in some of the caves at least 12 feet of a mixture of shells, bones, and earth has been accumulated and subsequently removed again in the floors of the caves. In places two or three layers of solid stalagmite have been formed and removed, some of these layers having been five feet in thickness" (p. 45).

[4] See on this point Prof. Blumentritt's Paper on the Manguians of Mindoro in *Globus*, LX. No. 14.

[5] *The Philippine Islands*, &c., London and Hongkong, 1890.

these arrived in such numbers, that the Negritoes were forced to the highlands.

The taxes imposed upon the primitive Malay settlers by the Negritoes were levied in kind, and, when payment was refused, they swooped down in a posse, and carried off the head of the defaulter. Since the arrival of the Spaniards terror of the white man has made them take definitely to the mountains, where they appear to be very gradually decreasing[1]."

At first sight it may seem unaccountable that a race of such extremely low intellect should be able to assert their supremacy in this way over the intruding Malayans, assumed to be so much their superiors in physical and mental qualities. But it has to be considered that the invasions took place in very remote times, ages before the appearance on the scene of the semi-civilised Muhammadan Malays of history. Whether of Indonesian or of what is called "Malay" stock, the intruders were rude Oceanic peoples, who in the prehistoric period, prior to the spread of civilising Hindu or Moslem influences in Malaysia, had scarcely advanced in general culture much beyond the indigenous Papuan and Negrito populations of that region. Even at present the Gaddanes, Itaves, Igorrotes and others of Luzon are mere savages, at the head-hunting stage, quite as wild as, and perhaps even more ferocious than any of the Aetas. Indeed we are told that in some districts the Negrito and Igorrote tribes keep a regular Debtor and Creditor account of heads. Wherever the vendetta still prevails, all alike live in a chronic state of tribal warfare; periodical head-hunting expeditions are organised by the young men, to present the bride's father with as many grim trophies as possible in proof of their prowess, the victims being usually taken by surprise and stricken down with barbarous weapons, such as a long spear with tridented tips, or darts and arrows carrying at the point two rows of teeth made of flint or sea-shells. To avoid these attacks some, like the Central Sudanese Negroes, live in cabins on high posts or trees 60 to 70 feet from the ground, and defend themselves by showering stones on the marauders.

Head-hunters.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 210.

A physical peculiarity of the full-blood Negritoes, noticed by Dr J. Montano[1], is the large, clumsy foot, turned slightly inwards, a trait characteristic also of the African Negritoes; but in the Aeta the effect is exaggerated by the abnormal divergence of the great toe, as amongst the Annamese.

Untameable Aborigines.

The main feature of their character, says this observer, is a deep, inextinguishable love of freedom and personal independence. They are happy only in the midst of their upland forests; they neither keep slaves themselves, nor endure the yoke of servitude, or even of domestic service, and are in fact as untameable as wild beasts. In Luzon all attempts to bring up their children at the stations have failed, no matter at what age they may have been captured. The case is mentioned of a young Negrito brought to Madrid, educated, and ordained priest, who on his return to the Philippines immediately escaped to the mountains.

But their social state varies greatly according as they are more or less exposed to the attacks of the surrounding populations. Under certain influences they may even to some extent give up the nomad life, form settlements in the forest glades, build permanent abodes and raise crops of rice or maize, varying this quiet existence, however, with occasional hunting excursions, when the game is captured with snares and the bow and arrow, their chief weapon. They have also developed a barter trade with their neighbours, exchanging edible roots and medicinal plants, said to be of extraordinary efficacy, for tobacco, textiles, and scraps of iron with which to tip their darts.

The Family everywhere the Social Unit.

The social system even amongst the pure nomads is much better developed than has been supposed, and is based on the family and personal property. To the tribal chief, elected for life, but not hereditary, are referred all disputes, and he also punishes misdeeds in accordance with traditional usage. The Aetas are strict monogamists, and do not appear to be quite destitute of religious notions, as is commonly asserted, judging at least from certain allegorical dances, as amongst the Pueblo Indians, and

1 *Voyage aux Philippines*, &c., Paris, 1886.

from the ceremonies associated with marriage, births, and deaths. But on this subject we await further information, and the chief point so far established beyond doubt is the existence of the family in the strictest sense of the term. Thus the family is found to be everywhere the social unit amongst Australians, Tasmanians, Andamanese, Semangs and Aetas, all of whom stand at about the lowest grade of human culture. The more the matter is investigated, the more current theories about group or communal marriage based upon the assumption of the "primitive human herd" and primordial promiscuity recede into the background[1].

In the sumptuous volume on *The Philippines*, Part II. *Negritoes*, one of the Dresden Ethnographic Museum series (1896), the editor, Dr A. B. Meyer, describes the Negrito hair as fine and woolly, disposed in close spirals varying from a deep seal-brown to black, and diffused evenly over the scalp, not in separate tufts with intervening bald spaces.

In this publication Prof. Kern brings together various specimens of Negrito speech, all of pure Malayo-Polynesian type and nearly allied to the Tagalog and Visayan of the Northern and Central Philippines. But the specimens are all from districts under Malayan influences, so that they leave untouched the question of an original Aeta language corresponding to that of the Andamanese. The present Negrito population is here estimated at no more than 20,000, distributed in small groups over the islands of Luzon, Alabat, Mindoro, Panay, Negros, Mindanao, Tablas, Cebu and Palawan, mostly full-blood, but forming half-breed communities in Negros and other places.

[1] *Ethnology*, pp. 13, 14.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SOUTHERN MONGOLS.

South Mongol Domain—Tibet, the Mongol Cradleland—Stone Age in Tibet—The Primitive Mongol Type—The Balti and Ladakhi—Balti Type and Origins—The Tibetans Proper—Type—The Bhotiyas—Prehistoric Expansion of the Tibetan Race—Sub-Himalayan Groups: the Gurkhas—Mental Qualities of the Tibetans—Lamaism—The Horsoks—The Tanguts—Polyandry—The Bonbo Religion—Buddhist and Christian Ritualism—The Prayer-Wheel—Language and Letters—Diverse Linguistic Types—Lepcha—Angami-Naga and Kuki-Lushai speech—Kuki Creation Legend—General Ethnic Relations in Indo-China—Aboriginal and Cultured Peoples—The Talaings—The Manipuri—Head-hunting—The Game of Polo—The Khel System—The Chins—Mental and Physical Qualities—Gods, Nats, and the After-Life—The Kakhyens—Caucasic elements—The Karens—Type—Temperament—Christian Missions—The Burmese—Type—Character—Buddhism—Position of Woman—Tattooing—The Tai-Shan Peoples—The Ahom, Khamti and Chinese Shans—Shan Cradleland and Origins—Caucasic Contacts—Tai-Shan Toned Speech—Shan, Lolo, and Mosso Writing Systems—Mosso Origins—Aborigines of South China and Annam—Man-tse Origins and Affinities—Caucasic Aborigines in South-East Asia—The Siamese Shans—Origins and Early Records—Social System—Buddhism—The Annamese—Origins—Physical and Mental Characters—Language and Letters—Social Institutions—Religious Systems—The Chinese—Origins—The Babylonian Theory—Persistence of Chinese Culture and Social System—Letters and Early Records—Traditions of the Stone and Metal Ages—Chinese Cradle and Early Migrations—Absorption of the Aborigines—Survivals: Hok-lo, Hakka, Pun-ti—Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism—Fung-shui and Ancestry Worship—Islam and Christianity—The Mandarin Class.

CONSPECTUS.

Distribution in Past and Present Times.

Primeval Home. *The Tibetan Plateau.*

Present Range. *Tibet; S. Himalayan slopes; Indo-China to the Isthmus of Kra; China; Formosa; Parts of Malaysia.*

Physical Characters.

Hair, *uniformly black, lank, round in transverse section; sparse or no beard, moustache common.* **Colour,** *generally a dirty yellowish brown, shading off to olive and coppery brown in the south, and to lemon or whitish in N. China.* **Skull,** *normally brachy* (80°—84°), *but*

in China sub-dolicho (77°) *and high.* **Jaws,** *slightly prognathous.* **Cheek-bones,** *very high and prominent laterally.* **Nose,** *very small, and concave, with widish nostrils* (*mesorrhine* 52°), *but often large and straight amongst the upper classes.* **Eyes,** *small, black, and oblique* (*outer angle slightly elevated*), *vertical fold of skin over inner canthus.* **Stature,** *below the average* (5 *ft.* 4 *in.*), *but in N. China often tall* (5 *ft.* 10 *in. to* 6 *ft.*). **Lips,** *rather thin, sometimes slightly protruding.* **Arms, legs, and feet,** *of normal proportions, calves rather small, and feet of Chinese women artificially deformed.*

Mental Characters.

Temperament. *Somewhat sluggish, with little initiative, but great endurance; cunning rather than intelligent; generally thrifty and industrious, but mostly indolent in Siam and Burma; moral standard low, with slight sense of right and wrong.*

Speech. *Mainly isolating and monosyllabic, due to phonetic decay; loss of formative elements compensated by tone; some* (*south Chinese, Annamese*) *highly tonic, but others* (*in Himalayas and North Burma*) *highly agglutinating and consequently toneless.*

Religion. *Ancestry and spirit-worship, underlying various kinds of Buddhism; religious sentiment weak in Annam, strong in Tibet; thinly diffused in China.*

Culture. *Ranges from sheer savagery* (*Indo-Chinese aborigines*) *to a low phase of civilization; some mechanical arts* (*ceramics, metallurgy, weaving*), *and agriculture well developed; painting, sculpture, and architecture mostly in the barbaric stage; letters wide-spread, but true literature and science slightly developed; stagnation very general.*

Main Divisions.

Bod-pa. *Tibetan; Tangut; Horsok; Si-fan; Balti; Ladakhi; Gurkha; Bhotiya; Miri; Mishmi; Abor.*

Burmese. *Naga; Kuki-Lushai; Chin; Kakhyen; Manipuri; Karen; Talaing; Arakanese; Burmese proper.*

Tai-Shan. *Ahom; Khamti; Ngiou; Lao; Siamese.*

Giao-Shi. *Annamese; Cochin-Chinese.*

Chinese. *Chinese proper; Hakka; Hok-lo; Pun-ti.*

In the Family Tree of Homo Mongolicus[1] the common stem is seen to ramify into two main branches: the *Mongolo-Tatar* to the left, and the *Tibeto-Indo-Chinese* with a secondary branch, *Oceanic Mongols*, to the right. These two, that is, the main and secondary branch to the right, which jointly occupy the greater part of south-east Asia with most of Malaysia, Madagascar, the Philippines and Formosa, will form the subject of the present and following chapter. Allowing for encroachments and overlappings, especially in Manchuria and North Tibet, the northern "divide" towards the Mongolo-Tatar domain is roughly indicated by the Great Wall and the Kuen-lun range westwards to the Hindu-Kush, and towards the south-west by the Himalayas from the Hindu-Kush eastwards to Assam. The Continental section thus comprises the whole of China proper and Indo-China, together with a great part of Tibet with Little Tibet (Baltistan and Ladakh), and the Himalayan uplands including their southern slopes. This section is again separated from the Oceanic section by the Isthmus of Kra—the Malay Peninsula belonging ethnically to the insular Malay world. "I believe," writes Mr Warington Smyth, "that the Malay never really extended further north than the Kra isthmus[2]."

South Mongol Domain.

From the considerations advanced in *Ethnology*, Chap. XII., it seems a reasonable assumption that the lacustrine Tibetan tableland with its Himalayan escarpments, all standing in pleistocene times at a considerably lower level than at present, was the cradle of the Mongol division of mankind. Here were found all the natural conditions favourable to the development of a new variety of the species moving from the tropics northwards—ample space such as all areas of marked specialisation seem to require; a different and cooler climate than that of the equatorial region, though, thanks to its then lower elevation, warmer than that of the bleak and now barely inhabitable Tibetan plateau; extensive plains, nowhere perhaps too densely wooded, intersected by ridges of

Tibet, the Mongol Cradleland.

[1] *Ethnology*, p. 300.

[2] *Geograph. Journ.*, May, 1898, p. 491. This statement must of course be taken as having reference only to the historical Malays and their comparatively late migrations.

moderate height, and diversified by a lacustrine system far more extensive than that revealed by the explorations of modern travellers.

Under these circumstances, which are not matter of mere speculation, but to be directly inferred from the observations of intelligent explorers and of trained Anglo-Indian surveyors, it would seem not only probable but inevitable that the pleistocene Indo-Malayan should become modified and improved in his new and more favourable Central Asiatic environment.

Later, with the gradual upheaval of the land to a mean altitude of some 14,000 feet above sea-level, the climate deteriorated, and the present somewhat rude and rugged inhabitants of Tibet are to be regarded as the outcome of slow adaptation to their slowly changing surroundings since the occupation of the country by the Indo-Malayan pleistocene precursor. To this precursor Tibet was accessible either from India or from Indo-China, and although few of his implements have yet been reported from the plateau, it is certain that Tibet has passed through the Stone as well as the Metal Ages. In Bogle's time "thunder-stones" were still used for tonsuring the lamas, and even now stone cooking-pots are found amongst the shepherds of the uplands, although they are acquainted both with copper and iron. In India also and Indo-China palæoliths of rude type occur at various points—Arcot, the Narbada gravels, Mirzapur[1], the Irawadi Valley and the Shan territory—as if to indicate the routes followed by early man in his migrations from Indo-Malaysia northwards.

Stone Age in Tibet.

Thus, where man is silent the stones speak, and so old are these links of past and present that amongst the Shans, as in ancient Greece, their origin being entirely forgotten, they are often mounted as jewellery and worn as charms against mishaps.

Usually the Mongols proper, that is, the steppe nomads who have more than once overrun half the eastern hemisphere, are taken as the typical and original stem of *Homo Mongolicus*. But if Ch. de Ujfalvy's views can be accepted this honour will now have to be transferred to the Tibetans, who in any case still occupy the cradle

The Primitive Mongol Type.

[1] See Mr J. Cockburn's paper "On Palæolithic Implements, &c." in *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1887, pp. 57 sq.; and *Eth.* p. 424.

of the race. This veteran student of the Central Asiatic peoples describes two Mongol types, a northern round-headed and a southern long-headed, and thinks that the latter, which includes "the Ladakhi, the Champas and Tibetans proper," was "the primitive Mongol type[1]." Thus is transferred to Central Asia the burning question of the long-heads and the round-heads, which, as raised by M. de Lapouge, has for the moment plunged European ethnology into a state of chaos. But the discussion of this subject must be reserved for later treatment.

The Balti and Ladakhi.

Owing to the political seclusion of Tibet, the race has hitherto been studied chiefly in outlying provinces beyond the frontiers, such as Ladakh, Baltistan, and Sikkim[2], that is, in districts where mixture with other races may be suspected. Indeed de Ujfalvy, who has made a careful survey of Baltistan and Ladakh, assures us that, while the Ladakhi represent two varieties of *Homo Asiaticus* with ceph. index 77, the Balti are not Tibetans or Mongols at all, but descendants of the historical Sacæ, although now of Tibetan speech and Moslem faith[3]. They are of the mean height or slightly above it, with rather low brow, very prominent superciliary arches, deep depression at nasal root, thick curved eyebrows, long, straight or arched nose, thick lips, oval chin, small cheek-bones, small flat ears, straight eyes, very black and abundant ringletty (*bouclé*) hair, full beard, usually black and silky, robust hairy body, small hands and feet, and long head (index 72). In such characters it is impossible to recognise the Mongol, and the contrast is most striking with the neighbouring Ladakhi, true Mongols, as shown by their slightly raised superciliary arches, spare and scarcely curved eyebrows, slant eyes, large prominent cheek-bones, lank and coarse hair, yellowish and nearly hairless body.

Balti Type and Origins.

[1] "Le type primitif des Mongols est pour nous dolichocéphale" (*Les Aryens au Nord et au Sud de l'Hindou-Kouch*, 1896, p. 50).

[2] Thus Risley's Tibetan measurements are all of subjects from Sikkim and Nepal (*Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1891, *passim*). In the East, however, Desgodins and other French missionaries have had better opportunities of studying true Tibetans amongst the Si-fan ("Western Strangers") as the frontier populations are called by the Chinese.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 319.

Doubtless there has been a considerable intermingling of Baltis and Ladakhis, and in recent times still more of Baltis and Dards (Hindu-Kush "Aryans"), whence Leitner's view that the Baltis are Dards at a remote period conquered by the Bhóts (Tibetans), losing their speech with their independence. But of all these peoples the Baltis were in former times the most civilised, as shown by the remarkable rock-carvings still found in the country, and attributed by the present inhabitants to a long vanished race. Some of these carvings represent warriors mounted and on foot, the resemblance being often very striking between them and the persons figured on the coins of the Sacæ kings both in their physical appearance, attitudes, arms, and accoutrements. The Baltis are still famous horsemen, and with them is said to have originated the game of polo, which has thence spread to the surrounding peoples as far as Chitral and Irania.

From all these considerations it is inferred that the Baltis are the direct descendants of the Sacæ, who invaded India about 90 B.C., not from the west (the Kabul Valley) as generally stated, but from the north over the Karakorum Passes leading directly to Baltistan[1]. Thus lives again a name renowned in antiquity, and another of those links is established between the past and the present, which it is the province of the historical ethnologist to rescue from oblivion.

The Tibetans Proper.

In Tibet proper the ethnical relations have been confused by the loose way tribal and even national names are referred to by Prjevalsky and some other modern explorers. It should therefore be explained that three somewhat distinct branches of the race have to be carefully distinguished: 1. The *Bod-pa*[2], "Bod-men," the settled and

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 327. Here we are reminded that, though the Sacæ are called "Scythians" by Herodotus and other ancient writers, under this vague expression were comprised a multitude of heterogeneous peoples, amongst whom were types corresponding to both varieties of *Homo Asiaticus*, as well as homologues of *H. Europæus* and even of *H. Mediterranensis*. "Aujourd'hui l'ancien type sace, adouci parmi les mélanges, reparaît et constitue le type si caractéristique, si complexe et si différent de ses voisins que nous appelons le type balti" (p. 328).

[2] Mr W. W. Rockhill, our best living authority, accepts none of the current explanations of the widely diffused term *bod* (*bhót*, *bhot*), which appears to form the second element in the word *Tibet* (*Stod-Bod*, pronounced *Teu-Beu*, "Upper

more or less civilised section, who occupy most of the southern and more fertile provinces of which Lhasa is the capital, who till the land, live in towns, and have passed from the tribal to the civic state. 2. The *Dru-pa*[1], peaceful though semi-nomadic pastoral tribes, who live in tents on the northern plateaux, over 15,000 feet above sea-level. 3. The *Tanguts*[2], restless, predatory tribes, who hover about the north-eastern borderland between Koko-nor and Kansu.

Bod-pa, Dru-pa, Tanguts.

All these are true Tibetans, speak the Tibetan language, and profess one or other of the two national religions, *Bonbo* and Lamaism (the Tibetan form of Buddhism). But the original type is best preserved, not amongst the cultured Bod-pa, who in many places betray a considerable admixture both of Chinese and Hindu elements, but amongst the Dru-pa, who on their bleak upland steppes have for ages had little contact with the surrounding Mongolo-Turki populations. They are described by Mr Rockhill from personal observation as about 5 feet 5 inches high, and round-headed, with wavy hair, clear-brown and even hazel eye, cheek-bone less high than the Mongol, thick nose, depressed at the root, but also prominent and even aquiline and narrow but with broad nostrils, large-lobed ears standing out to a less degree than the Mongol, broad mouth, long black hair, thin beard, generally hairless body, broad shoulders, very small calves, large foot, coarse hand, skin coarse and greasy and of light brown colour, though "frequently nearly white, but

Bod," *i. e.* the central and western parts in contradistinction to *Män-Bod*, "Lower Bod," the eastern provinces (*Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet*, Washington, 1895, p. 669). This writer finds the first mention of Tibet in the form *Tobbat* (there are many variants) in the Arab Istakhri's works, about 590 A.H. while the late T. de Lacouperie would connect it with the Tatar kingdom of *Tu-bat* (397—475 A.D.). This name might easily have been extended by the Chinese from the Tatars of Kansu to the neighbouring Tanguts, and thus to all Tibetans.

[1] *Hbrog-pa*, *Drok-pa*, pronounced *Dru-pa*.

[2] The Mongols apply the name *Tangut* to Tibet and call all Tibetans *Tangutu*, "which should be discarded as useless and misleading, as the people inhabiting this section of the country are pure Tibetans" (Rockhill, p. 670). It is curious to note that the Mongol Tangutu is balanced by the Tibetan *Sok-pa*, often applied to all Mongolians.

when exposed to the weather a dark brown, nearly the colour of our American Indians. Rosy cheeks are quite common amongst the younger women[1]."

Some of these characters—wavy hair, aquiline nose, hazel eye, rosy cheeks—are not Mongolic, and despite Mr Rockhill's certificate of racial purity, one is led to suspect a Caucasic strain, perhaps through the neighbouring Salars. These are no doubt sometimes called Kara-Tangutans, "Black Tangutans," from the colour of their tents, but we learn from Potanin, who visited them in 1885[2], that they are Muhammadans of Turki stock and speech, and we already know[3] that from a remote period the Turki people were in close contact with Caucasians. The Salars pitch their tents on the banks of the Khitai and other Yang-tse-Kiang head streams.

The Bhotiyas.

That the national name Bod-pa must be of considerable antiquity is evident from the Sanskrit expression *Bhotiya*, derived from it, and long applied by the Hindus collectively to all southern Tibetans, but especially to those of the Himalayan slopes, such as the Rongs (Lepchas) of Sikkim and the *Lho-pa* dominant in Bhutan, properly *Bhót-ánt*, that is, "Land's End"—the extremity of Tibet. Eastwards also the Tibetan race stretches far beyond the political frontiers into the Koko-nor region (Tanguts), and the Chinese province of Se-chuan, where they are grouped with all the other Si-fan aborigines. Towards the south-east are the kindred *Tawangs*, *Mishmi*, *Miri*, *Padams* (*Abor*)[4], *Daflas*, and others about the Assam borderlands, all of whom may be regarded as true Bhotiyas in the wild state.

Prehistoric Expansion of the Tibetan Race.

Through these the primitive Tibetan race extends into Burma, where however it has become greatly modified and again civilised under different climatic and cultural influences. Thus we see how, in the course of ages, the Bhót-pa have widened their domain,

[1] *Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet*, 1895, p. 675.

[2] *Isvestia*, XXI. 3.

[3] *Ethnology*, p. 305.

[4] *Abor*, *i.e.* "independent," is the name applied by the Assamese to the East Himalayan hill tribes who call themselves *Padam* and *Hrasso*, and are the *Slo* of the Tibetans. These are all affiliated by Desgodins to the Lho-pa of Bhutan (*Bul. Soc. Geogr.*, October, 1877, p. 431), and are to be distinguished from the *Bori* (i.e. "dependent") tribes of the plains, all more or less Hinduized Bhotiyas (Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 22 sq.).

radiating in all directions from the central cradleland about the Upper Brahmaputra (San-po) valley westwards into Kashmir, eastwards into China, southwards down the Himalayan slopes to the Gangetic plains, south-eastwards to Indo-China. In some places they have come into contact with other races and disappeared either by total extinction or by absorption (India, Hindu-Kush), or else preserved their type while accepting the speech, religion, and culture of later intruders. Such are the *Garhwali*, and many groups in Nepal, especially the dominant *Gurkhas* (*Khas*[1]), of whom there are twelve branches, all Aryanised and since the 12th century speaking the *Parbattia Bhasha*, a Prakrit or vulgar Sanskrit tongue current amongst an extremely mixed population of about 2,000,000.

In other directions the migrations took place in remote prehistoric times, the primitive proto-Tibetan groups becoming more and more specialised as they receded farther and farther from the cradleland into Mongolia, Siberia, China, Farther India, and Malaysia. This is at least how I understand the peopling of a great part of the eastern hemisphere by an original nucleus of Mongolic type first differentiated from a pleistocene precursor on the Tibetan tableland.

Temperament.

Strangely contradictory estimates have been formed of the temperament and mental characters of the Bod-pa, some, such as that of Turner[2], no doubt too favourable, while others err perhaps in the opposite direction. Thus Desgodins, who nevertheless knew them well, describes the cultured Tibetan of the south as "a slave towards the great, a despot towards the weak, knavish or treacherous according to circumstances, always on the look-out to defraud, and lying impudently to attain his end," and much more to the same effect[3].

[1] Not to be confused with the *Khas*, as the wild tribes of the Lao country (Siam) are collectively called. Capt. Eden Vansittart thinks in Nepal the term is an abbreviation of Kshatriya, or else means "fallen." This authority tells us that, although the Khas are true Gurkhas, it is not the Khas who enlist in our Gurkha regiments, but chiefly the Magars and Gurungs, who are of purer Bhotiya race and less completely Hinduized ("The Tribes, Clans, and Castes of Nepal," in *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, LXIII. 1, No. 4).

[2] *Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama*, pp. 350 sq.

[3] "Voilà je crois, le vrai Tibetain des pays cultivés du sud, qui se regarde

Mr Rockhill, who is less severe, thinks that "the Tibetan's character is not as black as Horace della Penna and Desgodins have painted it. Intercourse with these people extending over six years leads me to believe that the Tibetan is kindhearted, affectionate, and law-abiding[1]." He concludes, however, with a not very flattering native estimate deduced from the curious national legend that "the earliest inhabitants of Tibet descended from a king of monkeys and a female hobgoblin, and the character of the race perhaps from those of its first parents. From the king of monkeys [he was an incarnate god] they have religious faith and kindheartedness, intelligence and application, devotion to religion and to religious debate; from the hobgoblin they get cruelty, fondness for trade and money-making, great bodily strength, lustfulness, fondness for gossip, and carnivorous instinct[2]."

Effects of Lamaism on the Tibetan Character.

While they are cheerful under a depressing priestly regime, all allow that they are vindictive, superstitious, and cringing in the presence of the lamas, who are at heart more dreaded than revered. In fact the whole religious world is one vast organised system of hypocrisy, and above the old pagan beliefs common to all primitive peoples there is merely a veneer of Buddhism, above which follows another and most pernicious veneer of lamaism (priestcraft), under the yoke of which the natural development of the people has been almost completely arrested for several centuries. The burden is borne with surprising endurance, and would be intolerable but for the relief found in secret and occasionally even open revolt against the more oppressive ordinances of the ecclesiastical rule. Thus, despite the prescriptions regarding a strict vegetarian diet expressed in the formula "eat animal flesh eat thy brother," not only laymen but most of the lamas themselves supplement their frugal diet of milk, butter, barley-meal, and fruits with game, yak, and mutton—this last pronounced by Turner the

comme bien plus civilisé que les pasteurs ou bergers du nord" (*Le Thibet*, p. 253).

[1] *Notes on the Ethnology*, &c. p. 677. It may here be remarked that the unfriendliness of which travellers often complain appears mainly inspired by the Buddhist theocracy, who rule the land and are jealous of all "interlopers."

[2] *Ibid.* p. 678.

best in the world. The public conscience, however, is saved by a few extra turns of the prayer-wheel at such repasts, and by the general contempt in which is held the hereditary caste of butchers, who like the Jews in mediæval times are still confined to a "ghetto" of their own in all the large towns.

These remarks apply more particularly to the settled southern communities living in districts where a little agriculture is possible. Elsewhere the religious cloak is worn very loosely, and the nomad *Horsoks* of the northern steppes, although all nominal Buddhists, pay but scant respect to the decrees supposed to emanate from the Dalai Lama enshrined in Lhasa. Horsok is an almost unique ethnical term[1], being a curious compound of the two names applied by the Tibetans to the *Hor-pa* and the *Sok-pa* who divide the steppe between them. The Hor-pa, who occupy the western parts, are of Turki stock, and are the only group of that race known to me who profess Buddhism[2], all the rest being Muhammadans with some Shamanists (Yakuts) in the Lena basin. The Sok-pa, who roam the eastern plains and valleys, although commonly called Mongols, are true Tibetans or more strictly speaking Tanguts, of whom there are here two branches, the *Goliki* and the *Yegrai*, all, like the Hor-pa, of Tibetan speech. The Yegrai, as described by Prjevalsky, closely resemble the other North Tibetan tribes, with their long, matted locks falling on their shoulders, their scanty whiskers and beard, angular head, dark complexion and dirty garb[3].

The Horsoks.

The Tanguts.

Besides stock-breeding and predatory warfare, all these groups follow the hunt, armed with darts, bows, and matchlock guns; the musk-deer is ensnared, and the only animal spared is the stag, "Buddha's horse." The taste of these rude nomads for liquid blood is insatiable, and the surveyor, Nain Singh, often saw them fall prone on the ground to lick up the blood flowing from a wounded beast. As soon as weaned, the very children and even the horses are fed on a diet of cheese, butter, and blood, kneaded

[1] With it may be compared the Chinese province of *Kan-su*, so named from its two chief towns *Kan*-chau and *Su*-chau (Yule's *Marco Polo*, I. p. 222).

[2] "Buddhist Turks," says Sir H. H. Howorth (*Geogr. Journ.*, 1887, p. 230).

[3] E. Delmar Morgan, *Geogr. Journ.*, 1887, p. 226.

together in a horrible mess, which is greedily devoured when the taste is acquired. On the other hand alcoholic drinks are little consumed, the national beverage being coarse Chinese tea imported in the form of bricks and prepared with *tsampa* (barley-meal) and butter, and thus becoming a food as well as a drink. The lamas have a monopoly of this tea-trade, which could not stand the competition of the Indian growers; hence arises the chief objection to removing the barriers of seclusion.

Tibetan Polyandry.

Tibet is one of the few regions where polyandrous customs, intimately associated with the matriarchal state, still persist almost in their pristine vigour. The husbands are usually but not necessarily all brothers, and the bride is always obtained by purchase. Unless otherwise arranged, the oldest husband is the putative *pater familias*, all the others being considered as "uncles." An inevitable result of the institution is to give woman a dominant position in society; hence the "queens" of certain tribes, referred to with so much astonishment by the early Chinese chroniclers. Survivals of this "petticoat government" have been noticed by travellers amongst the Lolos, Mossos, and other indigenous communities about the Indo-Chinese frontiers. But it does not follow that polyandry and a matriarchal state always and necessarily preceded polygamy and a patriarchal state. On the contrary, it would appear that polyandry never could have been universal, being the outcome of special conditions arising in particular regions, where the struggle for existence is severe, and the necessity of imposing limits to the increase of population more urgent than elsewhere[1]. Hence to me it seems as great a mistake to assume a matriarchate as it is to assume promiscuity as the universal antecedent of all later family relations. In Tibet itself polygamy exists side by side with polyandry amongst the wealthy classes, while monogamy is the rule amongst the poor pastoral nomads of the northern steppe.

[1] "Whatever may have been the origin of polyandry, there can be no doubt that poverty, a desire to keep down population, and to keep property undivided in families, supply sufficient reason to justify its continuance. The same motives explain its existence among the lower castes of Malabar, among the Jat (Sikhs) of the Panjab, among the Todas, and probably in most other countries in which this custom prevails" (Rockhill, p. 726).

Great ethnical importance has been attached by some distinguished anthropologists to the treatment of the dead.

Burial Customs.

But, as in the New Stone and Metal Ages cremation and burial were undoubtedly practised by the same race, so in Tibet the dead are now simultaneously disposed of in diverse ways. It is a question not so much of race as of caste or social classes, or of the lama's pleasure, who, when the head has been shaved to facilitate the transmigration of the soul, may order the body to be burnt, buried, cast into the river, or even thrown to carrion birds or beasts of prey. Strange to say, the last method, carried out with certain formalities, is one of the most honourable, although the lamas are generally buried in a seated posture, and high officials burnt, and (in Ladakh) the ashes, mixed with a little clay, kneaded into much venerated effigies—doubtless a survival of ancestry-worship.

Reference was above made to the primitive Shamanistic ideas which still survive beneath the Buddhist and the later lamaistic systems.

The Bonbo Religion.

In the central and eastern provinces of Ui and Tsang this pre-Buddhist religion has again struggled to the surface, or rather persisted under the name of *Bonbo* (*Boa-ho*) side by side with the national creed, from which it has even borrowed many of its present rites. From the colour of the robes usually worn by its priests, it is known as the sect of the "Blacks," in contradistinction to the orthodox "Yellow" and dissenting "Red" lamaists, and as now constituted, its origin is attributed to Shen-rab (Gsen-rabs), who flourished about the fifth century before the new era, and is venerated as the equal of Buddha himself. His followers, who were powerful enough to drive Buddhism from Tibet in the 10th century, worship 18 chief deities, the best known being the red and black demons, the snake devil, and especially the fiery tiger-god, father of all the secondary members of this truly "diabolical pantheon." It is curious to note that the sacred symbol of the Bonbo sect is the ubiquitous svastika, only with the hooks of the cross reversed, 卍 instead of 卐. This change, which appears to have escaped the diligent research of Mr Thomas Wilson[1], was caused by the practice

[1] At least no reference is made to the Bonbo practice in his almost exhaustive monograph on *The Swastika*, Washington, 1896. The reversed form,

of turning the prayer-wheel from right to left as the red lamas do, instead of from left to right as is the orthodox way. The common Buddhist formula of six syllables—*om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum*—is also replaced by one of seven syllables—*ma-tri-mon-tre-sa-la-dzun*[1].

Buddhism and Lamaism.

Buddhism itself, introduced by Hindu missionaries, is more recent than is commonly supposed. Few conversions were made before the 5th century of our era, and the first temple dates only from the year 698. Reference is often made to the points of contact or "coincidences" which have been observed between this system and that of the Oriental and Latin Christian Churches. There is no question of a common dogma, and the numerous resemblances are concerned only with ritualistic details, such as the cross, the mitre, dalmatica, and other distinctive vestments, choir singing, exorcisms, the thurible, benedictions with outstretched hand, celibacy, the rosary, fasts, processions, litanies, spiritual retreats, holy water, scapulars or other charms, prayer addressed to the saints, relics, pilgrimages, music and bells at the service, monasticism; this last being developed to a far greater extent in Tibet than at any time in any Christian land, Egypt not excepted. The lamas, representing the regular clergy of the Roman Church, hold a monopoly of all "science," letters, and arts. The block printing-presses are all kept in the huge monasteries which cover the land, and from them are consequently issued only orthodox works and treatises on magic. Religion itself is little better than a system of magic, and the sole aim of all worship, reduced to a mere mechanical system of routine, is to baffle the machinations of the demons who at every turn beset the path of the wayfarer through this "vale of tears."

Buddhist and Christian Ritualism.

The Prayer-wheel.

For this purpose the prayer-wheels—an ingenious contrivance by which innumerable supplications, not less efficacious because vicarious, may be offered up night and day to the powers of darkness—are

however, mentioned by Max Müller and Burnouf, is figured at p. 767 and elsewhere.

[1] Sarat-Chandra-Dàs, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1881–2.

incessantly kept going all over the land, some being so cleverly arranged that the sacred formula may be repeated as many as 40,000 times at each revolution of the cylinder. These machines, which have also been introduced into Korea and Japan, have been at work for several centuries without any appreciable results, although fitted up in all the houses, by the river banks or on the hill-side, and kept in motion by the hand, wind, and water; while others of huge size, 30 to 40 feet high and 15 to 20 in diameter, stand in the temples, and at each turn repeat the contents of whole volumes of liturgical essays stowed away in their capacious receptacles. But despite all these everlasting revolutions, stagnation reigns supreme throughout the most priest-ridden land under the sun.

Language and Letters.

With its religion Tibet imported also its letters from India by the route of Nepal or Kashmir in the 7th century. Since then the language has undergone great changes always, like other members of the Indo-Chinese family, in the direction from agglutination towards monosyllabism[1]. But the orthography, apart from a few feeble efforts at reform, has remained stationary, so that words are still written as they were pronounced 1200 years ago. The result is a far greater discrepancy between the spoken and written tongue than in any other language, English not excepted. Thus the province of Ui has been identified by Sir A. Cunningham with Ptolemy's *Debasæ* through its written form *Dbus*, though now always pronounced *U*[2]. This bears out de Lacouperie's view that all words were really uttered as originally spelt, although often beginning with as many as three consonants. Thus *spra* (monkey), is now pronounced *deu* in the Lhasa dialect, but still *streu-go* in that of the province of Kham. The phonetic disintegration is still going on, so that, barring reform, the time must come when there will be no correspondence at all between sound and its graphic expression.

[1] This point, so important in the history of linguistic evolution, has I think been fairly established by T. de Lacouperie in a series of papers in the *Oriental and Babylonian Record*, 1888—90.

[2] *Ladák*, London, 1854.

Diverse Linguistic Types.

On the other hand it is a mistake to suppose that all languages in the Indo-Chinese linguistic zone have undergone this enormous extent of phonetic decay. The indefatigable B. H. Hodgson has made us acquainted with several, especially in Nepal[1], which are of a highly conservative character. Farther east the *Lepcha* (properly *Rong*) of Sikkim presents the remarkable peculiarity of distinct agglutination of the Mongolo-Túrki, or perhaps I should say of the Kuki-Lushai type, combined with numerous homophones and a total absence of tone. Thus *pano-sa*, of a king, *pano-sang*, kings, and *pano-sang-sa*, of kings, shows pure agglutination, while *mát* yields no less than twenty-three distinct meanings[2], which should necessitate a series of discriminating tones, as in Chinese or Siamese. Their absence, however, is readily explained by the persistence of the agglutinative principle, which renders them unnecessary.

Lepcha.

Angami-Naga Speech.

A somewhat similar feature is presented by the Angami Naga, the chief language of the Naga Hills, of which Mr R. B. McCabe writes that it is "still in a very primitive stage of the agglutinating class," and "peculiarly rich in intonation," although "for one Naga who clearly marks these tonal distinctions twenty fail to do so[3]." It follows that it is mainly spoken without tones, and although said to be "distinctly monosyllabic[4]" it really abounds in polysyllables, such as *merenama*, orphan, *kehutsaporimo*, nowhere, *dukriwáché*,

[1] *Ethnology*, p. 325.

[2] Col. G. B. Mainwaring, *A Grammar of the Rong* (*Lepcha*) *Language*, &c., Calcutta, 1876, pp. 128, 9.

[3] *Outline Grammar of the Angámi-Naga Language*, Calcutta, 1887, pp. 4, 5. It may be mentioned that *Khassi* also, which may be regarded as a stock language with no clear affinities, structural or lexical, to any of the surrounding Assamese tongues, is an isolating form of speech with prefixed formative elements and aspirates, but no tones. "The percentage of words common to the Khassi and the rest of these mountain dialects is extremely small," while "equally great is the dissimilarity in many other points of grammatical detail," says Mr H. Roberts, author of a good *Grammar of the Khassi Language*, Kegan Paul Series, 1893. On the astonishing number of distinct languages in the whole of this region see Gertrude M. Godden's paper "On the Naga and other Frontier Tribes of North-East India," in *Journ. Anthrop., Inst.* 1897, pp. 165, 6.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 4.

to kill, &c. There are also numerous verbal formative elements given by Mr McCabe himself, so that Angami must clearly be included in the agglutinating order. To this order also belongs beyond all doubt the *Kuki-Lushai* of the neighbouring North Kachar Hills and parts of Nagaland itself, the common speech in fact of the *Rangkhols*, *Jansens*, *Lushai*, *Roeys* and other hill peoples, collectively called *Kuki* by the lowlanders, and *Dzo* by themselves[1]. The highly agglutinating character of this language is evident from the numerous conjugations given by Mr Soppitt[2], for some of which he has no names, but which may be called *Acceleratives*, *Retardatives*, *Complementatives*, and so on. Thus with the root *ahong*, come, and infix *jám*, slow, is formed the retardative *náng ahongjámrangmoh*, "will-you-come-slowly?" (*rang*, future, *moh*, interrogative particle).

Kuki-Lushai Language.

These Kuki people have a curious theory of the Creation, according to which the face of the earth was originally covered with one vast sea, inhabited by a gigantic worm. One day the Creator, passing over this worm, dropped a small piece of clay, saying, "Of this I mean to make a land and people it." The worm replied, "What! you think to make a habitable land of a small piece like this! Why, it is absurd. Look here, I can swallow it!" But the lump immediately passing out of his body grew and grew until it became the world we now see. Then man sprang out of the ground by the will of the gods, of whom there are three at the head of the Kuki pantheon, Lambra, the creator, without whose consent nothing can be done by the others; Golarai, god of

Creation Legend.

[1] Almost hopeless confusion continues to prevail in the tribal nomenclature of these multitudinous hill peoples. The official sanction given to the terms *Kuki* and *Lushai* as collective names may be regretted, but seems now past remedy. *Kuki* is unknown to the people themselves, while *Lushai* is only the name of a single group proud of their head-hunting proclivities, hence they call themselves, or perhaps are called *Lu-Shai*, "Head-Cutters," from *lu* head, *shai* to cut (G. H. Damant). Other explanations suggested by Mr C. A. Soppitt (*Kuki-Lushai Tribes, with an Outline Grammar of the Rangkhol-Lushai Language*, Shillong, 1887) cannot be accepted.

[2] *Op. cit.*

death, and Dudukal, generally benevolent, operating through his wife Fapité.

"The other Kuki tribes," writes Mr Soppitt, "have much the same religious belief, though the head gods are differently named. In fact in those of all the semi-savage tribes a great similarity is invariably found —a head god, his assistants, other powerful deities, working for the good and evil of mankind, and their aids minor gods; means of propitiation, sacrifice. This similarity cannot be said to carry much weight in an argument in favour of a common origin of many of these tribes, for the reason that the beliefs and superstitions are those that would naturally be acquired by a people living in the same way, more or less in the same kind of country, and subject to the same diseases, epidemical visitations and calamities....A tribe settling in a new country would soon change its belief, especially when that belief was a crude and more or less unformed one. Thus removing to a part of a province where storms were unusually severe, a people would naturally adopt a 'god of storms'[1]." These views, confirming those advanced in *Ethnology*, p. 216 sq., may be recommended to those ethnologists who still contend for the common origin of widely separated branches of mankind, the American for instance and the Mongol or Japanese, on the ground of resemblances in their religious beliefs. All this will never prove anything but the common psychic unity of all members of the human family.

Common Religious Beliefs no Proof of Affinity.

Through these Naga and Kuki aborigines we pass without any break of continuity from the Bhótiya populations of the Himalayan slopes to those of Indo-China. Here also, as indeed in nearly all semi-civilised lands, peoples at various grades of culture are found dwelling for ages side by side—rude and savage groups on the uplands or in the more dense wooded tracts, settled communities with a large measure of political unity (in fact nations and peoples in the strict sense of those terms), on the lowlands, and especially along the rich alluvial riverine plains of this well watered region. The common theory is that the wild

The general Ethnical Relations in Indo-China.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 13.

tribes represent the true aborigines driven to the hills and woodlands by civilised invaders from India and other lands, who are now represented by the settled communities.

Whether such movements and dislocations have elsewhere taken place we need not here stop to inquire; indeed their probability, and in some instances their certainty may be frankly admitted. But I cannot think that the theory expresses the true relations in most parts of Farther India. Here the civilised peoples, and *ex hypothesi* the intruders, are the Manipuri, Burmese, Arakanese, and the nearly extinct or absorbed Talaings or Mons in the west; the Siamese, Shans or Laos, and Khamti in the centre; the Annamese (Tonkinese and Cochin-Chinese), Cambojans, and the almost extinct Champas in the east. Nearly all of these I hold to be quite as indigenous as the hillmen, the only difference being that, thanks to their more favourable environment, they emerged at an early date from the savage state and thus became more receptive to foreign civilising influences, mostly Hindu, but also Chinese (in Annam). All without exception are either of Mongolic or Indonesian type, and all speak toned Indo-Chinese languages, except the Cambojans and Champas, whose linguistic relations are with the Oceanic peoples, who are not here in question. The cultivated languages are no doubt full of Sanskrit or Prakrit terms in the West and Centre, and of Chinese in the East, and all, except Annamese, which uses a Chinese ideographic system, are written with alphabets derived through the square Pali characters from the Devanagari. It is also true that the vast monuments of Burma, Siam, and Camboja all betray Hindu influences, many of the temples being covered with Brahmanical or Buddhist sculptures and inscriptions. But precisely analogous phenomena are reproduced in Java, Sumatra, and other Malaysian lands, as well as in Japan and partly in China itself. Are we then to conclude that there have been Hindu invasions and settlements in all these regions, the most populous on the globe?

Aborigines and Cultured Peoples of one Stock.

During the historic period a few Hinduized Dravidians, especially Telingas (Telugus) of the Coromandel coast, have from time to time emigrated to Indo-China (Pegu), where the name survives amongst

The Talaings.

the "Talaings," that is, the Mons, by whom they were absorbed, just as the Mons themselves are now being absorbed by the Burmese. Others of the same connection have gained a footing here and there in Malaysia, especially the Malacca coastlands, where they are called "Klings[1]," *i.e.* Telings, Telingas.

But beyond these partial movements, without any kind of influence on the general ethnical relations, I know of no Hindu (some have even used the term "Aryan," and have brought Aryans to Camboja) invasions except those of a moral order—the invasions of the zealous Hindu missionaries, both Brahman and Buddhist, which, however, amply suffice to account for all the above indicated points of contact between the Indian, the Indo-Chinese, and the Malayan populations.

The Manipuri.

That the civilised lowlanders and rude highlanders are generally of the same aboriginal stocks is well seen in the Manipur district with its fertile alluvial plains and encircling Naga and Lushai Hills on the north and south. The Hinduized Manipuri of the plains, that is, the politically dominant *Meithis*, as they call themselves, are considered by Dr George Watt to be "a mixed race between the Kukies and the Nagas[2]." This observer aptly remarks that in this region the superiority of the rich bottom-lands over those laboriously formed by terracing the hill slopes, as in Angamiland, "must have been the reward ever kept in view by tribes rising into importance and power. The conquest of one race over another most probably led to the valleys passing time after time into new hands. Many of the hill tribes have traditions that they once held the great valley of Manipur. Modern history fully supports this also, for in perhaps no other part of India have greater or more cruel struggles taken place than amongst the tribes of Manipur."

Memories even still survive of the head-hunting practices associated with those lawless times, as in the legend or tradition

[1] It is a curious phonetic phenomenon that the combinations *kl* and *tl* are indistinguishable in utterance, so that it is immaterial whether this term be written *Kling* or *Tling*, though the latter form would be preferable, as shewing its origin from *Telinga*.

[2] *The Aboriginal Tribes of Manipur*, in *Journ. Anthrop.*, Inst. 1887, p. 350.

by which the Murram Nagas explain the fact that they alone have two hereditary chiefs, a greater and a lesser.

Head-hunting Legends.

A former chief had two sons, the younger of whom, being the greater warrior, wanted his father to give him the succession. But, being afraid of the younger and unable to deprive the elder of his birthright, the aged chief bethought him of a way out of the dilemma. Having first instructed the elder to go and secretly bring home the head of some foe, he summoned both and sent them on a similar expedition, on the understanding that he who brought in the first head should be heir. The elder of course came back first with the head he had already secured and hidden in the neighbouring bush. But the younger still insisting on his claim, a compromise had to be made by which both should succeed, one as the big, the other as the little chief, and so it has been ever since.

It is noteworthy that the Manipuri are also devoted to the game of polo, which Capt. R. C. Temple tells us they play much in the same way as do the Baltis and Ladakhis at the opposite extremity of the Himalayas. Another remarkable link with the "Far West" is the term *Khel*, which has travelled all the way from Persia or Parthia through Afghanistan to Nagaland, where it retains the same meaning of clan or section of a village, and produces the same disintegrating effects as amongst the Afghans. In Angamiland each village is split into two or more Khels, and "it is no unusual state of affairs to find Khel A of one village at war with Khel B of another, while not at war with Khel B of its own village. The Khels are often completely separated by great walls, the people on either side living within a few yards of each other, yet having no dealings whatever. Each Khel has its own headman, but little respect is paid to the chief; each Khel may be described as a small republic[1]." There appears to be no trace even of a *jirga*, or council of elders, by which some measure of cohesion is imparted to the Afghan Khel system.

The Khel System.

From the Kuki-Nagas the transition is unbroken to the large group of *Chins* of the Chindwin valley, named from them, and thence northwards to the rude *Kakhyens*

The Chins.

[1] Dr Watts, *loc. cit.*, p. 362.

(*Kachins*) about the Irawadi headstreams and southwards to the numerous *Karen* tribes, who occupy the ethnical parting-line between Burma and Siam all the way down to Tenasserim[1].

For the first detailed account of the Chins we are indebted to Messrs S. Carey and H. N. Tuck[2], who accept Mr B. Houghton's theory that these tribes, as well as the Kuki-Lushai, "originally lived in what we now know as Tibet, and are of one and the same stock; their form of government, method of cultivation, manners and customs, beliefs and traditions, all point to one origin." The term Chin, said to be a Burmese form of the Chinese *jin*, "men," is unknown to these aborigines, who call themselves *Yo* in the north and *Lai* in the south, while in Lower Burma they are *Shu*.

Confused Tribal Nomenclature.

In truth there is no recognised collective name, and *Shendu* (*Sindhu*) often so applied is proper only to the once formidable Chittagong and Arakan frontier tribes, *Klangklangs* and *Hakas*, who with the *Sokté*, *Tashons*, *Siyirs*, and others are now reduced and administered from Falam. Each little group has its own tribal name, and often one or two others, descriptive, abusive and so on, given them by their neighbours. Thus the *Nwengals* (*Nun*, river, *ngal*, across) are only that section of the Soktés now settled on the farther or right bank of the Manipur, while the Soktés themselves (*Sok*, to go down, *té*, men) are so called because they migrated from Chin Nwe (9 miles from Tiddim), cradle of the Chin race, down to Molbem, their earliest settlement, which is the Mobingyi of the Burmese. So with Siyin, the Burmese form of *Sheyanté* (*she*, alkali, *yan*, side, *té*, men), the group who settled by the alkali springs east of Chin Nwe, who are the *Tauté* ("stout" or "sturdy" people) of the Lushai and southern Chins. Let these few specimens suffice as a slight object-lesson in the involved tribal nomenclature which prevails, not only amongst the Chins, but everywhere in the Tibeto-Indo-Chinese domain, from the north-western Himalayas to Cape St James at the south-eastern

[1] "The Karens of Burma are related to the Angami Nagas, north of Manipur, and to the allied tribes of Khyens [Chins] and Kakhyens of Burma" (Capt. Temple, *loc. cit.*, p. 368).

[2] *The Chin Hills*, &c., Vol. I., Rangoon, 1896.

extremity of Farther India. I have myself collected nearly a thousand such names of clans, septs, and fragmentary groups within this domain, and am well aware that the list neither is, nor ever can be, complete, the groups themselves often being unstable quantities in a constant state of fluctuation.

Creation Legends.

Most of the Chin groups have popular legends to explain either their origin or their present reduced state. Thus the Tawyans, a branch of the Tashons, claim to be Torrs, that is, the people of the Rawvan district, who were formerly very powerful, but were ruined by their insane efforts to capture the sun. Building a sort of Jacob's ladder, they mounted higher and higher; but growing tired, quarrelled among themselves, and one day, while half of them were clambering up the pole, the other half below cut it down just as they were about to seize the sun. So the Whenohs, another Tashon group, said to be Lushais left behind in a district now forming part of Chinland, tell a different tale. They say they came out of the rocks at Sepi, which they think was their original home. They share, however, this legend of their underground origin with the Soktés and several other Chin tribes.

Mental and physical Qualities.

Amid much diversity of speech and physique the Chins present some common mental qualities, such as "slow speech, serious manner, respect for birth and knowledge of pedigrees, the duty of revenge, the taste for a treacherous method of warfare, the curse of drink, the virtue of hospitality, the clannish feeling, the vice of avarice, the filthy state of the body, mutual distrust, impatience under control, the want of power of combination and of continued effort, arrogance in victory, speedy discouragement and panic in defeat[1]."

Physically they are a fine race, taller and stouter than the surrounding lowlanders, men 5 feet 10 or 11 inches being common enough among the independent southerners. There are some "perfectly proportioned giants with a magnificent development of muscle." Yet dwarfs are met in some districts, and in others "the inhabitants are a wretched lot, much afflicted with goître, amongst whom may be seen cretins who crawl about on all fours

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 165.

with the pigs in the gutter. At Dimlo, in the Sokté tract, leprosy has a firm hold on the inhabitants."

Gods, Nats, and the after Life.

Although often described as devil-worshippers, the Chins really worship neither god nor devil. The northerners believe there is no Supreme Being, and although the southerners admit a "Kozin" or head god, to whom they sacrifice, they do not worship him, and never look to him for any grace or mercy, except that of withholding the plagues and misfortunes which he is capable of working on any in this world who offend him. Besides Kozin, there are *nats* or spirits of the house, family, clan, fields; and others who dwell in particular places in the air, the streams, the jungle, and the hills. None can bestow blessings, but all can and will do harm unless propitiated[1].

The departed go to *Mithikwa*, "Dead Man's Village," which is divided into *Pwethikwa*, the pleasant abode, and *Sathikwa*, the wretched abode of the *unavenged*. Good or bad deeds do not affect the future of man, who must go to Pweithikwa if he dies a natural or accidental death, and to Sathikwa if killed, and there bide till avenged by blood. Thus the vendetta receives a sort of religious sanction, strengthened by the belief that the slain becomes the slave of the slayer in the next world. "Should the slayer himself be slain, then the first slain is the slave of the second slain, who in turn is the slave of the man who killed him."

"Whether a man has been honest or dishonest in this world is of no consequence in the next existence; but, if he has killed many people in this world, he has many slaves to serve him in his future existence; if he has killed many wild animals, then he will start well-supplied with food, for all that he kills on earth are his in the future existence. In the next existence hunting and drinking will certainly be practised, but whether fighting and raiding will be indulged in is unknown[2]."

Cholera and small-pox are spirits, and when cholera broke out among the Chins who visited Rangoon in 1895 they carried their *dahs* (knives) drawn to scare off the *nat*, and spent the day hiding under bushes, so that the spirit should not find them. Some even

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 196. [2] *Ibid.*

wanted to sacrifice a slave boy, but were talked over to substitute some pariah dogs. They firmly believe in the evil eye, and the Hakas think the Sujins and others are all wizards, whose single glance can bewitch them, and may cause lizards to enter the body and devour the entrails. A Chin once complained to Surgeon-Major Newland that a *nat* had entered his stomach at the glance of a Yahow, and he went to hospital quite prepared to die. But an emetic brought him round, and he went off happy in the belief that he had vomited the *nat*.

The Kakhyens.

Ethnically connected with the Kuki-Naga groups are the *Kakhyens* of the Irawadi head-streams, and the *Karens*, who form numerous village communities about the Burma-Siamese borderland. The Kakhyens, so called abusively by the Burmese, are the *Cacobees* of the early writers[1], whose proper name is *Singpho* (*Chingpaw*), i.e. "Men[2]," and whose curious semi-agglutinating speech, spoken in an ascending tone, each sentence ending in a long-drawn *ĭ* in a higher key (Bigandet), shows affinities rather with the Mishmi and other North Assamese tongues than with the cultured Burmese. They form a very wide-spread family, stretching from the Eastern Himalayas right into Yunnan, and presenting two somewhat marked physical types: (1) the true Chingpaws, with short round head, low forehead, prominent cheek-bones, slant eye, broad nose, thick protruding lips, very dark brown hair and eyes, dirty buff colour, mean height (about 5 ft. 5 or 6 in.) with disproportionately short legs; (2) a much finer race, with regular Caucasic features, long oval face, pointed chin, aquiline nose. One Kakhyen belle met with at Bhamo, "with large lustrous eyes and fair skin, might almost have passed for a European[3]."

Caucasic Elements.

It is important to note this Caucasic element, which we first meet here going eastwards from the Himalayas, but which is

[1] Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 9.

[2] Prince Henri d'Orléans writes "que les Singphos et les Katchins [Kakhyens] ne font qu'un, que le premier mot est *thai* et le second birman" (*Du Tonkin aux Indes*, 1898, p. 311). This is how the ethnical confusion in these borderlands gets perpetuated. *Singpho* is not *Thai*, i.e. Shan or Siamese, but a native word as here explained.

[3] Dr John Anderson, *Mandalay to Momein*, 1876, p. 131.

found either separate or interspersed amongst the Mongoloid populations all over the south-east Asiatic uplands, from Tibet to Cochin-China, and passing thence into Oceanica.

The Karens.

The kinship of the Kakhyens with the still more numerous Karens is now generally accepted, and it is no longer found necessary to bring the latter all the way from Turkestan. They form a large section, perhaps one-sixth, of the whole population of Burma, and overflow into the west Siamese borderlands. Their subdivisions are endless, though all may be reduced to three main branches[1], *Sgaws*, *Pwos* and *Bwais*, these last including the somewhat distinct group of *Karenni*, or "Red Karens." Although Mr D. M. Smeaton calls the language "monosyllabic," it is evidently agglutinating, of the normal sub-Himalayan type.

Type.

The Karens are a short, sturdy race, with straight black and also brownish hair, black, and even hazel eyes, and light or yellowish brown complexion, so that here also a Caucasic strain may be suspected.

Temperament.

Despite the favourable pictures of the missionaries, whose propaganda has been singularly successful amongst these aborigines, the Karens are not an amiable or particularly friendly people, but rather shy, reticent and even surly, but trustworthy and loyal to those chiefs and guides who have once gained their confidence. In warfare they are treacherous rather than brave, and strangely cruel even to little children. Their belief in a divine Creator who has deserted them resembles that of the Kuki people, and to the *nats* of the Kuki correspond the *la* of the Karens, who are even more numerous, every mountain, stream, rapid, crest, peak or other conspicuous object having its proper indwelling *la*. There are also seven specially baneful spirits, who have to be appeased by family offerings. "On the whole their belief in a personal god, their tradition as to the former possession of a 'law,' and their expectation of a prophet have made them susceptible to Christianity to a degree that is almost unique. Of this splendid opportunity the American mission has

Flourishing Christian Missions.

[1] *The Loyal Karens of Burma*, 1887.

taken full advantage, educating, civilising, welding together, and making a people out of the downtrodden Karen tribes, while Christianizing them[1]."

The Burmese.

In the Burmese division proper are comprised several groups, presenting all grades of culture, from the sheer savagery of the Mros, Kheongs, and others of the Arakan Yoma range, and the agricultural Mugs of the Arakan plains, to the dominant historical Burmese nation of the Irawadi valley. Here also the terminology is perplexing, and it may be well to explain that *Yoma*, applied by Logan collectively to all the Arakan Hill tribes, has no ethnic value at all, simply meaning a mountain range in Burmese[2]. *Toung-gnu*, one of Dr Mason's divisions of the Burmese family, was merely a petty state founded by a younger branch of the Royal House, and "has no more claim to rank as a separate tribe than any other Burman town[3]." *Tavoyers* are merely the people of the Tavoy district, Tenasserim, originally from Arakan, and now speaking a Burmese dialect largely affected by Siamese elements; *Tungthas*, like Yoma, means "Highlander," and is even of wider application; the Tipperahs, Mrungs, Kumi, Mros, Khemis, and Khyengs are all Tungthas of Burmese stock, and speak rude Burmese dialects.

Perplexing tribal Nomenclature.

The correlative of Tungthas is *Khyungthas*, "River People," that is, the Arakan Lowlanders comprising the more civilised peoples about the middle and lower course of the rivers, who are improperly called *Mugs* (*Maghs*) by the Bengali, and whose real name is *Rakhaingtha*, *i.e.* people of Rakhaing (Arakan). They are undoubtedly of the same stock as the cultured Burmese, whose traditions point to Arakan as the cradle of the race, and in whose chronicles the Rakhaingtha are called *M'ranmákríh*, "Great M'ranmas," or "Elder Burmese." Both branches call themselves *M'ranma*, *M'rama* (the correct form of *Barma*, *Burma*, but now usually pronounced Myamma), probably from a root *mro*, *myo*, "man," though connected by Burnouf with Brahma, the Brahmanical having preceded the Buddhist religion in this region. In any

[1] Capt. R. C. Temple, *Academy*, Jan. 29, 1887, p. 72.

[2] Capt. Forbes, *Languages of Further India*, p. 61.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 55.

case the M'rama may claim a respectable antiquity, being already mentioned in the national records so early as the first century of the new era, when the land "was said to be overrun with fabulous monsters and other terrors, which are called to this day by the superstitious natives, the five enemies. These were a fierce tiger, an enormous boar, a flying dragon, a prodigious man-eating bird, and a huge creeping pumpkin, which threatened to entangle the whole country[1]."

Type.

The Burmese type has been not incorrectly described as intermediate between the Chinese and the Malay, more refined, or at least softer than either, of yellowish brown or olive complexion, often showing very dark shades, full black and lank hair, no beard, small but straight nose, weak extremities, pliant figure, and a mean height.

Character.

Most Europeans speak well of the Burmese people, whose bright genial temperament and extreme friendliness towards strangers more than outweigh a natural indolence which hurts nobody but themselves, and a little arrogance or vanity inspired by the still remembered glories of a nation that once ruled over a great part of Indo-China. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of Burmese society is the almost democratic independence and equality of all classes developed under an exceptionally severe Asiatic autocracy. "They are perfectly republican in the freedom with which all ranks mingle together and talk with one another, without any marked distinction in regard to difference of rank or wealth.[2]" Mr Scott

Burmese Buddhism.

attributes this trait, I think rightly, to the great leveller, Buddhism, the true spirit of which has perhaps been better preserved in Burma than in any other land.

The priesthood has not become the privileged and oppressive class that has usurped all spiritual and temporal functions in Tibet, for in Burma everybody is or has been a priest for some period of his life. All enter the monasteries—which are the national schools—not only for general instruction, but actually as members of the sacerdotal order. They submit to the tonsure, take "minor orders," so to say, and wear the yellow robe, if only

[1] G. W. Bird, *Wanderings in Burma*, 1897, p. 335.

[2] J. G. Scott, *Burma, etc.*, 1886, p. 115.

for a few months or weeks or days. But for the time being they must renounce "the world, the flesh and the devil," and must play the mendicant, make the round of the village at least once with the begging-bowl hung round their neck in company with the regular members of the community. They thus become initiated, and it becomes no longer possible for the confraternity to impose either on the rulers or on the ruled. "Teaching is all that the brethren of the order do for the people. They have no spiritual powers whatever. They simply become members of a holy society that they may observe the precepts of the Master more perfectly, and all they do for the alms lavished on them by the pious laity is to instruct the children in reading, writing, and the rudiments of religion[1]."

How purely formal are the ceremonial rites, and how empty the devotion, prayers, and offerings even at the most venerated shrines appears from the fact that the so-called fabulous treasures of the renowned temple of Mingún were found on inquiry to be almost worthless and their "gold and silver" images of base metal.

Position of Woman.

Nor is the personal freedom here spoken of confined to the men. In no other part of the world do the women enjoy a larger measure of independent action than in Burma, with the result that they are acknowledged to be far more virtuous, thrifty, and intelligent than those of all the surrounding lands. Their capacity for business and petty dealings is rivalled only by their Gallic sisters; and Mr H. S. Hallett tells us that in every town and village "you will see damsels squatted on the floor of the verandah with diminutive, or sometimes large, stalls in front of them, covered with vegetables, fruit, betel-nut, cigars and other articles. However numerous they may be, the price of everything is known to them; and such is their idea of probity, that pilfering is quite unknown amongst them. They are entirely trusted by their parents from their earliest years; even when they blossom into young women, *chaperons* are never a necessity; yet immorality is far less customary amongst them, I am led to believe, than in any country in Europe[2]."

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 118. [2] *Amongst the Shans, etc.*, 1885, p. 233.

This observer quotes Bishop Bigandet, a forty years' resident amongst the natives, to the effect that "in Burmah and Siam the doctrines of Buddhism have produced a striking, and to the lover of true civilization a most interesting result—the almost complete equality of the condition of the women with that of the men. In these countries women are seen circulating freely in the streets; they preside at the *comptoir*, and hold an almost exclusive possession of the bazaars. Their social position is more elevated, in every respect, than in the regions where Buddhism is not the predominating creed. They may be said to be men's companions, and not their slaves."

Tattooing.

Burma is one of those regions where tattooing has acquired the rank of a fine art. Indeed the intricate designs and general pictorial effect produced by the Burmese artists on the living body are rivalled only by those of Japan, New Zealand, and some other Polynesian groups. Mr Hallett, who states that "the Burmese, the Shans, and certain Burmanized tribes are the only peoples in the south of Asia who are known to tattoo their body," tells us that the elaborate operation is performed only on the male sex, the whole person from waist to knees, and amongst some Shan tribes from neck to foot, being covered with heraldic figures of animals, with intervening traceries, so that at a little distance the effect is that of a pair of dark-blue breeches[1]. The pigments are lamp-black or vermilion, and the pattern is usually first traced with a fine hair pencil and then worked in by a series of punctures made by a long pointed brass style[2].

The Tai-Shan Peoples.

East of Burma we enter the country of the *Shans*, one of the most numerous and widespread peoples of Asia, who call themselves *Tai* (*T'hai*) "Noble" or "Free," although slavery in various forms has from time immemorial been a social institution amongst all the southern groups. Here again tribal and national terminology is somewhat

[1] Cf. the Shans of Yunnan, who are nearly all "tatoués, depuis la ceinture jusqu'au genou, de dessins bleus si serrés qu'ils paraissent former une vraie culotte" (Pr. Henri, *op. cit.* p. 83).

[2] *Ibid.* p. 212.

bewildering; but it will help to notice that *Shan*, said to be of Chinese origin[1], is the collective Burmese name, and therefore corresponds to *Lao*, the collective Siamese name. These two terms are therefore rather political than ethnical, Shan denoting all the Tai peoples formerly subject to Burma and now mostly British subjects, Lao all the Tai peoples formerly subject to Siam, and now (since 1896) mostly French subjects. The Siamese group them all in two divisions, the *Lau-pang-dun*, "Black-paunch Lao," so called because they clothe themselves as it were in a dark skin-tight garb by the tattooing process; and the *Lau-pang-Kah*, "White-paunch Lao," who do not tattoo. The Burmese groups call themselves collectively *Ngiou*[2], while the most general Chinese name is *Paï* (*Pa-y*). Prince Henri d'Orléans, who is careful to point out that Paï is only another name for Lao[3], constantly met Paï groups all along the route from Tonking to Assam, and the bulk of the lowland population in Assam itself belongs originally[4] to the same family, though now mostly assimilated to the Hindus in speech, religion, and general culture. Assam in fact

[1] Probably for *Shan-tsĕ*, *Shan-yen*, "highlanders" (*Shan*, mountain), *Shan* itself being the same word as *Siam*, a form which comes to us through the Portuguese *Sião*.

[2] Carl Bock, MS. note. This observer notes that many of the Ngiou have been largely assimilated in type to the Burmese, and in one place goes so far as to assert that "the Ngiou are decidedly of the same race as the Burmese. I have had opportunities of seeing hundreds of both countries, and of closely watching their features and build. The Ngiou wear the hair in a topknot in the same way as the Burmese, but they are easily distinguished by their tattooing, which is much more elaborate" (*Temples and Elephants*, 1884, p. 297). Of course all spring from one primeval stock, but they now constitute distinct ethnical groups, and, except about the borderlands, where blends may be suspected, both the physical and mental characters differ considerably. Bock's *Ngiou* is no doubt the same name as *Ngnio*, which Mr H. S. Hallett applies in one place to the Mossé Shans north of Zimme, and elsewhere to the Burmese Shans collectively (*A Thousand Miles on an Elephant*, 1890, pp. 158 and 358).

[3] "Les Paï ne sont autres que des Laotiens" (Prince Henri, p. 42).

[4] One Shan group, the Deodhaings, still persist, and occupy a few villages near Sibsagar (S. E. Peal, *Nature*, June 19, 1884, p. 169). Dalton also mentions the *Kamjangs*, a Khamti (Tai) tribe in the Sadiya district, Assam (*Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 6).

takes its name from the *Ahoms*, the "peerless," the title first adopted by the Mau Shan chief, Chukupha, who invaded the country from north-east Burma, and in 1228 A.D. founded the Ahom dynasty, which was overthrown in 1810 by the Burmese, who were ejected in 1827 by the English[1].

The Ahom, Khamti, and Chinese Shans.

These Ahoms came from the Khamti (Kampti) district about the sources of the Irawadi, where Prince Henri was surprised to find a civilised and lettered Buddhist people of Paï̈ (Shan) speech still enjoying political autonomy in the dangerous proximity of *le léopard britannique.* They call themselves *Padao*, and it is curious to note that both *Padam* and *Assami* are also tribal names amongst the neighbouring Abor Hillmen. The French traveller was told that the Padao, who claimed to be *T'hais* (Tai) like the Laotians[2], were indigenous, and he describes the type as also Laotian—straight eyes rather wide apart, nose broad at base, forehead arched, superciliary arches prominent, thick lips, pointed chin, olive colour, slightly bronzed and darker than in the Lao country; the men ill-favoured, the young women with pleasant features, and some with very beautiful eyes.

Shan Cradle-land and Origins.

Passing into China we are still in the midst of Shan peoples, whose range appears formerly to have extended up to the right bank of the Yang-tse-kiang, and whose cradle has been traced by de Lacouperie to "the Kiu-lung mountains north of Sechuen and south of Shensi in China proper[3]." This authority holds that they constitute a chief element in the Chinese race itself, which, as it spread southwards beyond the Yang-tse-kiang, amalgamated with the Shan aborigines, and thus became profoundly modified both in type and speech, the present Chinese language comprising over thirty per cent. of

[1] Much unexpected light has been thrown upon the early history of these Ahoms by Mr E. Gait, who has discovered and described in the *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1894, a large number of *puthis*, or MSS. (28 in the Sibsagar district alone), in the now almost extinct Ahom language, some of which give a continuous history of the Ahom rajas from 568 to 1795 A.D. Most of the others appear to be treatises on religious mysticism or divination, such as "a book on the calculation of future events by examining the leg of a fowl" (*ib.*).

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 309.

[3] A. R. Colquhoun, *Among the Shans*, Introduction, p. lv.

Shan ingredients. Mr Colquhoun also, during his explorations in the southern provinces, found that "most of the aborigines, although known to the Chinese by various nicknames, were Shans; and that their propinquity to the Chinese was slowly changing their habits, manners, and dress, and gradually incorporating them with that people[1]."

Shan and Caucasic Contacts.

This process of fusion has been in progress for ages, not only between the southern Chinese and the Shans, but also between the Shans and the Caucasic aborigines, whom we first met amongst the Kakhyens, but who are found scattered mostly in small groups over all the uplands between Tibet and the Cochin-Chinese coast range. The result is that the Shans are generally of finer physique than either the kindred Siamese and Malays in the south, or the more remotely connected Chinese in the north. The colour, says Mr Bock, "is much lighter than that of the Siamese," and "in facial expression the Laotians are better-looking than the Malays, having good high foreheads, and the men particularly having regular well-shaped noses, with nostrils not so wide as those of their neighbours[2]." Still more emphatic is the testimony of Dr Kreitner of the Szechenyi expedition, who tells us that the Burmese Shans have "a nobler head than the Chinese; the dark eyes are about horizontal, the nose is straight, the whole expression approaches that of the Caucasic race[3]."

Tai-Shan toned Speech.

Notwithstanding their wide diffusion, interminglings with other races, varied grades of culture, and lack of political cohesion, the Tai-Shan groups acquire a certain ethnical and even national unity from their generally uniform type, social usages, Buddhist religion, and common Indo-Chinese speech. Amidst a chaos of radically distinct idioms current amongst the surrounding indigenous populations, they have everywhere preserved a remarkable degree of linguistic uniformity, all speaking various more or less divergent dialects of the same mother-tongue. Excluding a large percentage of Sanskrit terms introduced into the literary language by their

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 328. [2] *Temples and Elephants*, p. 320.

[3] "Der Gesichtsausdruck überhaupt nähert sich der Kaukasischen Race" (*Im fernen Osten*, p. 959).

Hindu educators, this radical mother-tongue comprises about 1860 distinct words or rather sounds, which have been reduced by phonetic decay to so many monosyllables, each uttered with five tones, the natural tone, two higher tones, and two lower[1]. Each term thus acquires five distinct meanings, and in fact represents five different words, which were phonetically distinct dissyllables, or even polysyllables in the primitive language.

The same process of disintegration has been at work throughout the whole of the Indo-Chinese linguistic area, where all the leading tongues—Chinese, Annamese, Tai-Shan, Burmese—belong to the same isolating form of speech, which, as explained in *Ethnology*, Chap. IX., is not a primitive condition, but a later development, the outcome of profound phonetic corruption.

Shan and other Indo-Chinese Writing Systems.

The remarkable uniformity of the Tai-Shan member of this order of speech may be in part due to the conservative effects of the literary standard. Probably over 2000 years ago most of the Shan groups were brought under Hindu influences by the Brahman, and later by the Buddhist missionaries, who reduced their rude speech to written form, while introducing a large number of Sanskrit terms inseparable from the new religious ideas. The writing systems, all based on the square Pali form of the Devanagari syllabic characters, were adapted to the phonetic requirements of the various dialects, with the result that the Tai-Shan linguistic family is encumbered with four different scripts. "The Western Shans use one very like the Burmese; the Siamese have a character of their own, which is very like Pali; the Shans called Lü have another character of their own; and to the north of Siam the Lao Shans have another[2]."

These Shan alphabets of Hindu origin are supposed by de Lacouperie to be connected with the writing-systems which have been credited to the Mossos, Lolos, and some other hill peoples about the Chinese and Indo-Chinese borderlands. At Lan-Chu in the Lolo country Prince Henri found that MSS. were very numerous, and he was shown some very fine specimens

[1] Low's *Siamese Grammar*, p. 14.

[2] Col. R. G. Woodthorpe, *The Shans and Hill Tribes of the Mekong*, in *Journ. Anthrop., Inst.* 1897, p. 16.

"enluminés." Here, he tells us, the script is still in use, being employed jointly with Chinese in drawing up legal documents connected with property. He was informed that this Lolo script comprised 300 characters, read from top to bottom and from left to right[1], although other authorities say from right to left.

Of the Lolo he gives no specimens[2], but reproduces two or three pages of a Mosso book with transliteration and translation. Other specimens, but without explanation, were already known through Gill and Desgodins, and their decipherment had exercised the ingenuity of several Chinese scholars. Their failure to interpret them is now accounted for by Prince Henri, who declares that, "strictly speaking the Mossos have no writing-system. The magicians keep and still make copy-books full of hieroglyphics; each page is divided into little sections (*cahiers*) following horizontally from left to right, in which are inscribed one or more somewhat rough figures, heads of animals, men, houses, conventional signs representing the sky or lightning, and so on." Some of the magicians expounded two of the books, which contained invocations, beginning with the creation of the world, and winding up with a catalogue of all the evils threatening mortals, but to be averted by being pious, that is, by making gifts to the magicians. The same ideas are always expressed by the same signs; yet the magicians declared that there was no

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 55.

[2] This omission, however, is partly supplied by T. de Lacouperie, who gives us an account of a wonderful Lolo MS. on satin, red on one side, blue on the other, containing nearly 5750 words written in black, "apparently with the Chinese brush." The MS. was obtained by Mr E. Colborne Baber from a Lolo chief, forwarded to Europe in 1881, and described by de Lacouperie *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XIV. Part I. "The writing runs in lines from top to bottom and from left to right, as in Chinese" (p. 1), and this authority regards it as the link that was wanting to connect the various members of a widely diffused family radiating from India (Harapa seal, Indo-Pali, Vatteluttu) to Malaysia (Batta, Rejang, Lampong, Bugis, Makassar, Tagal), to Indo-China (Lao, Siamese, Lolo), Korea and Japan, and also including the Siao-chuen Chinese system "in use a few centuries B.C." (p. 5). It would be premature to say that all these connections are established; but the Indian origin and affinities of all the members of the Malayan branch are now placed beyond doubt (see next Chapter).

alphabet, the hieroglyphs being handed down bodily from one expert to another. Nevertheless Prince Henri looks on this as one of the first steps in the history of writing; "originally many of the Chinese characters were simply pictorial, and if the Mossos, instead of being hemmed in, had acquired a large expansion, their sacred books might also perhaps have given birth to true characters[1]."

Mosso Origins.

Although now "hemmed in," the Mossos are a historical and somewhat cultured people, belonging to the same group as the *Iungs* (*Njungs*), who came from the regions north-east of Tibet, and appeared on the Chinese frontiers about 600 B.C. They are referred to in the Chinese records of 796 A.D. when they were reduced by the king of Nanchao. After various vicissitudes they recognised the Chinese suzerainty in the 14th century, and were finally subdued in the 18th. De Lacouperie[2] thinks they are probably of the same origin as the Lolos, the two languages having much in common, and the names of both being Chinese, while the Lolos and the Mossos call themselves respectively *Nossu* (Nesu) and *Nashi* (*Nashri*).

Aborigines of South China and Annam.

Everywhere amongst these border tribes are met groups of aborigines, who present more or less regular features which are described by various travellers as "Caucasic" or "European." Thus the *Kiu-tse*, who are the *Khanungs* of the English maps, and are akin to the large *Lu-tsé* family (*Melam, Anu, Diasu* &c.), reminded Prince Henri of some Europeans of his acquaintance[3], and he speaks of the light colour, straight nose and eyes, and generally fine type of the Yayo (Yao), as the Chinese call them, but whose real name is *Lin-tin-yu*.

The same Caucasic element reappears in a pronounced form amongst the indigenous populations of Tonking, to whom Dr A. Billet has devoted an instructive monograph[4]. This

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 193.
[2] *Beginnings of Writing in Central and Eastern Asia, passim.*
[3] "Quelques-uns de ces Kiou-tsés me rappellent des Européens que je connais" (*Op. cit.* p. 252).
[4] *Deux Ans dans le Haut-Tonkin, etc.*, Paris, 1896.

observer, who declares that these aborigines are quite distinct both from the Chinese and the Annamese, groups them in three main divisions—*Tho*, *Nong*, and *Man*[1]—all collectively called *Moi*, *Muong*, and *Myong* by the Annamese. The Thos, who are the most numerous, are agriculturists, holding all the upland valleys and thinning off towards the wooded heights. They are tall compared to the Mongols (5 ft. 6 or 7 in.), lighter than the Annamese, round-headed, with oval face, deep-set straight eyes, low cheekbones, straight and even slightly aquiline nose not depressed at root, and muscular frames. They are a patient, industrious, and frugal people, now mainly subject to Chinese and Annamese influences in their social usages and religion. Very peculiar nevertheless are some of their surviving customs, such as the feast of youth, the pastime of swinging, and especially chess played with living pieces, whose movements are directed by two players. The language appears to be a Shan dialect, and to this family the writer affiliates both the Thos and the Nongs. The latter are a much more mixed people, now largely assimilated to the Chinese, although the primitive type still persists, especially amongst the women, as is so often the case. Dr Billet tells us that he often met Nong women "with light and sometimes even red hair[2]."

Man-tse Origins and Affinities.

It is extremely interesting to learn that the Mans came traditionally "from a far-off western land where their forefathers were said to have lived in contact with peoples of white blood thousands of years ago."

[1] With regard to *Man* (*Man-tse*) it should be explained that in Chinese it means "untameable worms," that is, *wild* or *barbarous*, and we are warned by Desgodins that "il ne faut pas prendre ces mots comme des noms propres de tribus" (*Bul. Soc. Geogr.*, XII. p. 410). In 1877 Capt. W. Gill visited a large nation of *Man-tse* with 18 tribal divisions, reaching from West Yunnan to the extreme north of Sechuen, a sort of federacy recognising a king, with Chinese habits and dress, but speaking a language resembling Sanskrit (?). These were the *Sumu*, or "White Man-tse," apparently the same as those visited in 1896 by Mrs Bishop, and by her described as semi-independent, ruled by their own chiefs, and in appearance "quite Caucasian, both men and women being very handsome," strict Buddhists, friendly and hospitable, and living in large stone houses (Letter to *Times*, Aug. 18, 1896).

[2] "Des paysannes nóngs dont les cheveux étaient blonds, quelquefois même roux" (*Op. cit.*).

This tradition, which would identify them with the above-mentioned Man-tse, is supported by their physical appearance—long head, oval face, small cheek-bones, eyes without the Mongol fold, skin not yellowish but rather "browned by the sun," regular features—in nothing recalling the traits of the yellow races.

Caucasic Aborigines in South-East Asia.

Let us now turn to M. R. Verneau's comments on the rich materials brought together by Dr Billet, in whom, "being not only a medical man, but also a graduate in the natural sciences, absolute confidence may be placed[1]."

"The Máns-Tien, the Máns-Coc, the Máns-Meo (Miao, Miao-tse, or Mieu) present a pretty complete identity with the Pan-y and the Pan-yao of South Kwang-si; they are the débris of a very ancient race, which with T. de Lacouperie may be called pre-Chinese. This early race, which bore the name of *Pan-hu* or *Ngao*, occupied Central China before the arrival of the Chinese. According to M. d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, the mountains and valleys of Kwei-cháu where these Miao-tse still survive were the cradle of the Pan-hu. In any case it seems certain that the T'hai and the Man race came from Central Asia, and that, from the anthropological standpoint, they differ altogether from the Mongol group represented by the Chinese and the Annamese. The Man especially presents striking affinities with the Aryan type."

Thus is again confirmed by the latest investigations, and by the conclusions of some of the leading members of the French school of anthropology, the view first advanced by me in 1879, that peoples of the Caucasic (here called "Aryan") division had already spread to the utmost confines of south-east Asia in remote prehistoric times, and had in this region even preceded the first waves of Mongolic migration radiating from their cradle-land on the Tibetan plateau[2].

The Siamese Shans.

Reference was above made to the singular lack of political cohesion at all times betrayed by the Tai-Shan peoples. The only noteworthy exception is the

[1] *L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 602 sq.

[2] *On the Relations of the Indo-Chinese and Inter-Oceanic Races and Languages*, Paper read at the Meeting of the Brit. Association, Sheffield, 1879, and printed in the *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* February, 1880. See also *Eth.* p. 326.

Siamese branch, which forms the bulk of the population in the Menam basin. In this highly favoured region of vast hill-encircled alluvial plains of inexhaustible fertility, traversed by numerous streams navigable for light craft, and giving direct access to the inland waters of Malaysia, the Southern Shans were able at an early date to merge the primitive tribal groups in a great nationality, and found a powerful empire, which at one time dominated most of Indo-China and the Malay Peninsula.

Siam, alone of all the Shan states, even still maintains a precarious independence, although now again reduced by European aggression to little more than the natural limits of the fluvial valley, which is usually regarded by the Southern Shans as the home of their race. Yet they appear to have been here preceded by the Caucasic Khmers (Cambojans), whose advent is referred in the national chronicles to the year 543 B.C. and who, according to the Hindu records, were expelled about 443 A.D. It was through these Khmers, and not directly from India, that the "Sayamas" received their Hindu culture, and the Siamese annals, mingling fact with fiction, refer to the miraculous birth of the national hero, Phra-Ruang, who threw off the foreign yoke, declared the people henceforth T'hai, "Freemen," invented the present Siamese alphabet, and ordered the Khom (Cambojan) to be reserved in future for copying the sacred writings.

The introduction of Buddhism is assigned to the year 638 A.D., one of the first authentic dates in the native records. The ancient city of Labong had already been founded (575), and other settlements now followed rapidly, always in the direction of the south, according as the Shan race steadily advanced towards the seaboard, driving before them or mingling with Khmers, Lawas, Karens, and other aborigines, some now extinct, some still surviving on the wooded uplands and plateaux encircling the Menam valley. Ayuthia, the great centre of national life in later times, dates only from the year 1350, when the empire had received its greatest expansion, comprising the whole of Camboja, Pegu, Tenasserim, and the Malay Peninsula, and extending its conquering arms across the inland waters as far as Java[1]. Then followed

[1] In the Javanese annals the invaders are called "Cambojans," but at this time (about 1340) Camboja had already been reduced, and the Siamese conquerors

the disastrous wars with Burma, which twice captured and finally destroyed Ayuthia (1767), now a picturesque elephant-park visited by tourists from the present capital, Bangkok, founded in 1772 a little lower down the Menam.

Siamese Social System.

But the elements of decay existed from the first in the institution of slavery or serfdom, which was not restricted to a particular class, as in other lands, but, before the modern reforms, extended in principle to all the kings' subjects in mockery declared "Freemen" by the founders of the monarchy. This, however, may be regarded as perhaps little more than a legal fiction, for at all times class distinctions were really recognised, comprising the members of the royal family—a somewhat numerous group—the nobles named by the king, the *leks* or vassals, and the people, these latter being again subdivided into three sections, those liable to taxation, those subject to forced labour, and the slaves proper. But so little developed was the sentiment of personal dignity and freedom, that anybody from the highest noble to the humblest citizen might at any moment lapse into the lowest category. Like most Mongoloid peoples, the Siamese are incurable gamblers, and formerly it was an everyday occurrence for a freeman to stake all his goods and chattels, wives, children, and self, on the hazard of the die.

Status of Woman.

Yet the women, like their Burmese sisters, have always held a somewhat honourable social position, being free to walk abroad, go shopping, visit their friends, see the sights, and take part in the frequent public feastings without restriction. Those, however, who brought no dower and had to be purchased, might again be sold at any time, and many thus constantly fell from the dignity of matrons to the position of the merest drudges without rights or privileges of any kind. These strange relations were endurable, thanks to the genial nature of the national temperament, by which the hard lot of the thralls was softened, and a little light allowed to

had brought back from its renowned capital, Angkor Wat, over 90,000 captives. These were largely employed in the wars of the period, which were thus attributed to Camboja instead of to Siam by foreign peoples ignorant of the changed relations in Indo-China.

penetrate into the darkest corners[1] of the social system. The open slave-markets, which in the vassal Lao states fostered systematic raiding-expeditions amongst the unreduced aborigines, were abolished in 1873, and since 1890 all born in slavery are free on reaching their 21st year.

Siamese Buddhism is a slightly modified form of that prevailing in Ceylon, although strictly practised but by few. There are two classes or "sects," the reformers who attach more importance to the observance of the canon law than to meditation, and the old believers, some devoted to a contemplative life, others to the study of the sunless wilderness of Buddhist writings. But, beneath it all, spirit or devil-worship is still rife, and in many districts pure animism is practically the only religion. Even temples and shrines have been raised to the countless gods of land and water, woods, mountains, villages and households. To these gods are credited all sorts of calamities, and to prevent them from getting into the bodies of the dead the latter are brought out, not through door or window, but through a breach in the wall, which is afterwards carefully built up. Similar ideas prevail amongst many other peoples, both at higher and lower levels of culture, for nothing is more ineradicable than such popular beliefs associated with the relations presumed to exist between the present and the after life.

Buddhism.

Incredible sums are yearly lavished in offerings to the spirits, which give rise to an endless round of feasts and revels, and also in support of the numerous Buddhist temples, convents, and their inmates. The treasures accumulated in the "royal cloisters" and other shrines represent a great part of the national savings—

[1] How very dark some of these corners can be may be seen from the sad picture of maladministration, vice, and corruption still prevalent so late as 1890, given by Mr Hallett in *A Thousand Miles on an Elephant*, ch. xxxv.; and even still later by Mr H. Warington Smyth in *Five Years in Siam, from 1891 to 1896* (1898). This observer credits the Siamese with an undeveloped sense of right and wrong, so that they are good only by accident. "To do a thing because it is right is beyond them; to abstain from a thing because it is against their good name, or involves serious consequences, is possibly within the power of a few; the question of right and wrong does not enter the calculation." But he thinks they may possess a high degree of intelligence, and mentions the case of a peasant, who from an atlas had taught himself geography and politics.

investments for the other world, among which are said to be numerous gold statues glittering with rubies, sapphires, and other priceless gems. But in these matters the taste of the *talapoins*[1], as the priests were formerly called, is somewhat catholic, including pictures of reviews and battle-scenes from the European illustrated papers, and sometimes even statues of Napoleon set up by the side of Buddha.

Monasticism and Pessimism.

So numerous, absurd, and exacting are the rules of the monastic communities that, but for the aid of the temple servants and novices, existence would be impossible. A list of such puerilities occupies several pages in Mr Colquhoun's work *Amongst the Shans* (219–231), and from these we learn that the monks must not dig the ground, so that they can neither plant nor sow; must not boil rice, as it would kill the germ; eat corn for the same reason; climb trees lest a branch get broken; kindle a flame, as it destroys the fuel; put out a flame, as that also would extinguish life; forge iron, as sparks would fly out and perish; swing their arms in walking; wink in speaking; buy or sell; stretch the legs when sitting; breed poultry, pigs, or other animals; mount an elephant or palanquin; wear red, black, green, or white garments; mourn for the dead, &c., &c. In a word all might be summed up by a general injunction neither to do anything, nor not to do anything, and then despair of attaining *Nirvana*; for it would be impossible to conceive of any more pessimistic system in theory[2]. Practically it is otherwise, and in point of fact the utmost religious indifference prevails amongst all classes.

Within the Mongolic division it would be difficult to imagine any more striking contrast than that presented by the gentle, kindly, and on the whole not ill-favoured Siamese, and their hard-featured, hard-hearted, and grasping Annamese neighbours.

[1] Probably a corruption of *talapat*, the name of the palm-tree which yields the fan-leaf constantly used by the monks.

[2] "In conversation with the monks Dr McGilvary was told that it would most likely be countless ages before they would attain the much wished for state of Nirvana, and that one transgression at any time might relegate them to the lowest hell to begin again their melancholy pilgrimage" (Hallett, *A Thousand Miles on an Elephant*, p. 337).

Let anyone, who may fancy there is little or nothing in blood, pass rapidly from the bright, genial—if somewhat listless and corrupt—social life of Bangkok to the dry, uncongenial moral atmosphere of Ha-noi or Saigon, and he will be apt to modify his views on that point. Few observers have a good word to say for the Tonkingese, the Cochin-Chinese, or any other branch of the Annamese family, and some even of the least prejudiced are so outspoken that we must needs infer there is good ground for their severe strictures on these strange, uncouth materialists. Buddhists of course they are nominally; but of the moral sense they have little, unless it be (amongst the lettered classes) a pale reflection of the pale Chinese ethical code. The whole region in fact is a sort of attenuated China, to which it owes its arts and industries, its letters, moral systems, general culture, and even a large part of its inhabitants. *Giao-shi* (*Kiao-shi*), the name of the aborigines, said to mean "Bifurcated," or "Cross-toes[1]," in reference to the wide space between the great toe and the next, occurs in the legendary Chinese records so far back as 2285 B.C., since which period the two countries are supposed to have maintained almost uninterrupted relations, whether friendly or hostile, down to the present day. At first the Giao-shi were confined to the northern parts of Lu-kiang, the present Tonking, all the rest of the coast lands being held by the powerful Champa (Tsiampa) people, whose affinities are with the Oceanic populations. But in 218 B.C., Lu-kiang having been reduced and incorporated with China proper, a large number of Chinese emigrants settled in the country, and gradually merged with the Giao-shi in a single nationality, whose twofold descent is still reflected in the Annamese physical and mental characters.

The Annamese.

Origins.

This term Annam[2], however, did not come into use till the 7th century, when it was officially applied to the frontier river

[1] "Le gros orteil est très développé et écarté des autres doigts du pied. A ce caractère distinctif, que l'on retrouve encore aujourd'hui chez les indigènes de race pure, on peut reconnaître facilement que les Giao-chi sont les ancêtres des Annamites" (*La Cochinchine française en* 1878, p. 231). See also a note on the subject by C. F. Tremlett in *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* 1879, p. 460.

[2] Properly *An-nan*, a modified form of *ngan-nan*, "Southern Peace."

between China and Tonking, and afterwards extended to the whole of Tonking and Cochin-China. Tonking itself, meaning the "Eastern Court[1]," was originally the name only of the city of Ha-noi when it was a royal residence, but was later extended to the whole of the northern kingdom, whose true name is *Yüeh-nan.* To this corresponded the southern Kwe-Chen-Ching, "Kingdom of Chen-Ching," which was so named in the 9th century from its capital Chen-Ching, and of which our Cochin-China appears to be a corrupt form.

But, amid all this troublesome political nomenclature, the dominant Annamese nation has faithfully preserved its homogeneous character, spreading, like the Siamese Shans, steadily southwards, and gradually absorbing the whole of the Champa domain to the southern extremity of the peninsula, as well as a large part of the ancient kingdom of Camboja about the Mekhong delta. They thus form at present the almost exclusive ethnical element throughout all the lowland and cultivated parts of Tonking, upper and lower Cochin-China and south Camboja, with a total population in 1898 of about twenty millions.

Physical and Mental Characters.

The Annamese are described in a semi-official report[2] as characterised by a high broad forehead, high cheek bones, small crushed nose, rather thick lips, black hair, scant beard, mean height, coppery complexion, deceitful (*rusée*) expression, and rude or insolent bearing. The head is round (index 83 to 84) and the features are in general flat and coarse, while to an ungainly exterior corresponds a harsh unsympathetic temperament. The Abbé Gagelin, who lived years in their midst, frankly declares that they are at once arrogant and dishonest, and dead to all the finer feelings of human nature, so that after years of absence the nearest akin will meet without any outward sign of pleasure or affection. Others go further, and Mr J. G. Scott summed it all up by declaring that "the fewer Annamese there are, the less taint there is on the human race." No doubt Lord Curzon gives a more favourable picture, but this traveller spent only a short time in the country, and even he

[1] Cf. *Nan-king*, *Pe-king*, "Southern" and "Northern" Courts (Capitals).

[2] *La Gazette Géographique*, March 12, 1885.

allows that they are "tricky and deceitful, disposed to thieve when they get the chance, mendacious, and incurable gamblers[1]."

Yet they have one redeeming quality, an intense love of personal freedom, strangely contrasting with the almost abject slavish spirit of the Siamese. The feeling extends to all classes, so that servitude is held in abhorrence, and, as in Burma, a democratic sense of equality permeates the social system[2]. Hence, although the State has always been an absolute monarchy, each separate commune constitutes a veritable little oligarchic commonwealth. This has come as a great surprise to the present French administrators of the country, who frankly declare that they cannot hope to improve the social or political position of the people by substituting European for native laws and usages. The Annamese have in fact little to learn from western social institutions.

Language and Letters.

Their language, spoken everywhere with remarkable uniformity, is of the normal Indo-Chinese isolating type, possessing six tones, three high and three low, and written in ideographic characters based on the Chinese, but with numerous modifications and additions. But, although these are ill-suited for the purpose, the attempt made by the early Portuguese missionaries to substitute the so-called *quôc-ngü*, or Roman phonetic system, has been defeated by the conservative spirit of the people. Primary instruction has long been widely diffused, and almost everybody can read and write as many of the numerous hieroglyphs as are needed for the ordinary purposes of daily intercourse. Every village has its free school, and a higher range of studies is encouraged by the public examinations to which, as in China, all candidates for government appointments are subjected. Under such a scheme surprising results might be achieved, were the course of studies not based exclusively on the empty formulas of Chinese classical literature. The subjects taught are for the most part puerile, and true science is replaced by the dry moral precepts of Confucius. One result amongst the educated classes is a scoffing, sceptical spirit,

[1] *Geogr. Journ.*, Sept. 1893, p. 194.

[2] "Parmi les citoyens règne la plus parfaite égalité. Point d'esclavage, la servitude est en horreur. Aussi tout homme peut-il aspirer aux emplois, se plaindre aux mêmes tribunaux que son adversaire" (*op. cit.* p. 6).

free from all religious prejudice, and unhampered by theological creeds or dogmas, combined with a lofty moral tone, not always however in harmony with daily conduct.

Religious Systems.

Even more than in China, the family is the true base of the social system, the head of the household being not only the high-priest of the ancestral cult, but also a kind of patriarch enjoying almost absolute control over his children. In this respect the relations are somewhat one-sided, the father having no recognised obligations towards his offspring, while these are expected to show him perfect obedience in life and veneration after death. Besides this worship of ancestry and the Confucian ethical philosophy, a national form of Buddhism is prevalent. Some even profess all three of these so-called "religions," beneath which there still survive many of the primitive superstitions associated with a not yet extinct belief in spirits and the supernatural power of magicians. While the Buddhist temples are neglected and the few bonzes[1] despised, offerings are still made to the genii of agriculture, of the waters, the tiger, the dolphin, peace, war, diseases, and so forth, whose rude statues in the form of dragons or other fabulous monsters are even set up in the pagodas. Since the early part of the 17th century Roman Catholic missionaries have laboured with considerable success in this unpromising field, where the congregations were estimated in 1898 at about 900,000.

The Chinese.

From Annam the ethnical transition is easy to China[2] and its teeming multitudes, regarding whose origins, racial and cultural, two opposite views at present hold

[1] From *bonzo*, a Portuguese corruption of the Japanese *busso*, a devout person, applied first to the Buddhist priests of Japan, and then extended to those of China and neighbouring lands.

[2] This name, probably the Chinese *jin*, men, people, already occurs in Sanskrit writings in its present form: चीन, *Chína*, whence the Hindí چین, *Chín*, and the Arabo-Persian صین, *Sín*, which gives the classical *Sinae*. The most common national name is Chûng-kûe, "middle kingdom" (presumably the centre of the universe), whence Chûng-kûe-Jín, the Chinese people. Some have referred *China* to the *Chin* (*Tsin*) dynasty (909 B.C.), while Marco Polo's *Kataia* (Russian *Kitai*) is the *Khata* (North China) of the Mongol period, from the Manchu *K'í-tan*, founders of the Liâo dynasty, which was overthrown

the field. What may be called the old, but by no means the obsolete school, regards the Chinese populations as the direct descendants of the aborigines who during the Stone Ages entered the Hoang-ho valley probably from the Tibetan plateau, there developed their peculiar culture independently of foreign influences, and thence spread gradually southwards to the whole of China proper, extirpating, absorbing, or driving to the encircling western and southern uplands the ruder aborigines of the Yang-tse-Kiang and Si-Kiang basins.

The Babylonian theory.

In direct opposition to this view the new school, championed especially by the late T. de Lacouperie[1], holds that the present inhabitants of China are late intruders from south-western Asia, and that they arrived, not as rude aborigines, but as a cultured people with a considerable knowledge of letters, science, and the arts, all of which they acquired either directly or indirectly from the civilised Akkado-Sumerian inhabitants of Babylonia.

Not merely analogies and resemblances, but what are called actual identities, are pointed out between the two cultures, and even between the two languages, sufficient to establish a common origin of both, Mesopotamia being the fountain-head, whence the stream flowed by channels not clearly defined to the Hoang-ho valley. Thus the Chin. *yu*, originally *go*, is equated with Akkad *gu*, to speak; *ye* with *ge*, night, and so on. Then the astronomic and chronologic systems are compared, Berosus and the cuneiform tablets dividing the prehistoric Akkad epoch into 10 periods of 10 kings, lasting 120 Sari, or 432,000 years, while the corresponding Chinese astronomic myth also comprises 10 kings (or dynasties) covering the same period of 432,000 years. The astronomic system credited to the emperor Yao (2000 B.C.) similarly corresponds with the Akkadian, both having the same

1115 A.D. by the Nü-Chăn Tatars. Ptolemy's *Thinae* is rightly regarded by Edkins as the same word as *Sinae*, the substitution of *t* for *s* being normal in Annam, whence this form may have reached the west through the southern seaport of Kattigara.

[1] *Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization, from* 2300 B.C. *to* 200 A.D., *or Chapters on the Elements Derived from the Old Civilizations of West Asia in the Formation of the Ancient Chinese Culture*, London, 1894.

five planets with names of like meaning, and a year of 12 months and 30 days, with the same cycle of intercalated days, while several of the now obsolete names of the Chinese months answer to those of the Babylonians. Even the name of the first Chinese emperor who built an observatory, Nai-Kwang-ti, somewhat resembles that of the Elamite king, Kuder-na-hangti, who conquered Chaldæa about 2280 B.C.

All this can hardly be explained away as a mere series of coincidences; nevertheless neither Sinologues nor Akkadists are quite convinced, and it is obvious that many of the resemblances may be due to trade or intercourse both by the old overland caravan routes, and by the seaborne traffic from Eridu at the head of the Persian Gulf, which was a flourishing emporium 4000 or 5000 years ago.

But, despite some verbal analogies, an almost insurmountable difficulty is presented by the Akkadian and Chinese languages, which no philological ingenuity can bring into such relation as is required by the hypothesis. Mr T. G. Pinches has shown that at a very early period, say some 5000 years ago, Akkadian already consisted, "for the greater part, of words of one syllable," and was "greatly affected by phonetic decay, the result being that an enormous number of homophones were developed out of roots originally quite distinct[1]." This Akkadian scholar sends me a number of instances, such as *tu* for *tura*, to enter; *ti* for *tila*, to live; *du* for *dumu*, son; *du* for *dugu*, good, as in *Eridu*, for *Gurudugu*, "the good city," adding that "the list could be extended indefinitely[2]." But de Lacouperie's Bak tribes, that is, the first immigrants from south-west Asia, are not supposed to have reached North China till about 2500 or 3000 B.C., at which time the Chinese language was still in the untoned agglutinating state, with but few monosyllabic homophones, and consequently quite distinct from the Akkadian, as known to us from the Assyrian syllabaries, bilingual lists, and earlier tablets from Nippur or Lagash.

Hence the linguistic argument seems to fail completely, while

[1] "Observations upon the Languages of the Early Inhabitants of Mesopotamia," in *Journ. R. As. Soc.* XVI. Part 2.

[2] MS. note, May 7, 1896.

the Babylonian origin of the Chinese writing-system, strenuously advocated by the Rev. C. J. Ball, has not been accepted by those specialists who are most competent to judge. Many of the Chinese and Akkadian "line forms" collated by Mr Ball are so simple and, one might say, obvious, that they seem to prove nothing. They may be compared with such infantile utterances as *pa*, *ma*, *da*, *ta*, occurring in half the languages of the world, without proving a connection or affinity between any of them. But even were the common origin of the two scripts established, it would prove nothing as to the common origin of the two peoples, but only show cultural influences, which need not be denied.

Chinese Culture and Social System.

But if Chinese origins cannot be clearly traced back to Babylonia, Chinese culture may still, in a sense, claim to be the oldest in the world, inasmuch as it has persisted with little change from its rise some 4,500 years ago down to present times. All other early civilisations—Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Assyrian, Persian, Hellenic—have perished, or live only in their monuments, traditions, oral or written records. But the Chinese, despite repeated political and social convulsions, is still as deeply rooted in the past as ever, showing no break of continuity from the dim echoes of remote prehistoric ages down to the last Taiping rebellion, or the last disastrous foreign war. These things touch the surface only of the great ocean of Chinese humanity, which is held together, not by any general spirit of national sentiment (all sentiment is alien from the Chinese temperament), nor by any community of speech, for many of the provincial dialects differ profoundly from each other, but by a prodigious power of inertia, which has hitherto resisted all attempts at change either by pressure from without, or by spontaneous impulse from within.

Letters and early Records.

What they were thousands of years ago, the Chinese still are, a frugal, peace-loving, hard-working people, occupied mainly with tillage and trade, cultivating few arts beyond weaving, porcelain and metal work, but with a widely diffused knowledge of letters, and a writing system which still remains at the cumbrous ideographic stage, needing as many different symbols as there are distinct concepts

to be expressed. Yet the system has one advantage, enabling those who speak mutually unintelligible idioms to converse together, using the pencil instead of the tongue. For this very reason the attempts made centuries ago by the government to substitute a phonetic script had to be abandoned. It was found that imperial edicts and other documents so written could not be understood by the populations speaking dialects different from the literary standard, whereas the hieroglyphs, like our ciphers 1, 2, 3..., could be read by all educated persons of whatever allied form of speech.

Originally the Chinese system, whether developed on the spot or derived from Akkadian or any other foreign source, was of course pictographic or ideographic, and it is commonly supposed to have remained at that stage ever since, the only material changes being of a graphic nature. The pictographs were conventionalised and reduced to their present form, but still remained ideograms supplemented by a limited number of phonetic determinants. But de Lacouperie has shown that this view is a mistake, and that the evolution from the pictograph to the phonetic symbol had been practically completed in China many centuries before the new era. The *Ku-wen* style current before the 9th century B.C. "was really the phonetic expression of speech[1]." But for the reason stated it had to be discontinued, and a return made to the earlier ideographic style. The change was effected about 820 B.C. by She Chöu, minister of the Emperor Süen Wang, who introduced the *Ta-chuen* style, in which "he tried to speak to the eye and no longer to the ear," that is, he reverted to the earlier ideographic process, which has since prevailed. It was simplified about 227 B.C. (*Siao Chuen* style), and after some other modifications the present caligraphic form (*Kiai Shu*) was introduced by Wang Hi in 350 A.D. Thus one consequence of the "Expansion of China" was a reversion to barbarism, in respect at least of the national graphic system, by which Chinese thought and literature have been hampered for nearly 3000 years.

Written records, though at first mainly of a mythical character, date from about 3000 B.C.[2] Reference is made in the early

[1] *History of the Archaic Chinese Writing and Texts*, 1882, p. 5.

[2] The first actual date given is that of Tai Hao (Fu Hi), 2953 B.C., but this

documents to the rude and savage times, which in China as elsewhere certainly preceded the historic period. Three different prehistoric ages are even discriminated, and tradition relates how Fu-hi introduced wooden, Thin-ming stone, and Shi-yu metal implements[1]. Later, when their origin and use were forgotten, the jade axes, like those from Yunnan, were looked on as bolts hurled to the earth by the god of thunder, while the arrow-heads, supposed to be also of divine origin, were endowed in the popular fancy with special virtues and even regarded as emblems of sovereignty. Thus may perhaps be explained the curious fact that in early times, before the 12th century B.C., tribute in flint weapons was paid to the imperial government by some of the reduced wild tribes of the western uplands.

Early Migrations.

These men of the Stone and Metal Ages are no doubt still largely represented, not only amongst the rude hill tribes of the southern and western borderlands, but also amongst the settled and cultured lowlanders of the great fluvial valleys. The "Hundred Families," as the first immigrants called themselves, came traditionally from the north-western regions beyond the Hoang-ho. According to the

ruler belongs to the fabulous period, and is stated to have reigned 115 years. The first certain date would appear to be that of Yau, first of the Chinese sages and reformer of the calendar (2357 B.C.). The date 2254 B.C. for Confucius's model king Shun seems also established. But of course all this is modern history compared with the now determined Babylonian and Egyptian records.

[1] Amongst the metals reference is made to iron so early as the time of the Emperor Ta Yü (2200 B.C.), when it is mentioned as an article of tribute in the *Shu-King*. Prof. F. Hirth, who states this fact, adds that during the same period, if not even earlier, iron was already a flourishing industry in the Liang district (Paper on the *History of Chinese Culture*, Munich Anthropological Society, April, 1898). At the discussion which followed the reading of this paper Prof. Montelius argued that iron was unknown in Western Asia and Egypt before 1500 B.C., although the point was contested by Prof. Hommel, who quoted a word for iron in the earliest Egyptian texts. Montelius, however, explained that terms originally meaning "ore" or "metal" were afterwards used for "iron." Such was certainly the case with the Gk χαλκός, at first "copper," then metal in general, and used still later for σίδηρος, "iron"; hence χαλκεύς=coppersmith, blacksmith, and even goldsmith. So also with the Lat. *aes* (Sanskrit *ayas*, akin to *aurora*, with simple idea of brightness), used first especially for copper (*aes cyprium*, *cuprum*), and then for *bronze* (Lewis and Short).

Yu-kung their original home lay in the south-western part of Eastern Turkestan, whence they first migrated east to the oases north of the Nan-Shan range, and then, in the fourth millennium before the new era, to the fertile valleys of the Hoang-ho and its Hoeï-ho tributary. Thence they spread slowly along the other great river valleys, partly expelling, partly intermingling with the aborigines, but so late as the 7th century B.C. were still mainly confined to the region between the Peï-ho and the lower Yang-tse-kiang. Even here several indigenous groups, such as the Hoeï, whose name survives in that of the Hoeï river, and the Laï of the Shantong Peninsula, long held their ground, but all were ultimately absorbed or assimilated throughout the northern lands as far south as the left bank of the Yang-tse-kiang.

Absorption of the Aborigines.

Beyond this river many were also merged in the dominant people continually advancing southwards; but others, collectively or vaguely known as Sifans, Mans, Miao-tse, Pa-ï, Tho, Y-jen[1], Lolo, etc., were driven to the south-western highlands which they still occupy. Even some of the populations in the settled districts, such as the *Hok-los*[2] and *Hakkas*[3] of Kwang-tung, and the *Pun-ti*[4] of the Canton district, are scarcely yet thoroughly assimilated. They differ greatly in temperament, usages, appearance, and speech from the typical Chinese of the Central and Northern provinces, whom in fact they look upon as "foreigners," and with whom they

Survivals—Hok-lo; Hakka; Pun-ti.

[1] This term *Y-jen* (*Yi-jen*) meaning much the same as *Man*, *Man-tse*, savage, rude, untameable, has acquired a sort of diplomatic distinction. In the treaty of Tien-tsin (1858) it was stipulated that it should no longer, as heretofore, be applied in official documents to the English or to any subjects of the Queen.

[2] See Rev. J. Edkins, *China's Place in Philology*, p. 117. The Hok-los were originally from Fo-kien, whence their alternative name, *Fo-lo*. The *lo* appears to be the same word as in the reduplicated *Lo-lo*, meaning something like the Greek and Latin *Bar-bar*, stammerers, rude, uncultured.

[3] The *Hakkas*, *i.e.* "strangers," speak a well-marked dialect current on the uplands between Kwang-tung, Kiang-si, and Fo-kien (Dyer Ball, *Easy Lessons in the Hakka Dialect*, 1884).

[4] Numerous in the western parts of Kwang-tung and in the Canton district (Dyer Ball, *Cantonese Made Easy*, Hongkong, 1884).

hold intercourse through "Pidgin English[1]," the *lingua franca* of the Chinese seaboard.

Nevertheless a general homogeneous character is imparted to the whole people by their common political, social, and religious institutions, and by that principle of convergence in virtue of which different ethnical groups, thrown together in the same area and brought under a single administration, tend to merge in a uniform new national type. This general uniformity is conspicuous especially in the religious ideas which, except in the sceptical lettered circles, everywhere underlie the three recognised national religions, or "State Churches," as they might almost be called: *ju-kiao*, Confucianism; *tao-kiao*, Taoism, and *fo-kiao*, Buddhism (Fo = Buddha). The first, confined mainly to the educated upper classes, is not so much a religion as a philosophic system, a frigid ethical code based on the moral and matter-of-fact teachings of Confucius[2]. Confucius was essentially a social and political reformer, who taught by example and precept; the main inducement to virtue being, not rewards or penalties in the after-life, but well or ill-being in the present. His system is summed up in the expression "worldly wisdom," as embodied in such popular sayings as: A friend is hardly made in a year, but unmade in a moment; When safe remember danger, in peace forget not war; Filial father, filial son, unfilial father, unfilial son; In washing up, plates and dishes may get broken; Don't do what you would not have known; Thatch your roof before the rain, dig the well before you thirst; The gambler's success is his ruin; Money goes to the gambling den as the criminal to execution (never returns); Money hides many faults; Stop the hand, stop the mouth (stop work and starve); To open a shop is easy, to keep it open hard; Win your lawsuit and lose your money.

Confucianism.

[1] In this expression "Pidgin" appears to be a corruption of the word *business* taken in a very wide sense, as in such terms as *talkee pidgin* = a conversation, discussion; *singsong pidgin* = a concert, &c. It is no unusual occurrence for persons from widely separated Chinese provinces meeting in England to be obliged to use this common jargon in conversation.

[2] *Kung-tse*, "Teacher Kung," or more fully *Kung-fu-tse*, "the eminent teacher Kung," which gives the Latinised form *Confucius*.

Although he instituted no religious system, Confucius nevertheless enjoined the observance of the already existing forms of worship, and after death became himself the object of a widespread cult, which still persists. "In every city there is a temple, built at the public expense, containing either a statue of the philosopher, or a tablet inscribed with his titles. Every spring and autumn worship is paid him in these temples by the chief official personages of the city. In the schools also, on the first and fifteenth of each month, his title being written on red paper and affixed to a tablet, worship is performed in a special room by burning incense and candles, and by prostrations[1]."

Taoism.

Taoism, a sort of pantheistic mysticism, called by its founder, Lao-tse (600 B.C.), the *Tao*, or "way of salvation," was embodied in the formula "matter and the visible world are merely manifestations of a sublime, eternal, incomprehensible principle." It taught, in anticipation of Sakya-Muni, that by controlling his passions man may escape or cut short an endless series of transmigrations, and thus arrive by the Tao at everlasting bliss—sleep? unconscious rest or absorption in the eternal essence? Nirvana? It is impossible to tell from the lofty but absolutely unintelligible language in which the master's teachings are wrapped.

But it matters little, because his disciples have long forgotten the principles they never understood, and Taoism has almost everywhere been transformed to a system of magic associated with the never-dying primeval superstitions. Originally there was no hierarchy of priests, the only specially religious class being the Ascetics, who passed their lives absorbed in the contemplation of the eternal verities. But out of this class, drawn together by their common interests, was developed a kind of monasticism, with an organised brotherhood of astrologers, magicians, Shamanists, somnambulists, "mediums," "thought-readers," charlatans and

[1] *Kwong Ki Chiu*, 1881, p. 875. Confucius was born in 550 and died in 477 B.C., and to him are at present dedicated as many as 1560 temples, in which are observed real sacrificial rites. For these sacrifices the State yearly supplies 26,606 sheep, pigs, rabbits and other animals, besides 27,000 pieces of silk, most of which things, however, become the "perquisites" of the attendants in the sanctuaries.

impostors of all sorts, sheltered under a threadbare garb of religion.

Buddhism.

Buddhism also, although of foreign origin, has completely conformed to the national spirit, and is now a curious blend of Hindu metaphysics with the primitive Chinese belief in spirits and a deified ancestry. In every district are practised diverse forms of worship between which no clear dividing line can be drawn, and, as in Annam, the same persons may be at once followers of Confucius, Lao-tse, and Buddha. In fact such is the position of the Emperor, who belongs *ex officio* to all three of these State religions, and scrupulously takes part in their various observances. There is even some truth in the Chinese view that "all three make but one religion," the first appealing to man's moral nature, the second to the instinct of self-preservation, the third to the higher sphere of thought and contemplation.

Fung-shui and ancestry worship.

But behind, one might say above it all, the old animism still prevails, manifested in a multitude of superstitious practices, whose purport is to appease the evil and secure the favour of the good spirits, the *Feng-shui* or *Fung-shui*, "air and water" genii, who have to be reckoned with in all the weightiest as well as the most trivial occurrences of daily life. These with the ghosts of their ancestors, by whom the whole land is haunted, are the bane of the Chinaman's existence. Everything depends on maintaining a perfect balance between the Fung-shui, that is, the two principles represented by the "White Tiger" and the "Azure Dragon," who guard the approaches of every dwelling, and whose opposing influences have to be nicely adjusted by the well-paid professors of the magic arts. At the death of the late emperor Tung Chih (1875) a great difficulty was raised by the State astrologers, who found that the realm would be endangered if he were buried, according to rule, in the imperial cemetery 100 miles west of Pekin, as his father reposed in the other imperial cemetery situated the same distance east of the capital. For some subtle reason the balance would have been disturbed between Tiger and Dragon, and it took nine months to settle the point, during which, as reported by the American Legation, the whole empire was stirred, councils of

State agitated, and £50,000 expended to decide where the remains of a worthless and vicious young man should be interred.

Owing to the necessary disturbance of the ancestral burial places, much trouble has been anticipated in the construction of the railways, for which concessions have now been granted to European syndicates. But an Englishman long resident in the country has declared that there will be no resistance on the part of the people. "The dead can be removed with due regard to Fung Shui; a few dollars will make that all right." This is fully in accordance with the thrifty character of the Chinese, which overrides all other considerations, as expressed in the popular saying: "With money you may move the gods; without it you cannot move men." But the gods may even be moved without money, or at least with spurious paper money, for it is a fixed belief of their votaries that, like mortals, they may be outwitted by such devices. When rallied for burning flash notes at a popular shrine, since no spirit-bank would cash them, a Chinaman retorted: "Why me burn good note? Joss no can savvy." In a similar spirit the god of war is hoodwinked by wooden boards hung on the ramparts of Pekin and painted to look like heavy ordnance.

In fact appearance, outward show, observance of the "eleventh commandment," in a word "face," as it is called, is everything in China. "To understand, however imperfectly, what is meant by 'face,' we must take account of the fact that as a race the Chinese have a strong dramatic instinct. Upon very slight provocation any Chinese regards himself in the light of an actor in a drama. A Chinese thinks in theatrical terms. If his troubles are adjusted he speaks of himself as having 'got off the stage' with credit, and if they are not adjusted he finds no way to 'retire from the stage.' The question is never of facts, but always of form. Once rightly apprehended, 'face' will be found to be in itself a key to the combination-lock of many of the most important characteristics of the Chinese[1]."

[1] Arthur H. Smith, *Chinese Characteristics*, New York, 1895. The good, or at least the useful, qualities of the Chinese are stated by this shrewd observer to be a love of industry, peace, and social order, a matchless patience and forbearance under wrongs and evils beyond cure, a happy temperament, no nerves, and "a digestion like that of an ostrich."

Islam and Christianity.

Of foreign religions Islam, next to Buddhism, has made most progress. Introduced by the early Arab and Persian traders, and zealously preached throughout the Jagatai empire in the 12th century, it has secured a firm footing especially in Kan-su, Shen-si, and Yunnan, and is of course dominant in Eastern (Chinese) Turkestan. Despite the wholesale butcheries that followed the repeated insurrections between 1855 and 1877, the *Hoeï-Hoeï*, *Panthays*, or *Dungans*, as the Muhammadans are variously called, were still estimated, in 1898, at about 22,000,000 in the whole empire.

Islam was preceded by Christianity, which, as attested by the authentic inscription of Si-ngan-fu, penetrated into the western provinces under the form of Nestorianism about the 7th century. The famous Roman Catholic missions with headquarters at Pekin date from the close of the 16th century, and despite internal dissensions have had a fair measure of success, the congregations numbering (1898) altogether over one million. This contrasts favourably with the 30,000 to 50,000 Protestants of all denominations claimed collectively by the *London Missionary Society*, the *China Inland Mission*, and the *American Methodist Episcopal Society*. Indeed the Protestant propaganda is almost an admitted failure.

The above-mentioned dissensions arose out of the practices associated with ancestry-worship, offerings of flowers, fruits and so forth, which the Jesuits regarded merely as proofs of filial devotion, but were denounced by the Dominicans as acts of idolatry. After many years of idle controversy, the question was at last decided against the Jesuits by Clement XI. in the famous Bull, *Ex illa die* (1715), and since then, neophytes having to renounce the national cult of their forefathers, conversions have mainly been confined to the lower classes, too humble to boast of any family tree, or too poor to commemorate the dead by ever-recurring costly sepulchral rites.

In China there are no hereditary nobles, indeed no nobles at all, unless it be the rather numerous descendants of Confucius who dwell together and enjoy certain social privileges, in this somewhat resembling the *Shorfa* (descendants of the Prophet) in Muhammadan lands. If any titles have to be awarded for great deeds they fall, not on the hero, but on his forefathers, and thus

at a stroke of the vermilion pencil are ennobled countless past generations, while the last of the line remains unhonoured until he goes over to the majority. Between the Emperor, "patriarch of his people," and the people themselves, however, there stands an aristocracy of talent, or at least of Chinese scholarship, the governing Mandarin[1] class, which is open to the highest and the lowest alike. All nominations to office are conferred exclusively on the successful competitors at the public examinations, so that, like the French conscript with the hypothetical Marshal's bâton in his knapsack, every Chinese citizen carries the buttoned cap of official rank in his capacious sleeve. Of these there are nine grades, indicated respectively in descending order by the ruby, red coral, sapphire, opaque blue, crystal, white shell, gold (two), and silver button, or rather little globe, on the cap of office, with which correspond the nine birds—manchu crane, golden pheasant, peacock, wild goose, silver pheasant, egret, mandarin duck, quail, and jay—embroidered on the breast and back of the State robe.

The Mandarin Class.

Theoretically the system is admirable, and at all events is better than appointments by Court favour. But in practice it is vitiated, first by the narrow, antiquated course of studies in the dry Chinese classics, calculated to produce pedants rather than statesmen, and secondly by the monopoly of preference which it confers on a lettered caste to the exclusion of men of action, vigour, and enterprise. Moreover, appointments being made for life, barring crime or blunder, the Mandarins, as long as they approve themselves zealous supporters of the reigning dynasty, enjoy a free hand in amassing wealth by plunder, and the wealth thus acquired is used to purchase further promotion and advancement, rather than to improve the welfare of the people.

They have the reputation of being a courteous people, as punctilious as the Malays themselves; and they are so amongst each other. But their attitude towards strangers is the embodiment

[1] A happy Portuguese coinage from the Malay *mantri*, a state minister, which is the Sanskrit *mantrin*, a counsellor, from *mantra*, a sacred text, a counsel, from Aryan root *man*, to think, know, whence also the English *mind*.

of aggressive self-righteousness, a complacent feeling of superiority which nothing can disturb. Even the upper classes, with all their efforts to be at least polite, often betray the feeling in a subdued arrogance which is not always to be distinguished from vulgar insolence. "After the courteous, kindly Japanese, the Chinese seem indifferent, rough, and disagreeable, except the well-to-do merchants in the shops, who are bland, complacent, and courteous. Their rude stare, and the way they hustle you in the streets and shout their 'pidjun' English at you is not attractive[1]."

[1] Miss Bird (Mrs Bishop), *The Golden Chersonese*, 1883, p. 37.

CHAPTER VII.

THE OCEANIC MONGOLS.

Range of the Oceanic Mongols—The term "Malay"—The Historical Malays —Malay Cradle—Migrations and present Range—The Malayans—The Javanese—Balinese and Sassaks—Hindu Legends in Bali—The Malayan Seafarers and Rovers—Malaysia and Pelasgia: a Historical Parallel—Malayan Folklore—Malayans in Borneo—The Dyak Aborigines—Head-hunting—Cannibalism—Human Sacrifices—Indonesian Elements in Borneo —Early Man and his Works in Sumatra—The Mentawi Islanders—Javanese and Hindu Influences—The Malaysian Alphabets—The Battas: Cultured Cannibals—Hindu and Primitive Survivals—The Achinese—Early Records—Islam and Hindu Reminiscences—Ethnical Relations in Madagascar—Oceanic Immigrants—Malagasy Speech—The Negro Element—Hova Type—Mental Qualities of the Malagasy—Spread of Christianity—Malagasy Folklore—The Philippine Natives—Effects of a Christian Theocratic Government on the National Character—Social Groups: the Indios, the Infieles, and the Moros—Malayans and Indonesians in Formosa—The Chinese Settlers—Racial and Linguistic Affinities —Formosa a Connecting Link between the Continental and Oceanic Populations—The Nicobarese.

CONSPECTUS.

Distribution in Past and Present Times.

Primeval Home. *Indo-China and Malay Peninsula.*

Present Range. *Malaysia, Philippines, Formosa, Nicobar Is., Madagascar.*

Physical Characters.

Hair, *same as Southern Mongols, scant or no beard.* **Colour,** *yellowish or olive brown, yellow tint sometimes very faint or absent, light leathery hue common in Madagascar.*

Skull, *brachy or sub-brachy* (78° *to* 85°). **Jaws** *slightly projecting.* **Cheek-bones,** *prominent, but less so*

than true Mongol. **Nose,** *rather small, often straight with widish nostrils (mesorrhine).* **Eyes,** *black, medium size, horizontal or slightly oblique, with the Mongol fold.* **Stature,** *undersized, from* 5 *ft. to* 5 *ft.* 4 *or* 5 *in.* **Lips,** *thickish, slightly protruding, and kept a little apart in repose.* **Arms** *and* **legs,** *rather small, slender and delicate;* **feet** *small.*

Mental Characters.

Temperament. *Normally quiet, reserved and taciturn, but under excitement subject to fits of blind fury; fairly intelligent, polite and ceremonious, but uncertain, untrustworthy, and even treacherous; daring, adventurous and reckless; musical; not distinctly cruel, though indifferent to physical suffering in others.*

Speech. *Various branches of a single stock language* —**the Oceanic or Malayo-Polynesian,** *at different stages of agglutination.*

Religion, *of the primitive Malayans somewhat undeveloped—a vague dread of ghosts and other spirits, but rites and ceremonies mainly absent, although human sacrifices to the departed common in Borneo; the cultured Malayans formerly Hindus (Brahman and Buddhist), now mostly Moslem, but in the Philippines and Madagascar Christian; gross superstitions, belief in witchcraft, charms, and spells everywhere prevalent.*

Culture, *of the primitive Malayans very low—head-hunting, cannibalism, mutilation common in Borneo; hunting and fishing; no agriculture, arts, or industries; the Moslem and Christian Malayans semi-civilized; the industrial arts—weaving, dyeing, pottery, metal-work, also trade, navigation, house and boat-building—well developed; architecture formerly flourishing in Java under Hindu influences; letters wide-spread even amongst some of the rude Malayans, but literature and science rudimentary; rich oral folklore in Madagascar and perhaps elsewhere.*

Main Divisions.

Malayans (Proto-Malays): *Lampongs, Rejangs, Battas, Achinese, and Palembangs in Sumatra; Sundanese, Javanese proper, and Madurese in Java; Dyaks in Borneo; Balinese; Sassaks (Lombok); Bugis and*

Mangkassaras in Celebes; Tagalas, Bisayans, Bicols, Ilocanos and Pangasinanes in Philippines; Aborigines of Formosa; Nicobar Islanders; Hovas, Betsimisarakas, and Sakalavas in Madagascar.

Malays Proper (*Historical Malays*): *Menangkabau (Sumatra); Malay Peninsula; Pinang, Singapore, Lingga, Bangka; Borneo Coastlands; Tidor, Ternate; Amboina; Parts of the Sulla Archipelago.*

Range of the Oceanic Mongols.

IN the Oceanic domain, which for ethnical purposes begins at the neck of the Malay Peninsula, the Mongol peoples range from Madagascar eastwards to Formosa and Mikronesia, but are found in compact masses chiefly on the mainland, in the Sunda Islands (Sumatra, Java, Bali, Lombok, Borneo, Celebes) and in the Philippines. Even here they have mingled in many places with other populations, forming fresh ethnical groups, in which the Mongol element is not always conspicuous. Such fusions have taken place with the Negrito aborigines in the Malay Peninsula and the Philippines; with Papuans in Mikronesia, Flores, and other islands east of Lombok; with Caucasic Indonesians in Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, Halmahera (Jilolo), parts of the Philippines[1], and perhaps also Timor and Ceram; and with African negroes (Bantus) in Madagascar. To unravel some of these racial entanglements is one of the most difficult tasks in anthropology, and in the absence of detailed information cannot yet be everywhere attempted with any prospect of success.

The term "Malay."

The problem has been greatly, though perhaps inevitably complicated by the indiscriminate extension of the term "Malay" to all these and even to other mixed Oceanic populations farther east, as, for instance, in the expression "Malayo-Polynesian," applied by many writers not only in a linguistic, but also in an ethnical

[1] Here Dr E. T. Hamy finds connecting links between the true Malays and the Indonesians in the Bicols of Albay and the Bisayas of Panay (*Les Races Malaiques et Americaines*, in *L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 136). Used in this extended sense, Hamy's *Malaique* corresponds generally to our *Malayan*, as defined presently.

sense, to most of the insular peoples from Madagascar to Easter Island, and from Hawaii to New Zealand. It is now of course too late to hope to remedy this misuse of terms by proposing a fresh nomenclature. But much of the consequent confusion will be avoided by restricting *Malayo-Polynesian*[1] altogether to linguistic matters, and carefully distinguishing between *Indonesian*, the pre-Malay Caucasic element in Oceania, *Malayan* or *Proto-Malayan*, collective name of all the Oceanic Mongols, and *Malay*, a particular branch of the Malayan family, as fully explained in *Ethnology*, pp. 326–30.

The historical Malays.

The essential point to remember is that the true Malays—who call themselves *Orang-Maláyu*, speak the standard but quite modern Malay language, and are all Muhammadans—are a historical people who appear on the scene in relatively recent times, ages after the insular world had been occupied by the Mongol peoples to whom their name has been extended, but who never call themselves Malays. The Orang-Maláyu, who have acquired such an astonishing predominance in the Eastern Archipelago, were originally an obscure tribe who rose to power in the Menangkabau district, Sumatra, not before the 12th century, and whose migrations date only from about the year 1160 A.D. At this time, according to the native records[2], was founded the first foreign settlement, Singapore, a pure Sanskrit name meaning the "Lion City," from which it might be inferred that these first settlers were not Muhammadans, as is commonly assumed, but Brahmans or Buddhists, both these forms of Hinduism having been propagated throughout Sumatra and the other Sunda Islands centuries before this time. It is also noteworthy that the early settlers on the mainland are stated to have been pagans, or to have professed some corrupt form of Hindu idolatry, till their conversion to Islam by the renowned Sultan Mahmud

Migrations and present Range.

[1] Ethnically Malayo-Polynesian is an impossible expression, because it links together the Malays, who belong to the Mongol, and the Polynesians, who belong to the Caucasic division. But as both undoubtedly speak languages of the same linguistic stock the expression is justified in philology, although even here *Indo-Pacific* or *Inter-Oceanic* might be preferable terms.

[2] Dr J. Leyden, *Malay Annals*, 1821, p. 44.

Shah about the middle of the 13th century. It is therefore probable enough that the earlier movements were carried out under Hindu influences, and may have begun long before the historical date 1160. Menangkabau, however, was the first Mussulman State that acquired political supremacy in Sumatra, and this district thus became the chief centre for the later diffusion of the cultured Malays, their language, usages, and religion, throughout the Peninsula and the Archipelago. Here they are now found in compact masses chiefly in south Sumatra (Menangkabau, Palembang, the Lampongs); in all the insular groups between Sumatra and Borneo; in the Malay Peninsula as far north as the Kra Isthmus, here intermingling with the Siamese as "Sam-Sams," partly Buddhists, partly Muhammadans; round the coast of Borneo and about the estuaries of that island; in Tidor, Ternate, and the adjacent coast of Jilolo; in the Banda, Sula, and Sulu groups; in Batavia, Singapore, and all the other large seaports of the Archipelago. In all these lands beyond Sumatra the Orang-Maláyu are thus seen to be comparatively recent arrivals[1], and in fact intruders on the other Malayan populations, with whom they collectively constitute the Oceanic branch of the Mongol division. Their diffusion was everywhere brought about much in the same way as in Ternate, where Mr Wallace tells us that the ruling people "are an intrusive Malay race somewhat allied to the Macassar people, who settled in the country at a very early epoch, drove out the indigenes, who were no doubt the same as those of the adjacent island of Gilolo, and established a monarchy. They perhaps obtained many of their wives from the natives, which will account for the extraordinary language they speak—in some respects closely allied to that of the natives of Gilolo, while it contains much that points to a Malayan [Malay] origin. To most of these people the Malay language is quite unintelligible[2]."

[1] In some places quite recent, as in Rembau, Malay Peninsula, whose inhabitants are mainly immigrants from Sumatra in the 17th century; and in the neighbouring group of petty Negri Sembilan States, where the very tribal names, such as *Anak Acheh*, and *Sri Lemak Menangkabau*, betray their late arrival from the Sumatran districts of Achin and Menangkabau.

[2] *The Malay Archipelago*, p. 310.



1. JAVANESE GIRL.
(Malayan Type.)



2. BUGIS, CELEBES I.
(Malayan Type.)



3. NICOBARESE.
(Sub-Malayan Type.)



4. NICOBARESE.
(Sub-Malayan Type.)

To face page 232]

The Malayan populations, as distinguished from the Malays proper, form socially two very distinct classes—the *Orang Benua*, "Men of the Soil," rude aborigines, numerous especially in the interior of the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Celebes, Jilolo, Timor, Ceram, the Philippines, Formosa, and Madagascar; and the cultured peoples, formerly Hindus but now mostly Muhammadans, who have long been constituted in large communities and nationalities with historical records, and flourishing arts and industries. They speak cultivated languages of the Malayo-Polynesian family, generally much better preserved and of richer grammatical structure than the simplified modern speech of the Orang-Maláyu. Such are the Achinese, Rejangs, and Passumahs of Sumatra; the Bugis, Mangkassaras and some Minahasans of Celebes; the Tagalas and Bisayas of the Philippines; the Sassaks and Balinese of Lombok and Bali (most of these still Hindus); the Madurese and Javanese proper of Java; and the Hovas of Madagascar. To call any of these "Malays[1]," is like calling the Italians "French," or the Germans "English," because of their respective Romance and Teutonic connections.

The Malayans—two Classes; Rude and Cultured.

Preëminent in many respects amongst all the Malayan peoples are the *Javanese—Sundanese* in the west, *Javanese proper* in the centre, *Madurese* in the east—who were a highly civilised nation while the Sumatran Malays were still savages, perhaps head-hunters and cannibals like the neighbouring Battas. Although now almost exclusively Muhammadans, they had already adopted some form of Hinduism probably over 2000 years ago, and under the guidance of their

The Javanese.

[1] In 1898 a troop of Javanese minstrels visited London, and one of them, whom I addressed in a few broken Malay sentences, resented in his sleepy way the imputation that he was an Orang Maláyu, explaining that he was *Orang Java*, a Javanese, and (when further questioned) *Orang Solo*, a native of the Solo district, East Java. It was interesting to notice the very marked Mongolic features of these natives, vividly recalling the remark of Mr A. R. Wallace, on the difficulty of distinguishing between a Javanese and a Chinaman when both are dressed alike. The resemblance may to a small extent be due to "mixture with Chinese blood" (Dr B. Hagen, *Jour. Anthrop. Soc.* Vienna, 1889); but occurs over such a wide area that it must mainly be attributed to the common origin of the Chinese and Javanese peoples.

Indian teachers had rapidly developed a very advanced state of culture. "Under a completely organised although despotic government, the arts of peace and war were brought to considerable perfection, and the natives of Java became famous throughout the East as accomplished musicians and workers in gold, iron and copper, none of which metals were found in the island itself. They possessed a regular calendar with astronomical eras, and a metrical literature, in which, however, history was inextricably blended with romance. Bronze and stone inscriptions in the Kavi, or old Javanese language, still survive from the 11th or 12th century, and to the same dates may be referred the vast ruins of Brambanam and the stupendous temple of Boro-budor in the centre of the island. There are few statues of Hindu divinities in this temple, but many are found in its immediate vicinity, and from the various archæological objects collected in the district it is evident that both the Buddhist and Brahmanical forms of Hinduism were introduced at an early date.

But all came to an end by the overthrow of the chief Hindu power in 1478, after which event Islam rapidly spread over the whole of Java and Madura. Brahmanism, however, still holds its ground in Bali and Lombok, the last strongholds of Hinduism in the Eastern Archipelago[1]."

Balinese and Sassaks.

On the obscure religious and social relations in these Lesser Sundanese Islands much light has been thrown by Capt. W. Cool, an English translation of whose work *With the Dutch in the East* was issued by Mr E. J. Taylor in 1897. Here it is shown how Hinduism, formerly dominant throughout a great part of Malaysia, gradually yielded in some places to a revival of the never extinct primitive nature-worship, in others to the spread of Islam, which in Bali alone failed to gain a footing. In this island a curious mingling of Buddhist and Brahmanical forms with the primordial heathendom not only persisted, but was strong enough to acquire the political ascendancy over the Mussulman Sassaks of the neighbouring island of Lombok. Thus while Islam reigns exclusively in Java—formerly the chief domain of Hinduism in the Archipelago—Bali,

Primitive and later Religions and Cultures.

[1] A. H. Keane, *Eastern Geography*, 2nd ed. 1892, p. 121.

Lombok, and even Sumbawa, present the strange spectacle of large communities professing every form of belief, from the grossest heathendom to pure monotheism.

As I have elsewhere pointed out[1], it is the same with the cultures and general social conditions, which show an almost unbroken transition from the savagery of Sumbawa to the relative degrees of refinement reached by the natives of Lombok and especially of Bali. Here, however, owing to the unfavourable political relations, a retrograde movement is perceptible in the crumbling temples, grass-grown highways, and neglected homesteads. But it is everywhere evident enough that "just as Hinduism has only touched the outer surface of their religion, it has failed to penetrate into their social institutions, which, like their gods, originate from the time when Polynesian heathendom was all powerful[2]."

Hindu Legends in Bali.

A striking illustration of the vitality of the early beliefs is presented by the local traditions, which relate how these foreign gods installed themselves in the Lesser Sundanese Islands after their expulsion from Java by the Muhammadans in the 15th century. Being greatly incensed at the introduction of the Koran, and also anxious to avoid contact with the "foreign devils," the Hindu deities moved eastwards with the intention of setting up their throne in Bali. But Bali already possessed its own gods, the wicked Rakshasas, who fiercely resented the intrusion, but in the struggle that ensued were annihilated, all but the still reigning Mraya Dewana. Then the new thrones had to be erected on heights, as in Java; but at that time there were no mountains in Bali, which was a very flat country. So the difficulty was overcome by bodily transferring the four hills at the eastern extremity of Java to the neighbouring island. Gunong Agong, highest of the four, was set down in the east, and became the Olympus of Bali, while the other three were planted in the west, south, and north, and assigned to the different gods according to their respective ranks. Thus were at once explained the local theogony and the present physical features of the island.

[1] *Academy*, May 1, 1897, p. 469.
[2] Cool, p. 139.

Despite their generally quiet, taciturn demeanour, all these Sundanese peoples are just as liable as the Orang-Maláyu himself, to those sudden outbursts of demoniacal frenzy and homicidal mania called by them *mĕng-ámok*, and by us "running amok." Indeed Mr Wallace tells us that such wild outbreaks occur more frequently (about one or two every month) amongst the civilised Mangkassaras and Bugis of south Celebes than elsewhere in the archipelago. "It is the national and therefore the honourable mode of committing suicide among the natives of Celebes, and is the fashionable way of escaping from their difficulties. A Roman fell upon his sword, a Japanese rips up his stomach, and an Englishman blows out his brains with a pistol. The Bugis mode has many advantages to one suicidically inclined. A man thinks himself wronged by society—he is in debt and cannot pay—he is taken for a slave or has gambled away his wife or child into slavery—he sees no way of recovering what he has lost, and becomes desperate. He will not put up with such cruel wrongs, but will be revenged on mankind and die like a hero. He grasps his kris-handle, and the next moment draws out the weapon and stabs a man to the heart. He runs on, with bloody kris in his hand, stabbing at everyone he meets. 'Amok! Amok!' then resounds through the streets. Spears, krisses, knives and guns are brought out against him. He rushes madly forward, kills all he can—men, women, and children—and dies overwhelmed by numbers amid all the excitement of a battle[1]."

Running Amok.

Possibly connected with this blind impulse may be the strange nervous affection called *látah*, which is also prevalent amongst the Malayans, although only now first clearly described by the distinguished Malay scholar, Mr Frank Athelstane Swettenham[2]. No attempt has yet been made thoroughly to diagnose this uncanny disorder, which would seem so much more characteristic of the high-strung or shattered nervous system of ultra-refined European society, than of that artless unsophisticated child of nature, the Orang-Maláyu. Its effects on the mental state are such as to disturb all normal

The Látah Malady.

1 *The Malay Archipelago*, p. 175.

2 In *Malay Sketches*, 1895.

cerebration, and Mr Swettenham mentions two látah-struck Malays, who would make admirable "subjects" at a séance of theosophic psychists. Any simple device served to attract their attention, when by merely looking them hard in the face they fell helplessly in the hands of the operator, instantly lost all self-control, and went passively through any performance either verbally imposed or even merely suggested by a sign.

Herein may perhaps be recognised a manifestation of that peculiar feminine strain, which has so often been imputed to the Malay temperament. Yet, as if to confound the speculations of the rising school of German psychological anthropologists, this same Oceanic people displays in many respects a curiously kindred spirit with the nerveless Englishman, as, for instance, in his love of gambling, boxing, cock-fighting, field sports[1], and adventure. No more fearless explorers of the high seas, formerly rovers and corsairs, at all times enterprising traders, are anywhere to be found than the Menangkabau Malays and their near kinsmen, the renowned Bugis "Merchant Adventurers" of south Celebes. Their clumsy but seaworthy praus are met in every seaport from Sumatra to the Aru Islands, and they have established permanent trading stations and even settlements in Borneo, the Philippines, Timor, and as far east as New Guinea. On one occasion Wallace sailed from Dobbo in company with fifteen large Makassar praus, each with a cargo worth about £1000, and as many of the Bugis settle amongst the rude aborigines of the eastern isles, they thus cooperate with the Sumatran Malays in extending the area of civilising influences throughout Papuasia.

The Malayan Seafarers and Rovers.

Formerly they combined piracy with legitimate trade, and long after the suppression of the North Bornean corsairs by Sir James Brooke, the inland waters continued to be infested especially by the *Bajau* rovers of Celebes, and by the Balagnini of the Sulu Archipelago, most dreaded of all the *orang-laut*, "Men of the Sea," the "Sea Gypsies," of the English. These were the "Cellates" (*Orang-Selat*, "Men of the Straits") of the

[1] On these national pastimes see Mr Hugh Clifford, *In Court and Kampong*, 1897, p. 46 sq.

early Portuguese writers, who described them as from time immemorial engaged in fishing and plundering on the high seas[1].

Malaysia and Pelasgia—a Historic Parallel.

In those days, and even in comparatively late times, the relations in the Eastern Archipelago greatly resembled those prevailing in the Ægean Sea at the dawn of Greek history, while the restless seafaring populations were still in a state of flux, passing from island to island in quest of booty or barter before permanently settling down in favourable sites[2]. With the Greek historian's philosophic disquisition on these Pelasgian and proto-Hellenic relations may be compared Mr Wallace's account of the Batjan coastlands when visited by him in the late fifties. "Opposite us, and all along this coast of Batchian, stretches a row of fine islands completely uninhabited. Whenever I asked the reason why no one goes to live in them, the answer always was, 'For fear of the Magindano pirates[3].' Every year these scourges of the Archipelago wander in one direction or another, making their rendezvous on some uninhabited island, and carrying devastation to all the small settlements around; robbing, destroying, killing, or taking captive all they meet with. Their long, well-manned praus escape from the pursuit of any sailing vessel by pulling away right in the wind's eye, and the warning smoke of a steamer generally enables them to hide in some shallow bay, or narrow river, or forest-covered inlet, till the danger is passed[4]." Thus, like geographical surroundings, with corresponding social conditions, produce like results in all times amongst all peoples.

[1] *Cujo officio he rubar e pescar*, "whose business it is to rob and fish" (Barros). Many of the Bajaus lived entirely afloat, passing their lives in boats from the cradle to the grave, and praying Allah that they might die at sea.

[2] Thucydides, *Pel. War*, I. 1–16.

[3] These are the noted *Illanuns*, who occupy the south side of the large Philippine island of Mindanao, but many of whom, like the Bajaus of Celebes and the Sulu Islanders, have formed settlements on the north-east coast of Borneo. "Long ago their warfare against the Spaniards degenerated into general piracy. Their usual practice was not to take captives, but to murder all on board any boat they took. Those with us [British North Borneo] have all settled down to a more orderly way of life" (W. B. Pryer, *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1886, p. 231).

[4] *The Malay Archipelago*, p. 341.

Malayan Folklore—The Were-tiger.

This fundamental truth receives further illustration from the ideas prevalent amongst the Malayans regarding witchcraft, the magic arts, charms and spells, and especially the belief in the power of certain malevolent human beings to transform themselves into wild beasts and prey upon their fellow-creatures. Such superstitions girdle the globe, taking their local colouring from the fauna of the different regions, so that the were-wolf of medieval Europe finds its counterpart in the human jaguar of South America, the human lion or leopard of Africa[1], and the human tiger of the Malay Peninsula. Mr H. Clifford, who relates an occurrence known to himself in connection with a "were-tiger" story of the Perak district, aptly remarks that "the white man and the brown, the yellow and the black, independently, and without receiving the idea from one another, have all found the same explanation for the like phenomena, all apparently recognising the truth of the Malay proverb, that we are like unto the *táman* fish that preys upon its own kind[2]." The story in question turns upon a young bride, whose husband comes home late three nights following, and the third time, being watched, is discovered by her in the form of a full-grown tiger stretched on the ladder, which, as in all Malay houses, leads from the ground to the threshold of the door. "Patímah gazed at the tiger from the distance of only a foot or two, for she was too paralysed with fear to move or cry out, and as she looked a gradual transformation took place in the creature at her feet. Slowly, as one sees a ripple of wind pass over the surface of still water, the tiger's features palpitated and were changed, until the horrified girl saw the face of her husband come up through that of the beast, much as the face of a diver comes up to the surface of a pool. In another moment Patímah saw that it was Haji Ali who was ascending the ladder of his house, and the spell that had hitherto bound her was snapped."

1 In Central Africa "the belief in 'were' animals, that is to say in human beings who have changed themselves into lions or leopards or some such harmful beasts, is nearly universal. Moreover there are individuals who imagine they possess this power of assuming the form of an animal and killing human beings in that shape" (Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 439).

2 *In Court and Kampong*, p. 63. See also *Eth.* p. 216.

These same Malays of Perak, H. H. Rajah Dris tells us, are still specially noted for many strange customs and superstitions "utterly opposed to Muhammadan teaching, and savouring strongly of devil-worship. This enormous belief in the supernatural is possibly a relic of the pre-Islam State[1]."

Malayans in Borneo.

In Borneo, which has been defined as "300,000 square miles of savagery," worse practices prevail even than this "devil-worship." The periphery of the island has for many centuries been occupied by true Malays from Sumatra, especially along the north-western seaboard (Brunei, Sarawak, Pontianak); by Javanese on the south coast (Bangirmasin), who here introduced Hinduism at an early date, but are now mostly assimilated to the Orang-Maláyu; by other Malays on the east side (Kutai); by the already mentioned Bajaus, Sulus, and Illanuns in the north-east; and by Chinese in large numbers almost everywhere[2]. Later came the Dutch in the south, and in the north the English, who despite their quite recent arrival (Sarawak, 1842; British North Borneo and Brunei, 1881–8), have already effected a great improvement in the rude manners of the natives under their jurisdiction.

The Dyak Aborigines.

But within this variegated fringe of culture and semi-barbarism, the great mass of the aborigines is still emphatically in the wild state. Whether grouped as *Dyaks* (Dayaks)[3], the most general name, *Dusuns* in British North Borneo, *Kayans* farther south, or other conventional

[1] *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1886, p. 227. The Rajah gives the leading features of the character of his countrymen as "pride of race and birth, extraordinary observance of punctilio, and a bigoted adherence to ancient custom and tradition."

[2] Too much influence, however, must not be credited to the Chinese element, and M. L. Rousselet points out that the North Bornean Dusuns, for instance, "ne sont nullement mélangés aux Chinois, comme on l'a cru jusqu'à ces derniers temps" (*Nouv. Dict.* Supplément, 1897, Art. *Dayak*).

[3] *Dayak*, unheard of before about 1780, is a term of unknown origin or meaning, though by some referred to a Sarawak word *dayah*, a tribal name meaning "Man." The final *k* is often dropped in Malay words, as in *Perak*, pronounced *Perah*; *Sulu* and *Solo* for *Suluk*, *Solok*, &c. But "es bleibt die Herkunft dieses Wortes bis jetzt unklarer als diejenige von 'Papúa' und 'Alfuren'" (A. B. Meyer, *Ueber die Namen Papúa, Dajak und Alfuren*, Vienna, 1882, p. 18).

collective designations mostly unknown to the tribes themselves, all stand very near the lowest rung of the social ladder, practising various forms of self-mutilation, distending the ear-lobes often down to the shoulders[1], plucking out the eyebrows, filing or perforating the teeth, exposing the dead on trees or platforms, or smoking them dry, or else burying and then disinterring the bones to be preserved near the haunts of the living. Head-hunting has always been a standing institution, introduced with the first Malayan arrivals from the mainland, and most houses of the forest and up-river Dyaks are adorned with the ghastly trophies furnished by the victims of this immemorial custom. Cannibalism, also, and human sacrifices to the ancestral shades are far more common than is generally supposed. Mr Bock describes and figures a "priestess," who informed him that the palms, the knees, and brains "are considered the best eating." He also visited a cannibal chief of the comparatively settled Tring district, "an utter incarnation of all that is most repulsive and horrible in the human form," who "had fresh upon his head the blood of no less than seventy victims, men, women, and children, whom he and his followers had just slaughtered, and whose hands and brains he had eaten[2]."

Savage Customs.

"Surmungup," as the custom of human sacrifice is called, must have formerly ranged over most of the island, for it has ceased to be practised even amongst the Dusuns only since the British occupation of the northern districts. The ostensible reason seems to have been to send messages to dead relatives, and to this end a slave was procured, tied up, and bound round with cloths, and then "after some preliminary dancing and singing, one after another they would stick a spear a little way—an inch or so—into his body, each one sending a message to his deceased friend as he did so[3]."

Human Sacrifices.

[1] "The lobes of the ears were pierced sometimes in no less than three places, in addition to the large central slit, the principal holes being enormously enlarged by the weighty tin rings hanging in them" (Carl Bock, *Headhunters of Borneo*, p. 133).

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 134–5.

[3] W. B. Pryer, *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1886, p. 234. Elsewhere the victim

Most of the aborigines dispense with all clothing except the universal *sarong*, which amongst some of the east coast Dusuns bears a curious resemblance to the Scotch kilt, both in its pattern and the way it is worn. All, even the inland river and forest tribes, live in pile dwellings often of picturesque design, the space underneath serving as pigstyes. The *balai*, or Council-house, occupied by the young men at night, is generally of immense size, several hundred feet long or round, for both forms are affected. Even the *benatong*, or ordinary dwelling of long shape, will often accommodate twenty or more families, "each family having its separate apartments, the doors opening on to a sort of covered corridor."

Indonesian Element in Borneo.

Mr Pryer finds that it is difficult to say where Dusun ends and Dyak proper begins, adding that as we penetrate from the east coast inland the first tribe met is the Buludupi, many of whom have "strangely Caucasian features, or at all events departing largely from the ordinary Mongolian type[1]." This points at the presence of an Indonesian element, which is supported by other evidence, such as the account given us by Mr Creagh of the so-called "Dusuns" of Banguey Island, visited by him in 1892, and described as differing widely in speech, religion, and customs from all other Dusun tribes. Like others met by Mr Bock in the interior, these islanders have a priestess, who is able to keep the numerous spirits in Banguey in order, "for she is acquainted with their ways and knows the future as well as the past." She nominates and trains her successors, but all must be widows, and wear black robes, and wooden knives, these last being used for making the incisions in the calves of bride and bridegroom, when a drop of blood has to be transferred from one to the other at the wedding ceremony[2]. Amongst the tribes of the neighbouring mainland the notion of the after-life is that the dead have to clamber up the rugged slopes of Kina Balu, highest peak in Borneo (nearly 14,000 feet), so high

is despatched more expeditiously, all subscribers to the purchase grasping a long spear simultaneously, and thrusting it through him at once (*ib.*).

[1] Pryer, p. 232.

[2] *British North Borneo Herald*, Dec. 1892.

in fact that "it is said to be within a trifle of reaching heaven." The good people have little difficulty in getting to the top, from which they are ushered into heaven, while the wicked are doomed, somewhat like Sisyphus, to be for ever hopelessly struggling and scrambling up the rocky sides of the mountain[1].

The good of course are those who have collected most human heads in this world for provision in the next; but in other parts of the island, where the mountains are not so high, even the elect have to undergo many adventures during their long peregrinations up hill and down dale, across rivers, through fire and water, in one place meeting a woman with ears large enough to shelter them from the rain, until "at last they are safely landed in the heaven of their tribe[2]." Some of these fancies are so full of horrors, and at the same time so widely diffused, that they may well be regarded as reminiscences of the early Javanese missionaries, whose presence in Borneo is attested by the Hindu ruins still to be seen in some of the southern districts.

Early Man and his Works in Sumatra.

In Sumatra also occur some remains of Hindu temples[3], as well as other mysterious monuments in the Passumah lands inland from Benkulen, relics of a former culture, which goes back to prehistoric times. They take the form of huge monoliths, which are roughly shaped to the likeness of human figures, with strange features very different from the Malay or Hindu types. The present Sarawi natives of the district, who would be quite incapable of executing such works, know nothing of their origin, and attribute them to certain legendary beings who formerly wandered over the land, turning all their enemies into stone. Further research may possibly discover some connection between these relics of a forgotten past

[1] Pryer, p. 233.

[2] Bock, p. 223.

[3] Not only in the southern districts for centuries subject to Javanese influences, but also in Battaland, where they were first discovered by H. von Rosenberg in 1853, and figured and described in *Der Malayische Archipel*, Leipzig, 1878, vol. I. p. 27 sq. "Nach ihrer Form und ihren Bildwerken zu urtheilen, waren die Gebäude Tempel, worin der Buddha-Kultus gefeiert wurde" (p. 28). These are all the more interesting since Hindu ruins are otherwise rare in Sumatra, where there is nothing comparable to the stupendous monuments of Central and East Java.

and the numerous prehistoric monuments of Easter Island and other places in the Pacific Ocean. Of all the Indonesian peoples still surviving in Malaysia, none present so many points of contact with the Eastern Polynesians, as do the natives of the Mentawi Islands which skirt the south-west coast of Sumatra. "On a closer inspection of the inhabitants the attentive observer at once perceives that the Mentawi natives have but little in common with the peoples and tribes of the neighbouring islands, and that as regards physical appearance, speech, customs, and usages they stand almost entirely apart. They bear such a decided stamp of a Polynesian tribe that one feels far more inclined to compare them with the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands[1]."

The Mentawi Islanders.

The survival of an Indonesian group on the western verge of Malaysia is all the more remarkable since the *Nias* islanders, a little farther north, are of Mongol stock, like most if not all of the inhabitants of the Sumatran mainland. Here the typical Malays of the central districts (Menangkabau, Korinchi, and Siak) merge southwards in the mixed Malayo-Javanese peoples of the *Rejang*, *Palembang*, and *Lampong* districts. Although Muhammadans probably since the thirteenth century, all these peoples had been early brought under Hindu influences by missionaries and even settlers from Java, and these influences are still apparent in many of the customs, popular traditions, languages, and letters of the South Sumatran settled communities. Thus the Lampongs, despite their profession of Islam, employ, not the Arabic characters, like the Malays proper, but a script derived from the peculiar Javanese writing-system. This system itself, originally introduced from India probably over 2000 years ago,

Javanese and Hindu Influences.

Indian Origin of the Malaysian Alphabets.

[1] Von Rosenberg, *op. cit.* vol. I. p. 189. Amongst the points of close resemblance may be mentioned the outriggers, for which Mentawi has the same word (*abak*) as the Samoan (*va'a*=*vaka*); the funeral rites; taboo; the facial expression; and the language, in which the numeral systems are identical; cf. Ment. *limongapula* with Sam. *limagafulu*, the Malay being *limapulah* (fifty), where the Sam. infix *ga* (absent in Malay) is pronounced *gna*, exactly as in Ment. Here is a case of cumulative evidence, which should establish not merely contact and resemblance but true affinity, the vast liquid intervening area presenting no obstacle.

is based on some early forms of the Devanágari, such as those occurring in the rock inscriptions of the famous Buddhist king As'oka (third century B.C.)[1]. From Java, which is now shown beyond doubt to be the true centre of dispersion[2], the parent alphabet was under Hindu influences diffused in pre-Muhammadan times throughout Malaysia, from Sumatra to the Philippines.

But the thinly-spread Indo-Javanese culture, in few places penetrating much below the surface, received a rude shock from the Muhammadan irruption, its natural development being almost everywhere arrested, or else either effaced or displaced by Islám. No trace can any longer be detected of graphic signs in Borneo, whose Dyak aborigines have reverted to the savage state even in those southern districts where Buddhism or Brahmanism had certainly been propagated long before the arrival of the Muhammadan Malays. But elsewhere the Javanese stock alphabet has shown extraordinary vitality, persisting under diverse forms down to the present day, not only amongst the semi-civilised Mussulman peoples, such as the Sumatran Rejangs[3], Korinchi, and Lampongs, the Bugis and Mangkassaras of Celebes, and the (now Christian) Tagals and Bisayans of the Philippines, but even amongst the somewhat rude and pagan Palawan natives, the wild Manguianes of Mindoro, and the cannibal Battas[4] of North Sumatra.

[1] See Fr. Müller, *Ueber den Ursprung der Schrift der Malaiischen Völker*, Vienna, 1865; and my *Appendix* to Stanford's *Australasia*, First Series, 1879, p. 624.

[2] *Die Mangianenschrift von Mindoro, herausgegeben von A. B. Meyer u. A. Schadenberg*, speciell bearbeitet von W. Foy, Dresden, 1895; see also my remarks in *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1896, p. 277 sq.

[3] The Rejang, which certainly belongs to the same Indo-Javanese system as all the other Malaysian alphabets, has been regarded by Sayce and Renan as "pure Phœnician," while Dr Neubauer has compared it with that current in the 4th and 5th centuries B.C. The suggestion that it may have been introduced by the Phœnician crews of Alexander's admiral, Nearchus (*Archæol. Oxon.* 1895, No. 6), could not have been made by anyone aware of its close connection with the Lampong of South, and the Batta of North Sumatra (see also Prof. Kern, *Globus* 70, p. 116).

[4] Sing. *Batta*, pl. *Battak*, hence the current form *Battaks* is a solecism, and we should write either *Battas* or *Battak*. Lassen derives the word from the Sanskrit *b'háta*, "savage."

These Battas, however, despite their undoubted cannibalism[1], cannot be called savages, at least without some reserve. They are skilful stock-breeders and agriculturists, raising fine crops of maize and rice; they dwell together in large, settled communities with an organised government, hereditary chiefs, popular assemblies, and a written civil and penal code. There is even an effective postal system, which utilises for letter-boxes the hollow tree-trunks at all the cross-roads, and is largely patronised by the young men and women, all of whom read and write, and carry on an animated correspondence in their degraded Devanágari script, which is written on palm-leaves in vertical lines running upwards and from right to left. The Battas also excel in several industries, such as pottery, weaving, jewellery, iron work, and house-building, their picturesque dwellings, which resemble Swiss chalets, rising to two stories above the ground-floor reserved for the live stock. For these arts they are no doubt largely indebted to their Hindu teachers, from whom also they have inherited some of their religious ideas, such as the triune deity—Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer—besides other inferior divinities collectively called *diebata*, a modified form of the Indian *devatê*[2].

The Battas—cultured Cannibals.

[1] Again confirmed by Dr Volz and H. von Autenrieth, who explored Battaland early in 1898, and penetrated to the territory of the "Cannibal Pakpaks" (*Geogr. Jour.* June 1898, p. 672); not however "for the first time," as here stated. The Pakpaks had already been visited in 1853 by Von Rosenberg, who found cannibalism so prevalent that "Niemand Anstand nimmt das essen von Menschenfleisch einzugestehen" (*op. cit.* I. p. 59).

[2] It is interesting to note that by the aid of the Lampongs alphabet, South Sumatra, the Rev. John Mathew reads the word *Daibattah* in the legend on the head-dress of a gigantic figure seen by Sir George Grey on the roof of a cave on the Glenelg River, North-west Australia (*The Cave Paintings of Australia*, &c. in *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1894, p. 44 sq.). He quotes from Coleman's *Mythology of the Hindus* the statement that "the Battas of Sumatra believe in the existence of one supreme being, whom they name *Debati Hasi Asi*. Since completing the work of creation they suppose him to have remained perfectly quiescent, having wholly committed the government to his three sons, who do not govern in person, but by vakeels or proxies." Here is possibly another confirmation of the view that early Malayan migrations or expeditions, some even to Australia, took place in pre-Muhammadan times, long before the rise and diffusion of the Orang Maláyu in the Archipelago.

In the strangest contrast to these survivals of a foreign culture which had probably never struck very deep roots, stand the savage survivals from still more ancient times. Conspicuous amongst these are the cannibal practices, which if not now universal still take some peculiarly revolting forms. Thus captives and criminals are, under certain circumstances, condemned to be eaten alive, and the same fate is or was reserved for those incapacitated for work by age or infirmities. When the time came, we are told by the early European observers and by the reports of the Arabs, the "grandfathers" voluntarily suspended themselves by their arms from an overhanging branch, while friends and neighbours danced round and round, shouting, "when the fruit is ripe it falls." And when it did fall, that is, as soon as it could hold on no longer, the company fell upon it with their krisses, hacking it to pieces, and devouring the remains seasoned with lime-juice, for such feasts were generally held when the limes were ripe[1].

Cannibalism.

Grouped chiefly round about Lake Toba, the Battas occupy a very wide domain, stretching south to about the parallel of Mount Ophir, and bordering northwards on the territory of the Achin people. These valiant natives, who have hitherto so stoutly maintained their political independence against the Dutch, were also at one time Hinduized, as is evident from many of their traditions, their Malayan language largely charged with Sanskrit terms, and even their physical appearance, suggesting a considerable admixture of Hindu as well as of Arab blood. With the Arab traders and settlers came the Koran, and the Achinese people have been not over-zealous followers of the Prophet since the close of the 12th century. The Muhammadan State, founded in 1205, acquired a dominant position in the Archipelago early in the 16th century, when it ruled over about half of Sumatra, exacted tribute from many vassal princes, maintained powerful armaments by land and sea, and entered into political and commercial relations with Egypt, Japan, and several European States.

The Achinese.

Early Records.

There are two somewhat distinct ethnical groups, the *Orang-*

[1] *Memoir of the Life &c. of Sir T. S. Raffles*, by his widow, 1830.

Tunong of the uplands, a comparatively homogeneous Malayan people, and the mixed *Orang-Baruh* of the lowlands, who are described by Dr A. Lubbers[1] as taller than the average Malay (5 feet 5 or 6 in.), also less round-headed (index 80·5), with prominent nose, rather regular features, and muscular frames; but the complexion is darker than that of the Orang-Maláyu, a trait which has been attributed to a larger infusion of Dravidian blood (Klings and Tamuls) from southern India. The charge of cruelty and treachery brought against them by the Dutch may be received with some reserve, such terms as "patriot" and "rebel" being interchangeable according to the standpoints from which they are considered. In any case no one denies them the virtues of valour and love of freedom, with which are associated industrious habits and a remarkable aptitude for such handicrafts as metal work, jewellery, weaving, and ship-building. The Achinese do not appear to be very strict Muhammadans; polygamy is little practised, their women are free to go abroad unveiled, nor are they condemned to the seclusion of the harem, and a pleasing survival from Buddhist times is the *Kanduri*, a solemn feast, in which the poor are permitted to share. Another reminiscence of Hindu philosophy may perhaps have been an outburst of religious fervour, which took the form of a pantheistic creed, and was so zealously preached, that it had to be stamped out with fire and sword by the dominant Moslem monotheists.

Islam and Hindu reminiscences.

Since the French occupation of Madagascar, the Malagasy problem has naturally been revived. But it may be regretted that so much time and talent has been spent on a somewhat thrashed-out question by a number of writers, who did not first take the trouble to read up the literature of the subject. Had they done so, they must have seen that most of the factors in the problem are really known quantities, and that it is at this date somewhat of an anachronism to suggest, for instance, that the Malayan migrations to Madagascar are quite recent[2], or that the migrations were not from

Ethnical Relations in Madagascar.

[1] *Anthropologie des Atjehs*, in *Rev. Med.* Batavia, XXX. 6, 1890.

[2] A. Oppel, *Globus*, 70, p. 384. This writer, who scarcely understands the elementary conditions of the question, thinks that "der Zeitpunkt der

Malaysia at all, but from Melanesia, that the Hovas were all originally black, that their olive colour is due to the environment[1], that the points of resemblance between the Malayan and Malagasy languages may be due to the influence of Arab (*sic*) traders, and that the North African Libyans may be the remote ancestors of the Hovas, whose type in more than one respect resembles that of the present Kopts[2]. The extent to which Malagasy ethnology has lapsed into chaos may be judged from the contradictory views now current on the origin, type, and affinities of the dominant and presumably well-known Hovas, as, for example:—

Collignon.	*Bloch.*
The Hovas differ in no important respect from the true Malays; showing close affinity to the Javanese and Madurese, most typical of Malayans.	The Hovas appear to represent a now extinct red race, who were originally Melanesians or Oceanic Negritoes; are quite distinct from the Malays; their common speech proves nothing, as it is common also to the Melanesians.

Malayenauswanderung als etwa um das Jahr 1000 n. Chr. völlig ausreichend ist etc. etc."

[1] Dr Adolphe Bloch, *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 498 sq. Here it is argued that all the Hovas "sont issus de cette race primitive [les Nègres océaniens], comme toutes les autres populations de Madagascar," and that "les Malegaches jaunes ont dû se former comme se forment toutes les variétés de l'espèce humaine, c'est à dire sous l'influence de la variabilité qui caractérise tous les êtres vivants" (p. 511). But the prototypes of these Hovas are already found in Malaysia; consequently they did not need to be again specialised in Madagascar from a black precursor, an evolution which, as I hold, never took place. At all events it should not be assumed without necessity, and here there is no necessity.

[2] M. Ch. Letourneau in *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 521 sq. This case is characteristic, the source appealed to for some very rash statements, as, for instance, that the linguistic analogies between Malay and Malagasy are "aussi peu frappantes que possible," being the antiquated *History of Madagascar* by W. Ellis, with J. J. Freeman's *Appendix*, 1838. M. Letourneau, who has done such excellent work in other fields, might surely have reflected that the Malagasy question was scarcely understood in the thirties, and that since then the "analogies" so far from being slight, have been proved to be *identities* by Marre, Last, Dahle, Richardson, Cousins, and in fact all philologists who have given serious attention to the subject.

Prehistoric Peoples.

By what race Madagascar was first peopled it is no longer possible to say. The local reports or traditions of primitive peoples, either extinct or still surviving in the interior, belong rather to the sphere of Malagasy folklore than to that of ethnological research. In these reports mention is frequently made of the *Kimos*, said to be now or formerly living in the Bara country, and of the *Vazimbas*, who are by some supposed to have been Gallas (*Ba-Simba*)—though they had no knowledge of iron—whose graves are supposed to be certain monolithic monuments which take the form of menhirs disposed in circles, and are believed by the present inhabitants of the land to be still haunted by evil spirits, that is, the ghosts of the long extinct Vazimbas.

First Oceanic Immigrants the proto-Malayans.

Much of the confusion prevalent regarding the present ethnical relations is due to the failure to distinguish between the historic Malays of Menangkabau and the Malayan aborigines of the Eastern Archipelago. That some of the historic Malays (the Orang-Maláyu) have found their way to the island from time to time need not be denied. But it may now be asserted with some confidence that they could never have been very numerous, that they may almost be regarded in the present connection as *une quantité négligeable*, and that the Malayan settlement of Madagascar took place in remote prehistoric times, not only long before the diffusion of the Sumatran Malays over the Archipelago, but also long before the appearance of Hindu missionaries or colonists in the same region. This is no matter of speculation, but a direct and necessary inference from facts now established, such as the total absence of Sanskrit and largely of late Arabic terms in Malagasy, and the general structure of that language, which is not a Malay dialect, but very much older than Malay—in fact an independent and somewhat archaic member of the Malayo-Polynesian (Oceanic) linguistic family. There is a considerable percentage of Sanskrit words in Malay, Javanese, and Bugis, in fact in all the cultivated, and in many even of the uncultivated languages of Malaysia, introduced with Hinduism probably some two or three centuries before the new era. But

Malagasy Speech not Malay, but Malayo-Polynesian.

these words, many of them quite ordinary terms in daily use, could not all have been left behind by the Malayan settlers in Madagascar had the migrations taken place within the last 2000 years or so. But none, absolutely none, are found in Malagasy, which language must therefore have crossed the Indian Ocean in pre-Hindu, that is, remote prehistoric times.

The Arabic Elements Prehistoric.

The same inference follows from a critical study of the Arabic elements in Malagasy, which have misled so many observers, and even given rise to the theory that "the Madagascar tongue is a corruption of the Arabic[1]." A less extravagant, but no less mistaken view, still prevailing in some quarters, assumes that the Arabic words were all introduced either directly through the Muhammadan Arabs, or indirectly through the Muhammadan Malays, from which it would follow that the immigrants from Malaysia were after all the historical Malays arriving since 1000 B.C. (Oppel), or even "probably not over 200 years ago[2]." But Mr J. T. Last, who, I think rightly, identifies Madagascar with the island of *Menuthias* described by Arrian in the third century A.D.[3], suggests the "possibility that Madagascar may have been reached by Arabs before the Christian era." This "possibility" is converted almost into a certainty by the analysis of the Arabo-Malagasy terms made by Dahle, who clearly shows that such terms "are comparatively very few," and also "very ancient," in fact that, as already suggested by Prof. Fleischer of Leipzig, many, perhaps the majority of them, "may be traced back to Himyaritic influence[4]," that is, not merely to pre-Muhammadan, but to

[1] Dr Vanderkamp quoted by the Rev. L. Dahle, *Antananarivo Annual*, 1876, p. 75.

[2] Col. Maude, *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1896, p. 71.

[3] "His remarks would scarcely apply to any other island off the East African coast, his description of the rivers, crocodiles, land-tortoises, canoes, sea-turtles, and wicker-work weirs for catching fish, apply exactly to Madagascar of the present day, but to none of the other islands" (*Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1896, p. 47).

[4] *Loc. cit.* p. 77. Thus, to take the days of the week, we have:—Malagasy *alahady*, *alatsinainy*; old Arab. (Himyar.) *al-áhadu*, *al-itsnáni*; modern Arab. *el-áhad*, *el-etnén* (Sunday, Monday), where the Mal. forms are obviously derived not from the present, but from the ancient Arabic. From all this it seems reasonable to infer that the early Semitic influences in Madagascar may

pre-Christian times, just like the Sanskritic elements in the Oceanic tongues.

Uniformity of the language.

The evidence that Malagasy is itself one of these Oceanic tongues, and not an offshoot of the comparatively recent standard Malay is overwhelming, and need not here detain us[1]. The diffusion of this Malayo-Polynesian language over the whole island—even amongst distinctly Negroid Bantu populations, such as the Betsileos and Tanalas—to the absolute exclusion of all other forms of speech, is an almost unique linguistic phenomenon more easily proved than explained. There are, of course, provincialisms and even what may be called local dialects, such as that of the Antankarana people at the northern extremity of the island who, although commonly included in the large division of the western Sakalavas, really form a separate ethnical group, speaking a somewhat marked variety of Malagasy. But even this differs much less from the normal form than might be supposed by comparing, for instance, such a term as *maso-mahamay*, sun, with the Hova *maso-andro*, where *maso* in both means "eye," *mahamay* in both = "burning," and *andro* in both = "day." Thus the only difference is that one calls the sun "burning eye," while the Hovas call it the "day's eye," as do so many peoples in Malaysia[2].

Malagasy Gothamites.

So also the fish-eating *Anorohoro* people, a branch of the *Sihanakas* in the Alaotra valley, are said to have "quite a different dialect from them[3]." But the statement need not be taken too seriously, because these rustic fisherfolk, who may be called the Gothamites of Madagascar, are supposed, by their scornful neighbours, to do everything

be due to the same Sabæan or Minæan peoples of South Arabia, to whom the Zimbabwe monuments in the auriferous region south of the Zambesi have been accredited by the late Theodore Bent.

[1] Those who may still doubt should consult M. Aristide Marre, *Les Affinités de la Langue Malgache*, Leyden, 1884; Mr Last's above quoted *Paper* in the *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* and Dr R. H. Codrington's *Melanesian Languages*, Oxford, 1885. See also *Eth.* pp. 331–2.

[2] Malay, *mata-ari*; Bajau, *mata-lon*; Menado *mata-roü*; Salayer, *mato-allo*, all meaning literally "day's eye" (*mata*, *mato* = Malagasy *maso* = eye; *ári*, *allo* &c. = day, with normal interchange of *r* and *l*).

[3] Rev. J. Sibree, *Antananarivo Annual*, 1877, p. 62.

"contrariwise." Of them it is told that once when cooking eggs they boiled them for hours to make them soft, and then finding they got harder and harder threw them away as unfit for food. Others having only one slave, who could not paddle the canoe properly, cut him in two, putting one half at the prow the other at the stern, and were surprised at the result. It was not to be expected that such simpletons should speak Malagasy properly, which nevertheless is spoken with surprising uniformity by all the Malayan and Negro or Negroid peoples alike.

The Negro Element.

Of these two races, who have occupied the island from time immemorial, the Malayans probably arrived first, and, the way once found, were afterwards joined at different times by other seafaring bands from the Eastern Archipelago. The Bantus of the opposite coastlands, not being navigators, could scarcely have themselves crossed the swift-flowing and choppy Mozambique Channel, which is nowhere less than 240 miles wide, and is moreover swept by the great current setting steadily from Madagascar south-westwards to the Cape. Thus the stream that helped the Oceanic Mongols would arrest the African Negroes, who were probably brought over in small bands at intervals by the slavers, at all times active in these waters.

Arriving in this way not as free settlers, but as domestic slaves, the Negroid Bantus would necessarily become assimilated in speech and usages to their Malayan masters, as they have elsewhere been assimilated to their Hamitic, Egyptian, Arab, Persian, and Turkish masters. Thus may perhaps best be explained the absolute predominance of the Malagasy language, to the exclusion of all rivals, and the relations now prevailing in Madagascar may be taken as a striking illustration of the fundamental principle that different races may merge in a new type, but their languages will not mix, and in the struggle all perish but one[1].

Partial Fusion of the Malayan and Negro Races.

In Madagascar, however, the fusion of the two races is far less complete than is commonly supposed. Various shades of transition between the two extremes are no doubt presented by the *Sakalavas* of the west, and the *Betsimisarakas*, *Sitanakas*, and others of

[1] *Eth.* Ch. IX.

the east coast. But, strange to say, on the central tableland the two seem to stand almost completely apart, so that here the politically dominant Hovas still present all the essential characteristics of the Oceanic Mongol, while their southern neighbours, the *Betsileos*, as well as the *Tanalas* and *Ibaras*, are described as "African pure and simple, allied to the south-eastern tribes of that continent[1]."

Specially remarkable is the account given by a careful observer, the Rev. G. A. Shaw, of the Betsileos, whose "average height is not less than six feet for the men, and a few inches less for the women. They are large-boned and muscular, and their colour is several degrees darker than that of the Hovas, approaching very close to a black. The forehead is low and broad, the nose flatter, and the lips thicker than those of their conquerors, whilst their hair is *invariably* crisp and woolly. No pure Betsileo is to be met with having the smooth long hair of the Hovas. In this, as in other points, there is a very clear departure from the Malayan type, and a close approximation to the Negro races of the adjacent continent[2]."

Hova type.

Now compare these brawny African giants with the wiry undersized Malayan Hovas. As described by Dr A. Vouchereau[3], their type closely resembles that of the Javanese—short stature, yellowish or light leather complexion, long, black, smooth and rather coarse hair, round head (85·25), flat and straight forehead, flat face, prominent cheek bones, small straight nose, tolerably wide nostrils, small black and slightly oblique eyes, rather thick lips, slim lithesome figure, small extremities, dull restless expression, cranial capacity 1516 c.c., superior to both Negro and Sakalava[4].

1 Rev. W. D. Cowan, *The Bara Land*, Antananarivo, 1881, p. 67.

2 *The Betsileo, Country and People*; *Antananarivo Annual*, 1877, p. 79.

3 *Note sur l'Anthropologie de Madagascar* &c., in *l'Anthropologie*, 1897, p. 149 sq.

4 The contrast between the two elements is drawn in a few bold strokes by Mrs Z. Colvile, who found that in the east coast districts the natives (Betsimisarakas chiefly) were black "with short, curly hair and negro type of feature, and showed every sign of being of African origin. The Hovas, on the contrary, had complexions little darker than those of the peasantry of Southern Europe, straight black hair, rather sharp features, slim figures, and

Except in respect of this high cranial capacity, the measurements of three Malagasy skulls in the Cambridge University Anatomical Museum studied by Mr W. L. H. Duckworth[1], correspond fairly well with these descriptions. Thus the cephalic index of the reputed Betsimisaraka (Negroid) and that of the Betsileo (Negro) are respectively 71 and 72·4, while that of the Hova is 82·1; the first two, therefore, are long-headed, the third round-headed, as we should expect. But the cubic capacity of the Hova (presumably Mongoloid) is only 1315 as compared with 1450 and 1480 of two others, presumably African Negroes. Mr Duckworth discusses the question whether the black element in Madagascar is of African or Oceanic (Melanesian-Papuan) origin, about which much diversity of opinion still prevails, and on the evidence of the few cranial specimens available he decides in favour of the African. How the advocates of the Oceanic view proposed to bring Melanesians from the Pacific Ocean to Madagascar, at least after the subsidence of the Indo-African Continent, was never made quite clear.

The Black Element from Africa.

Despite the low cubic capacity of Mr Duckworth's Hova, the mental powers of these, and indeed of the Malagasy generally, are far from despicable. Before the French occupation the London Church Missionary Society had succeeded in disseminating Christian principles and even some degree of culture among considerable numbers both in the Hova capital and surrounding districts. The local press had been kept going by native compositors, who had issued quite an extensive literature both in Malagasy and English. Agricultural and industrial methods had been improved, some engineering works attempted, and the Hova craftsmen had learnt to build but not to complete houses in the European style, because, although they could master European processes, they could not, Christians though they were,

Mental Qualities of the Malagasy.

Spread of Christianity.

were unmistakably of the Asiatic type" (*Round the Black Man's Garden*, 1893, p. 143). But even amongst the Hovas a strain of black blood is betrayed in the generally rather thick lips, and in the lower classes wavy hair and dark skin.

[1] *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1897, p. 285 sq.

get the better of the old superstitions, one of which is that the owner of a house always dies within a year of its completion. Longevity is therefore ensured by not completing it, with the curious result that the whole city looks unfinished or dilapidated. In the house where Mrs Colvile stayed, "one window was framed and glazed, the other nailed up with rough boards; part of the stair-banister had no top-rail; outside only a portion of the roof had been tiled; and so on throughout[1]."

A good deal of fancy is displayed in the oral literature, comprising histories, or at least legends, fables, songs, riddles, and a great mass of folklore, much of which has already been rescued from oblivion by the "Malagasy Folklore Society." Some of the stories present the usual analogies to others in widely separated lands, stories which seem to be perennial, and to crop up wherever the surface is a little disturbed by investigators. One of those in Mr Dahle's extensive collection, entitled the "History of Andrianarisainaboniamasoboniamanoro," might be described as a variant of our "Beauty and the Beast." Besides this prince with the long name, called *Bonia* "for short," there is a princess "Golden Beauty," both being of miraculous birth, but the latter a cripple and deformed, until found and wedded by Bonia. Then she is so transfigured that the "Beast" is captivated and contrives to carry her off. Thereupon follows an extraordinary series of adventures, resulting of course in the rescue of Golden Beauty by Bonia, when everything ends happily, not only for the two lovers, but for all other people whose wives had also been abducted. These are now restored to their husbands by the hero, who vanquishes and slays the monster in a fierce fight, just as in our nursery tales of knights and dragons.

Malagasy Folklore.

In the Philippines, where the ethnical confusion is probably greater than in any other part of Malaysia[2], the great bulk of the inhabitants appear to be undoubtedly of proto-Malayan stock. Except in the southern island of Mindanao, which is still mainly Muhammadan or heathen, most of the settled populations have long been

The Philippine Natives.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 153.
[2] *Eth.* p. 333.

nominal Roman Catholics under a curious theocratic administration, in which the true rulers are not the civil functionaries, but the priests, and especially the regular clergy[1]. One result has been over three centuries of unstable political and social relations, ending in the occupation of the archipelago by the United States (1898). Another, with which we are here more concerned, has been such a transformation of the subtle Malayan character that those who have lived longest amongst the natives pronounce their temperament unfathomable. Having to comply outwardly with the numerous Christian observances, they seek relief in two ways, first by making the most of the Catholic ceremonial and turning the many feast-days of the calendar into occasions of revelry and dissipation, connived at if not even shared in by the padres[2]; secondly by secretly cherishing the old beliefs and disguising their true feelings, until the opportunity is presented of throwing off the mask and declaring themselves in their true colours. A Franciscan friar, who had spent half his life amongst them, left on record that "the native is an incomprehensible phenomenon, the mainspring of whose line of thought and the guiding motive of whose actions have never yet been, and perhaps never will be, discovered. A native will serve a master satisfactorily for years, and then suddenly abscond, or commit some such hideous crime as conniving with a brigand band to murder the family and pillage the house[3]."

In fact nobody can ever tell what a Tagal, and especially a Bisayan, will do at any moment. His character is a succession of surprises; "the experience of each year brings one to form fresh conclusions, and the most exact definition of such a kaleidoscopic creature is, after all, hypothetical."

After centuries of misrule, it is perhaps not surprising that no kind of sympathy has been developed between the natives and the whites. Mr Foreman tells us that everywhere in the Archipelago he found mothers teaching their little ones to look on their white

[1] Augustinians, Dominicans, Recollects (Friars Minor of the Strict Observance), and Jesuits.

[2] In fact there is no great parade of morality on either side, nor is it any reflection on a woman to have children by the priest.

[3] J. Foreman, *op. cit.* p. 181.

rulers as demoniacal beings, evil spirits, or at least something to be dreaded. "If a child cries, it is hushed by the exclamation, *Castila!* (Spaniard); if a white man approaches a native dwelling, the watchword always is *Castila!* and the children hasten to retreat from the dreadful object."

Three Social Groups.

By the administration the natives are classed in three social divisions—*Indios*, *Infieles*, and *Moros*—which, as aptly remarked by Dr F. H. H. Guillemard, is "an ecclesiastical rather than a scientific classification[1]." The *Indios* are the christianized and more or less cultured populations of all the towns and of the settled agricultural districts, forming eight ethnical groups, each speaking a distinct Malayo-Polynesian language of much more archaic type than the standard Malay, with a total population of about 5,300,000 distributed over the Archipelago as under[2]:—

The Indios.

Nation.	*Islands.*	*Population.*
Bisayans.	Nearly all between Mindoro exclusive and Mindanao inclusive	2,500,000
Tagalas.	Luzon; Mindoro, Polillo; Lubang; Marinduque	1,250,000
Ilocanos.	Parts of Luzon	460,000
Bicols.	Luzon, Burias, Masbate (?)	380,000
Pangasinanes.	Parts of Luzon	300,000
Pampangos.	Parts of Luzon	250,000
Cagayanes.	Luzon; Babuyanes: Batanes	90,000
Zambales.	Parts of Luzon	70,000
Total "*Christianos Civilizados*" in the Philippines		5,300,000

The Infieles.

By "*Infieles*" are understood all the aborigines who are neither Christians nor Muhammadans, that is, pagans generally in the wild state, and variously described as "savage," "degraded," "warlike," "sanguinary," "wild but timid," "peaceful," "poor," "docile and harmless," "treacherous,"—terms which indicate more or less accurately

[1] *Australasia*, 1894, II. p. 49.

[2] These and further details are from F. Blumentritt's *Vademecum etnografico de Filipinas*, in *Bol. Soc. Geogr.* Madrid, 1889, p. 246 sq.

the various attitudes of these independent hillmen towards the administration. Many, especially those in the more inaccessible upland tracts, appear to be undoubtedly Caucasic Indonesians, others are Orang Benúa (primitive Malayans), and a few true Negritos. But all may be described as absolutely uncivilised, while many are certainly savages in the strictest sense of the term. Under the general category of "*Infieles*" Blumentritt enumerates as many as seventy-four tribes, or even nations, ranging over all the islands in groups of from 500 or less up to 40,000 (*Igorrotes*, *Buquitnons*), and even 80,000 doubtfully (*Manguangas*), with a total estimated population of from 220,000 to 250,000.

The Moros.

Under *Moros* ("Moors") are comprised the Muhammadans exclusively, some of whom are Malayans (chiefly in Mindanao, Basilan, and Palawan), some true Malays (chiefly in the Sulu archipelago). Many of these are still independent, and not a few, if not actually wild, are certainly but little removed from the savage state. Yet, like the Sumatran Battas, they possess a knowledge of letters, the Sulu people using the Arabic script, as do all the Orang Maláyu, while the Palawan natives employ a variant of the Devanágari prototype derived directly from the Javanese, as above explained. No census has ever been taken of the Philippine Muhammadans, who are roughly estimated by Blumentritt at from 200,000 to 500,000, including the 60,000 of the Sulu archipelago.

Some of these Sulu people, till lately fierce sea-rovers, get baptized now and then; but, says Mr Foreman, "they appeared to be as much Christian as I was Mussulman[1]." They keep their harems all the same, and when asked how many gods there are, answer "four," presumably Allah plus the Athanasian Trinity. So the Ba-Fiots of Angola add crucifying to their "penal code," and so in King M'tesa's time the Baganda scrupulously kept two weekly holidays, the Mussulman Friday, and the Christian Sunday. Lofty creeds superimposed too rapidly on primitive beliefs are apt to get "mixed"; they need time to become assimilated.

That in the aborigines of Formosa are represented both Mongol (proto-Malayan) and Indonesian (proto-Caucasic) ele-

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 247.

ments may now be accepted as an established fact. The long-standing reports of Negritoes also, like the Philippine Aetas, have never been confirmed, and may be dismissed from the present consideration.

Malayans and Indonesians in Formosa.

Probably five-sixths of the whole population are Chinese immigrants, amongst whom are a large number of Hakkas and Hok-los from the provinces of Fo-Kien and Kwang-tung[1]. They occupy all the cultivated western lowlands, which from the ethnological standpoint may be regarded as a seaward outpost of the Chinese mainland. The rest of the island, that is, the central highlands and precipitous eastern slopes, may similarly be looked on as a north-eastern outpost of Malaysia, being almost exclusively held by Indonesian and Malayan aborigines from Malaysia (especially the Philippines), with possibly some early intruders both from Polynesia and from the north (Japan). All are classed by the Chinese settlers after their usual fashion in three social divisions:—

The Chinese Settlers.

1. The *Pepohwans* of the plains, who although called "Barbarians," are sedentary agriculturists and quite as civilised as their Chinese neighbours themselves, with whom they are gradually merging in a single ethnical group. The Pepohwans are described by M. Ibis as a fine race, very tall, and "fetishists," though the mysterious rites are left to the women. Their national feasts, dances, and other usages forcibly recall those of the Micronesians and Polynesians. They may therefore, perhaps, be regarded as early immigrants from the South Sea Islands, distinct in every respect from the true aborigines.

2. The *Sekhwans*, "Tame Savages[2]," who are also settled agriculturists, subject to the Chinese (since 1895 to the Japanese) administration, but physically distinct from all the other Formosans—light complexion, large mouth, thick lips, remarkably long and prominent teeth, weak constitution. M. Ibis suspects

[1] Girard de Rialle, *Rev. d'Anthrop.* Jan. and April 1885. These studies are based largely on the data supplied by M. Paul Ibis and earlier travellers in the island. Nothing better has since appeared except Mr G. Taylor's valuable contributions to the *China Review* (see below).

[2] Lit. "ripe barbarians" (*barbares mûrs*, Ibis).

a strain of Dutch blood dating from the 17th century. This is confirmed by the old books and other curious documents found amongst them, which have given rise to so much speculation, and, it may be added, some mystification, regarding a peculiar writing-system and a literature formerly current amongst the Formosan aborigines[1].

3. The *Chinhwans*, "Green Barbarians"—that is, utter savages,—the true independent aborigines, of whom there are an unknown number of tribes, but regarding whom the Chinese possess but little definite information. Not so their Japanese successors, one of whom, Mr Kisak Tamai[2], tells us that the Chinhwans show a close resemblance to the Malays of the Malay Peninsula and also to those of the Philippines, and in some respects to the Japanese themselves. When dressed like Japanese and mingling with Japanese women, they can hardly be distinguished from them. The vendetta is still rife amongst many of the ruder tribes, and such is their traditional hatred of the Chinese intruders that no one can either be tattooed or permitted to wear a bracelet until he has carried off a Celestial head or two. In every household there is a frame or bracket on which these heads are mounted, and some of their warriors can proudly point to over seventy of such trophies. It is a relief to hear that with their new Japanese masters they have sworn friendship, these new rulers of the land being their "brothers and sisters." The oath of eternal alliance is taken by digging a hole in the ground, putting a stone in it, throwing earth at each other, then covering the stone with the earth, all of which means that "as the stone in the ground keeps sound, so do we keep our word unbroken."

Racial Affinities.

It is interesting to note that this Japanese ethnologist's remarks on the physical resemblances of the aborigines are fully in accord with those of European observers. Thus to Dr Hamy they recalled the Igorrotes of

[1] See facsimiles of bilingual and other MSS. from Formosa in T. de Lacouperie's *Formosa Notes on MSS., Languages, and Races*, Hertford, 1887. The whole question is here fully discussed, though the author seems unable to arrive at any definite conclusion even as to the *bona* or *mala fides* of the noted impostor George Psalmanazar.

[2] *Globus*, 70, p. 93 sq.

North Luzon, as well as the Malays of Singapore[1]." Mr G. Taylor also, who has visited several of the wildest groups in the southern and eastern districts[2] (*Tipuns*, *Paiwans*, *Diaramocks*, *Nickas*, *Amias* and many others), traces some "probably" to Japan (Tipuns); others to Malaysia (the cruel, predatory Paiwan head-hunters); and others to the Liu-Kiu archipelago (the Pepohwans now of Chinese speech). He describes the Diaramocks as the most dreaded of all the southern groups, but doubts whether the charge of cannibalism brought against them by their neighbours is quite justified.

Whether the historical Malays from Singapore or elsewhere, as above suggested, are really represented in Formosa may be doubted, since no survivals either of Hindu or Muhammadan rites appear to have been detected amongst the aborigines. It is of course possible that they may have reached the island at some remote time, and since relapsed into savagery, from which the Orang-laut were never very far removed. But in the absence of proof, it will be safer to regard all the wild tribes as partly of Indonesian, partly of proto-Malayan origin.

Linguistic Affinities.

This view is also in conformity with the character of the numerous Formosan dialects, whose affinities are either with the Gyarung and others of the Asiatic Indonesian tongues, or else with the Malayo-Polynesian organic speech generally, but not specially with any particular member of that family, least of all with the comparatively recent standard Malay. Thus Dr Arnold Schetelig points out that only about a sixth part of the Formosan vocabulary taken generally corresponds with modern Malay[3]. The analogies of all the rest must be sought in the various branches of the

[1] *Les Races Malaïques* etc., in *L'Anthropologie*, 1896.

[2] *The Aborigines of Formosa*, in *China Review*, XIV. p. 198 sq., also XVI. No. 3. (*A Ramble Through Southern Formosa*.) The services rendered by this intelligent observer to Formosan ethnology deserve more general recognition than they have hitherto received.

[3] *Sprachen der Ureinwohner Formosa's* in *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsychologie* etc. V. p. 437 sq. This anthropologist found to his great surprise that the Polynesian and Maori skulls in the London College of Surgeons presented striking analogies with those collected by himself in Formosa. Here at least is a remarkable harmony between speech and physical characters.

Oceanic stock language, and in the Gyarung and the non-Chinese tongues of Eastern China[1]. Formosa thus presents a curious ethnical and linguistic connecting link between the Continental and Oceanic populations.

The Nicobarese.

In the Nicobar archipelago are distinguished two ethnical groups, the coast people, *i.e.* the *Nicobarese*[2] proper, and the *Shom Pen*, aborigines of the less accessible inland districts in Great Nicobar. But the distinction appears to be rather social than racial, and we may now conclude with Mr E. H. Man that all the islanders belong essentially to the Mongolic division, the inlanders representing the pure type, the others being "descended from a mongrel Malay stock, the crosses being probably in the majority of cases with Burmese and occasionally with natives of the opposite coast of Siam, and perchance also in remote times with such of the Shom Pen as may have settled in their midst[3]."

Among the numerous usages which point to an Indo-Chinese and Oceanic connection are pile-dwellings; the chewing of betel, which appears to be here mixed with some earthy substance causing a dental incrustation so thick as even to prevent the closing of the lips; distention of the ear-lobe by wooden cylinders; aversion from the use of milk; and the *couvade*, as amongst some Bornean Dyaks. The language, which has an extraordinarily rich phonetic system (as many as 25 consonantal and 35 vowel sounds), is polysyllabic and untoned, like the Malayo-Polynesian, and the type also seems to resemble the Oceanic more than the Continental Mongol subdivision. Mean height 5 ft. 3 in. (Shom Pen one inch less); nose wide and flat; eyes rather obliquely set; cheek-bones prominent; features flat, though less so than in the normal Malayan; complexion mostly a yellowish or reddish-brown (Shom Pen dull brown); hair a dark rusty brown, rarely quite black, straight, though not seldom wavy and even ringletty, but Shom Pen generally quite straight.

[1] De Lacouperie, *op. cit.* p. 73.

[2] The natives of course know nothing of this word, and speak of their island homes as *Mattai*, a vague term applied equally to land, country, village, and even the whole world.

[3] *The Nicobar Islanders*, in *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1889, p. 354 sq.

On the other hand they approach nearer to the Burmese in their mental characters; in their frank, independent spirit, inquisitiveness, and kindness towards their women, who enjoy complete social equality, as in Burma; and lastly in their universal belief in spirits called *iwi* or *síya*, who, like the *nats* of Indo-China, cause sickness and death unless scared away or appeased by offerings. Like the Burmese, also, they place a piece of money in the mouth or against the cheek of a corpse before burial, to help in the other world.

One of the few industries is the manufacture of a peculiar kind of rough painted pottery, which is absolutely confined to the islet of Chowra, 5 miles north of Teressa. The reason of this restriction is explained by a popular legend, according to which in remote ages the Great Unknown decreed that, on pain of sudden death, an earthquake, or some such calamity, the making of earthenware was to be carried on only in Chowra, and all the work of preparing the clay, moulding and firing the pots, was to devolve on the women. Once, a long time ago, one of these women, when on a visit in another island, began, heedless of the divine injunction, to make a vessel, and fell dead on the spot. Thus was confirmed the tradition, and no attempt has since been made to infringe the "Chowra monopoly[1]."

All things considered, it may be inferred that the archipelago was originally occupied by primitive peoples of Malayan stock now represented by the Shom Pen of Great Nicobar, and was afterwards re-settled on the coastlands by Indo-Chinese and Malayan intruders, who intermingled, and either extirpated or absorbed, or else drove to the interior the first occupants. Nicobar thus resembles Formosa in its intermediate position between the continental and pelasgian Mongol populations. Another point of analogy is the absence of Negritoes from both of these insular areas, where anthropologists had confidently anticipated the presence of a dark element like that of the Andamanese and Philippine Aetas.

[1] E. H. Man, *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1894, p. 21.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NORTHERN MONGOLS.

Domain of the Mongolo-Turki Section—Early Contact with Caucasic Peoples—Primitive Man in Siberia—and Mongolia—Early Man in Korea and Japan—in Finland and East Europe—Early Man in Babylonia—Akkado-Sumerian Origins—Relations to the Semites and Aryans—Elamite Origins—Historical Records—Babylonian Religion—Social System—General Culture—The Mongols Proper—Physical Type—Ethnical and Administrative Divisions—Buddhism—The Tunguses—Cradle and Type—Mental Characters—Shamanism—The Manchus—Origins and Early Records—Type—The Dauri—Mongolo-Turki Speech—Language and Racial Characters—Mongol and Manchu Script—The Yukaghirs—A Primitive Writing System—Chukchis and Koryaks—Chukchi and Eskimo Relations—Type and Social State—Koryaks and Kamchadales—The Gilyaks—The Koreans—Ethnical Elements—Korean Origins and Records—Religion—The Korean Script—The Japanese—Origins—Constituent Elements—The Ebisu Aborigines—Japanese and Liu-kiu Islanders—Their Languages and Religions—Cult of the Dead—Shintoism and Buddhism.

CONSPECTUS.

Primeval Home. *The Central Asiatic Steppe between the Kuen-lun and Altai Mountains.* **Distribution in Past and Present Times.**

Present Range. *The Northern Hemisphere from Japan to Lapland, and from the Arctic Ocean to the Great Wall and Tibet; Aralo-Caspian Basin; Parts of Irania; Asia Minor; Parts of East Russia, Balkan Peninsula, and Lower Danube.*

Hair, *generally the same as South Mongol, but in Mongolo-Caucasic transitional groups brown, chestnut, and even towy or light flaxen, also wavy and ringletty; beard mostly absent except amongst the Western Turks and some Koreans.* **Physical Characters.**

Colour. *Light or dirty yellowish amongst all true Mongols and Siberians; very variable (white, sallow, swarthy) in the transitional groups (Finns, Lapps, Magyars, Bulgars, Western Turks), and many Manchus and Koreans; in Japan the unexposed parts of the body also white.*

Skull, *highly brachy in the true Mongol* (80° *to* 85°)*; variable (sub-brachy and sub-dolicho) in most transitional groups and even some Siberians (Ostyaks and Voguls* 77°). **Jaws, Cheek-bones, Nose,** *and* **Eyes** *much the same as in South Mongols; but nose often large and straight, and eyes straight, greyish, or even blue in Finns, Manchus, Koreans, and some other Mongolo-Caucasians.*

Stature, *usually short (below* 5 *ft.* 6 *in.), but many Manchus and Koreans tall* (5 *ft.* 8 *or* 10 *in. and even* 6 *ft.*). **Lips, Arms, Legs, and Feet** *usually the same as South Mongols; but Japanese legs disproportionately short.*

Mental Characters.

Temperament, *of all true Mongols and many Mongoloids, dull, reserved, somewhat sullen and apathetic; but in some groups (Finns, Japanese) active and energetic; nearly all brave, warlike, even fierce, and capable of great atrocities, though not normally cruel; within the historic period the character has almost everywhere undergone a marked change from a rude and ferocious to a milder and more humane disposition; ethical tone higher than South Mongol, with more developed sense of right and wrong.*

Speech *very uniform; apparently only one stock language* (**Finno-Tatar** *or* **Ural-Altaic Family**), *a highly typical agglutinating form with no prefixes, but numerous postfixes attached loosely to an unchangeable root, by which their vowels are modified in accordance with subtle laws of vocalic harmony; the chief members of the family (Finnish, Magyar, Turkish, Mongol, and especially Korean and Japanese) diverge greatly from the common prototype.*

Religion, *originally spirit-worship through a mediator* (Shaman), *perhaps everywhere, and still exclusively prevalent amongst Siberian and all other uncivilized groups;*

all Mongols proper, Manchus, and Koreans nominal Buddhists; all Turki peoples Moslem; Japanese Buddhists and Shintoists; Finns, Lapps, Bulgars, Magyars, and some Siberians real or nominal Christians.

Culture, *rude and barbaric rather than savage amongst the Siberian aborigines, who are nearly all nomadic hunters and fishers with half-wild reindeer herds but scarcely any industries; the Mongols proper, Kirghiz, Uzbegs and Turkomans semi-nomadic pastors; the Anatolian and Balkan Turks, Manchus, and Koreans settled agriculturists, with scarcely any arts or letters and no science; Japanese, Finns, Bulgars, and Magyars civilized up to, and in some respects beyond the European average (Magyar and Finnish literature, Japanese art).*

Main Divisions.

Mongol Proper. *Sharra (Eastern), Kalmak (Western), Buryat (Siberian) Mongol.*

Tungus. *Tungus proper, Manchu, Gold, Oroch, Lamut.*

Korean; Japanese *and* **Liu-Kiu.**

Turki. *Yakut; Kirghiz; Uzbeg; Taranchi; Kara-Kalpak; Nogai; Turkoman; Anatolian; Osmanli.*

Finno-Ugrian. *Baltic Finn; Lapp; Samoyad; Cheremiss; Votyak; Vogul; Ostyak; Bulgar; Magyar.*

East Siberian. *Yukaghir; Chukchi; Koryak; Kamchadale; Gilyak.*

Domain of the Northern Mongols.

BY "Northern Mongols" are here to be understood all those branches of the Mongol Division of mankind which are usually comprised under the collective geographical expression *Ural-Altaic*, to which corresponds the ethnical designation *Mongolo-Tatar*, or more properly *Mongolo-Turki*[1]. Their domain is roughly separated from that of the Southern Mongols (Chap. VI.) by the Great Wall and the Kuen-lun range, beyond which it spreads out westwards over most of Western Asia, and a considerable part of North Europe, with many scattered groups in Central and South Russia, the Balkan Peninsula, and the Middle Danube basin. In the

[1] As fully explained in *Eth.* p. 303.

extreme north their territory stretches from the shores of the Pacific with Japan and parts of Sakhalin continuously westwards across Korea, Siberia, Central and North Russia to Finland and Lapland. But its southern limits can be indicated only approximately by a line drawn from the Kuen-lun range westwards along the northern escarpments of the Iranian plateau, and round the southern shores of the Caspian to the Mediterranean. This line, however, must be drawn in such a way as to include Afghan Turkestan, much of the North Persian and Caucasian steppes, and nearly the whole of Asia Minor, while excluding Armenia, Kurdestan, and Syria.

Early Contact with Caucasic Peoples.

Nor is it to be supposed that even within these limits the North Mongol territory is everywhere continuous. In East Europe especially, where they are for the most part comparatively recent intruders, the Mongols are found only in isolated and vanishing groups in the Lower and Middle Volga basin, the Crimea, and the North Caucasian steppe, and in more compact bodies in Rumelia, Bulgaria, and Hungary. Throughout all these districts, however, the process of absorption or assimilation to the normal European physical type is so far completed that many of the Nogai and other Russian "Tartars," as they are called, the Volga and Baltic Finns, the Magyars, and Osmanli Turks, would scarcely be recognised as members of the North Mongol family but for their common Finno-Turki speech, and the historic evidence by which their original connection with this division is established beyond all question.

In Central Asia also (North Irania, the Aralo-Caspian and Tarim basins) the Mongols have been in close contact with Caucasic peoples probably since the New Stone Age, and here intermediate types have been developed, by which an almost unbroken transition has been brought about between the yellow and the white races.

Primitive Man in Siberia and Mongolia.

It is often assumed that these Central Asiatic lands could not have been occupied by Neolithic man, because of the great inland seas, which formerly flooded the whole region, and drained through the Obi north to the Arctic Ocean, till a new outlet was found to the Mediterranean

through the Bosphorus and the Hellespont. But these inland waters belonged to an earlier period, and the presence of primitive peoples in Western Asia is now placed beyond reasonable doubt, especially by the explorations of Prof. N. Th. Kashchenko in the Tomsk district. Here were brought to light in 1896 the remains of a mammoth 12 feet below the surface of a cliff which stands 136 feet above the present level of the river Tom. Only a few small bones of the skeleton were missing, and with it were associated thirty flint knives, besides scrapers and about 100 flakes. The large bones were split in the usual way for the extraction of the marrow, and there were other clear indications of the presence of man[1]. No doubt the mammoth, as many hold, may have survived till comparatively late times in Siberia, but the position, and various other circumstances exclude any recent date for the present find.

But, with the progress of archæological research, it becomes daily more evident that the whole of the North Mongol domain, from Finland to Japan, has passed through the Stone and Metal Ages, like most other habitable parts of the globe. During his wanderings in Siberia and Mongolia in the early nineties, Herr Hans Leder[2] came upon countless prehistoric stations, kurgans (barrows), stone circles, and many megalithic monuments of various types. In West Siberia the barrows, which consist solely of earth without any stone-work, are by the present inhabitants called *Chudskiye Kurgani*, "Chudish Graves," and, as in North Russia, this term "Chude" is ascribed to a now vanished unknown race which formerly inhabited the land. To them, as to the "Toltecs" in Central America, all ancient monuments are credited, and while some regard them as prehistoric Finns[3], others

[1] The finder thinks "dass wir hier die Reste eines zufälligen Mahles vor uns haben" (Paper read at the Congress of Russian Archæologists, Riga, August, 1896). See also S. K. Kuznesov: *Fund eines Mammutskelettes* &c. in *Mitt. d. Anthrop. Ges.* Vienna, 1896, XVI. p. 186. On the strength of this find Herr Kuznesov infers rather prematurely that the cradle of the European Paleolithic Man is now to be sought in Siberia.

[2] *Ueber Alte Grabstätten in Sibirien und der Mongolei*, in *Mitt. d. Anthrop. Ges.* Vienna, 1895, XXV. 9.

[3] This seems to be the view of Stephen Sommier, who calls them "certamente un popolo permiano," that is, Alfred's *Beormas*, who seemed to speak

identify them with the historic Scythians, the Scythians of Herodotus.

There are reasons, however, for thinking that the Chudes may represent an earlier race, the men of the Stone Age, who, migrating from north Europe eastwards, had reached the Tom valley (which drains to the Obi) before the extinction of the mammoth, and later spread over the whole of northern Asia, leaving everywhere evidence of their presence in the megalithic monuments now being daily brought to light in East Siberia, Mongolia, Korea, and Japan. This view receives support from the characters of two skulls found in 1895 by A. P. Mostitz in one of the five prehistoric stations on the left bank of the Sava affluent of the Selenga river, near Ust-Kiakta in Trans-Baikalia. They differ markedly from the normal Buriat (Siberian Mongol) type, recalling rather the long-shaped skulls of the South Russian kurgans, with cephalic indexes 73·2 and 73·5, as measured by M. J. D. Talko-Hryncewicz[1]. Thus, in the very heart of the Mongol domain, the characteristically round-headed race would appear to have been preceded, as in Europe, by a long-headed type, presumably that of early Neolithic man everywhere.

In East Siberia, and especially in the Lake Baikal region, Herr Leder found extensive tracts strewn with kurgans, many of which have already been explored, and their contents deposited in the Irkutsk museum. Amongst these are great numbers of stone implements, and objects made of bone and mammoth tusks, besides carefully worked copper ware, betraying technical skill and some artistic taste in the designs. In Trans-Baikalia, still farther east, with the kurgans are associated the so-called *Kameni Babi*, "Stone Women," monoliths rough-hewn in the form of human figures. Many of these monoliths bear inscriptions,

nearly the same language as the Finns: "Þa Finnas, him þúhte, and þa Beormas spræcon neah án geðeode" (Oros. I. Ch. I. 14). But these extremely rude nomads could scarcely have been the somewhat cultured Chudes, that "popolo mitico al quale si attribuiscono tutte le reliquie archeologiche in quelle parti della Siberia e nel settentrione della Russia d' Europa" (Sommier, *Sirieni, Ostiacchi e Samoiedi dell' Ob.* Florence, 1887, p. 49).

[1] Th. Volkov, in *L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 82.

which, however, appear to be of recent date (mostly Buddhist prayers and formularies), and are not to be confounded with the much older rock inscriptions deciphered by W. Thomsen through the Turki language.

Continuing his investigations in Mongolia proper, Herr Leder here also discovered earthen kurgans, which, however, differed from those of Siberia by being for the most part surmounted either with circular or rectangular stone structures, or else with monoliths. They are called *Kürüktsür* by the present inhabitants, who hold them in great awe, and never venture to touch them. Unfortunately strangers also are unable to examine their contents, all disturbance of the ground with spade or shovel being forbidden under pain of death by the Chinese officials, for fear of awakening the evil spirits, now slumbering peacefully below the surface. But so far as may be inferred from the absence of bronze in the Siberian mounds, all these ancient burial places would appear to belong to the New Stone and Copper Periods. This alone would imply an antiquity of several thousand years, because bronze, usually assumed to be of Asiatic origin, is now supposed to have reached Europe not later than about 3000 B.C., possibly much earlier.

Early Man in Korea and Japan.

Such an antiquity is indeed required to explain the spread of neolithic remains to the Pacific seaboard, and especially to Korea and Japan. In Korea Mr W. Gowland examined a dolmen 30 miles from Seul, which he describes and figures[1], and which is remarkable especially for the disproportionate size of the capstone, a huge undressed megalith 14½ by over 13 feet. He refers to four or five others, all in the northern part of the peninsula, and regards them as "intermediate in form between a cist and a dolmen." But he thinks it probable that they were never covered by mounds, but always stood as monuments above ground, in this respect differing from the Japanese, "which without exception are all buried in tumuli." In some of their features these present a curious resemblance to the Brittany structures, having either "a distinct chamber which is approached by a gallery of greater

[1] *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1895, p. 318 sq.

or less length, and narrower than the chamber itself, or more rarely, they are of the form known as *allée couverte*, in which the space enclosed by the side stones resembles a long gallery of considerable dimensions."

Besides these dolmens Japan contains many other memorials of a remote past—shell mounds, cave-dwellings, and in Yezo certain pits, which are not occupied by the present Ainu population, but are by them attributed to the *Koro-pok-guru*, "People of the Hollows," who occupied the land before their arrival, and lived in huts built over these pits. Similar remains on an islet near Nemuro on the north-east coast of Yezo are said by the Japanese to have belonged to the *Kobito*, a dwarfish race exterminated by the Ainu, hence apparently identical with the Koro-pok-guru. They are associated by Mr John Milne with some primitive peoples of the Kurile Islands, Sakhalin, and Kamchatka, who, like the Eskimo of the American coast, had extended formerly much farther south than at present.

In a kitchen-midden, 330 by 200 feet, near Shiidzuka in the province of Ibaraki, the Japanese antiquaries S. Yagi and M. Shinomura[1] have found numerous objects belonging to the Stone Age of Japan. Amongst them were flint implements, worked bones, ashes, pottery, and a whole series of clay figures of human beings. The finders suggest that these remains may have belonged to a homogeneous race of the Stone Period, who, however, were not the ancestors of the Ainu—hitherto generally regarded as the first inhabitants of Japan. In the national records vague reference is made to other aborigines, such as the "Long-Legs," and the "Eight Wild Tribes," described as the enemies of the first Japanese settlers in Kiu-shiu, and reduced by Jimmu Tenno, the semi-mythical founder of the present dynasty; the *Ebisu*, who are probably to be identified with the Ainu; and the *Seki-Manzi*, "Stone Men," also located in the southern island of Kiu-shiu. The last-mentioned, of whom, however, little further is known, seem to have the best claim to be associated with the above described remains of early man in Japan.

[1] *Zur Prähistorik Japans*, *Globus*, 1896, No. 10.

In the extreme west the present Mongol peoples, being quite recent intruders, can in no way be connected with the abundant prehistoric relics daily brought to light in that region (South Russia, the Balkan Peninsula, Hungary). The same remark applies even to Finland itself, which was at one time supposed to be the cradle of the Finnish people, but is now shown to have been first occupied by Germanic tribes. From an exhaustive study of the bronze-yielding tumuli A. Hackman[1] concludes that the population of the Bronze Period was Teutonic, and in this he agrees both with Montelius and with W. Thomsen. The latter holds on linguistic grounds that at the beginning of the new era the Finns still dwelt east of the Gulf of Finland, whence they moved west in later times.

Early Man in Finland and East Europe.

With regard to Babylonia, where, as already shown, the remains of the Stone and Metal Ages date back to remote times, the question of their origin is intimately bound up with that of the Finno-Turki origin of the Akkado-Sumerians. Although no general consensus has yet been reached on this obscure subject, it has been somewhat advanced by Dr K. A. Hermann[2], who endeavours to show that the language of the early cuneiform texts has strong affinities with the Ural-Altaic, and more particularly with the Ugro-Finnish member of that family. There are the same phonesis and vowel harmony; similar forms of nouns, numerals, pronouns, and verbs; and a large number of identical words, all of which cannot be accidental. Hence the conclusion that the views of Lenormant and the other "Ural-Altaists" are "well grounded."

Early Man in Babylonia.

[1] *Die Bronzezeit Finnlands*, Helsingfors, 1897.

[2] *Ueber die Summerische Sprache*, Paper read at the Russian Archæological Congress, Riga, 1896. It may be mentioned that the Mongol connection is upheld by Hommel, Oppert, Lenormant, Rawlinson, and G. Smith, and denied by Halevy, Paul Haupt, and Donner, while Pinches, Sayce, Almquist and many others reserve their judgment. Dr Hommel, who gives up the European hypothesis of Aryan origins (*Augsburger Zeitung*, Aug. 28, 1895) now suggests that Akkado-Sumerian holds an intermediate position between the Aryan and the Mongolo-Turki languages. The arguments of Prof. Haupt and Dr Donner on the other side will be found in *Die Akkadische Sprache*, reprint oi a paper read before the Fifth Oriental Congress, 1883. In the Appendix Dr Donner sums up strongly against the Ugro-Altaic theory.

But even so, there is no clear racial continuity between these early Babylonian Mongols and the present Mongol peoples of Western Asia. Some 6000 years ago the Akkado-Sumerians had already been in close contact with the Semitic Assyrians of Mesopotamia[1], and merged with them and the Amorites in a single nationality, the Semitic element of which was afterwards strengthened both by Israelites and Jews, and still later by pre- and post-Muhammadan Arabs. Hence the assumed original Mongol substratum has long been effaced throughout the Tigris-Euphrates basin.

Akkado-Sumerian Origins.

Most authorities agree in locating the Akkads on the northern heights, and the Sumerians on the lowland plains of Chaldæa. But while R. von Ihring, following Hommel, brings both of these Turki tribes, as he calls them, from "their original home in the mountains[2]," others are inclined to the view that they came, not from the north, but by sea from the south, most probably from Minæa in Arabia. Certainly the earliest known settlements—Lagash, Nippur, Erech, and Uru,—lay about or near the head of the Persian Gulf, where Babylonian culture would therefore seem to have first taken root, spreading thence northwards to Akkad, Elam, and Assyria. The Semitic Assyrians themselves, formerly supposed to have come from the northern highlands, are now believed on good grounds to have reached Mesopotamia from South Arabia[3]. Of the two Babylonian dialects also, the Sumerian of the southern

[1] "The Sumerians had already mingled closely with the Semites when we first hear of them. Their language gave way to the Semitic and tended gradually to become a language of ceremony and ritual. Their religion became assimilated to the religion, and their gods identified with the gods of the Semites. The process of fusion commenced at such an early date that nothing has really come down to us from the time when the two races were strangers to each other" (Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 551). As regards the Amorites (Aramæans, Syrians) Mr Pinches has shown that this branch of the Semitic family had already founded settlements in Babylonia at least so far back as the time of Khammurabi.

[2] *Vorgeschichte der Indo-Europäer*, English ed. (*Evolution of the Aryan*), 1897, p. 79.

[3] Sayce, *Assyrian Gram.*, Schrader, *Die Ursitze der Semiten* in *Zeitsch. d. D. M. Ges.* XXVII. p. 397.

plains is purer and more archaic than the northern Akkad, which is largely affected by foreign elements; and the Akkads themselves believed that their first settlements lay about the shores of the Persian Gulf, which formerly extended much farther inland than at present.

All this favours a Semitic source of Babylonian culture, the germs of which might well have been supplied by the proto-Minæans of South Arabia, a region already regarded by some as possibly the seat of the first civilisation in the world[1]. On this assumption the honour of having laid the foundations of all human progress would have to be transferred from the Mongol to the Semite, and Prof. E. D. Cope[2] now comes forward with a theory dethroning both Mongol and Semite in favour of the Aryan. He argues that Enshagsagana, the oldest known Akkadian king[3] (4500 B.C. Hilprecht), shows a fine symmetrical figure, large, straight eyes, a large, straight or slightly curved nose, thin lips, and—most significant—a long head. Still it might be asked, was he a proto-Semite? But, apart from physical differences, he spoke a

Relations to the Semites and Aryans.

[1] Prof. Sayce thinks that "from Southern Arabia" may have come the dynasty to which belonged Khammurabi (the Amraphel of Genesis), and "which made Babylon for the first time the capital of a united Babylonia" (*Academy*, Aug. 1, 1896, p. 84). Khammurabi (Hummurabi) flourished about 2000 B.C. and he claimed lineal descent from Ur-bau and Dungi, who had reigned at Ur over the united kingdoms of Summer and Akkad (Lowlands and Highlands) about 2800 B.C.

[2] *The Oldest Civilized Man*, in *The American Naturalist* for August, 1896. It may be stated that with this view L. Wilser is inclined to agree (*Globus*, 70, p. 355).

[3] He called himself "lord" of Kengi, the name by which Babylonia was known in pre-Semitic times,—its religious centre being the great temple of Nippur, dedicated to Ellila, whom the Semites later transformed into their god Bel. To Nippur succeeded Erech, the "city" in a preëminent sense, whose theocratic ruler (*patesi*), Lugal-zaggisi, son of Ukus, subdued the whole of Kengi, and established his sway over all the land from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. Erech yielded in its turn to Ur (the Ur of Genesis), which under Lugal-kigubnidudu became the capital of Chaldæa. Then followed a revival of the glories of Nippur under Sargon I., founder of the first great Semitic empire, and about 1000 years later (2800 B.C.?) the restoration of Ur under Ur-Bau (Ur-Gur) and his son Dungi, who reduced Syria and Palestine.

non-Semitic language, and other not very convincing reasons are advanced to make him out an "Aryan" of the North European type. That men of this type may have penetrated into Mesopotamia at an early date is possible; but if so, a shorter route than North Europe would have been the Eurasian steppe, and they would have come, not as settlers, but as conquerors who, as in so many other places (France, Lombardy, the Deccan), became assimilated in speech and culture to their Akkado-Sumerian subjects. But there are no records of such a conquest, and Enshagsagana was far more probably a proto-Semite than a North European "Aryan."

There is, however, nothing improbable in the early date assigned to this ruler. "We found," writes Dr J. P. Peters, "that Nippur was a great and flourishing city, and its temple, the temple of Bel, the religious centre of the dominant people of the world at a period as much prior to the time of Abraham as the time of Abraham is prior to our day. We discovered written records no less than 6000 years old, and proved that writing and civilisation were then by no means in their infancy. Further than that, our explorations have shown that Nippur possessed a history extending backward of the earliest written documents found by us, at least 2000 years[1]."

These discoveries long antedate the time of Sargon I. and his son Naram-Sin, whose chronology was the earliest hitherto determined (about 3800 B.C.). Despite the legendary matter associated with his memory, Sargon, the Semite, was beyond question a historical person. At Agade were found not only his statue, but also his cylinder, with an inscription beginning: "Sharrukin the mighty king am I," and recording how his mother, a royal princess, concealed his birth by placing him in a rush basket closed with bitumen and sending him adrift on the stream, from which he was rescued by Akki the water-carrier, who brought him up as his own child. The incident, about which there is nothing miraculous, presents a curious parallel, if it be not the source of, similar tales related of Moses, Cyrus, and other ancient leaders of men. Sargon also tells us that he ruled from his capital, Agade,

[1] *Nippur, The Narrative of the University of Pennsylvania's Expedition to Babylonia in the years* 1888–96, Philadelphia, 1896–8.

for 45 years over Upper and Lower Mesopotamia, governed the black-heads, as the Akkads are constantly called, rode in many bronze chariots over rugged lands, and made expeditions thrice to the sea-coast. The expeditions are confirmed by inscriptions from Syria, and by the cylinder of his son, Naram-Sin, found by Cesnola in Cyprus. As they also penetrated to Sinai their sway would appear to have extended over the whole of Syria and North Arabia, with Cyprus and perhaps other islands. They erected great structures at Nippur, which was at that time so ancient that Naram-Sin's huge brick platform stood on a mass 30 feet thick of the accumulated débris of earlier buildings. It was from the results of the explorations especially of Dr Peters and Mr Haynes in these débris that Dr Hilprecht wrote: "I do not hesitate to date the founding of the temple of Bel and the first settlements in Nippur somewhere between 6000 and 7000 B.C., and possibly earlier[1]." We come thus within measurable distance of the 10,000 years assigned to the duration of the Historic Period in Mesopotamia and the Nile Valley[2].

Elamite Origins.

Sennacherib's grandson, Ashurbanipal, who belongs to the late Assyrian empire when the centre of power had been shifted from Babylonia to Nineveh, has left recorded on his brick tablets how he overran Elam and destroyed its capital, Susa (645 B.C.). He states that from this place he brought back the effigy of the goddess Nana, which had been carried away from her temple at Erech by an Elamite king by whom Akkad had been conquered 1635 years before, *i.e.* 2280 B.C. Over Akkad Elam ruled 300 years, and it was a king of this dynasty, Khudur-Lagamar, who has been identified by Mr Pinches with the "Chedorlaomer, king of Elam" routed by Abraham (Gen. xiv. 14—17)[3]. Thus is explained the presence of Elamites at this time so far west as Syria, their own seat being amid the Kurdish mountains in the Upper Tigris basin.

The Elamites were probably of the same stock as their Akkad neighbours, a short, robust people with coarse black hair, peaceful,

[1] Quoted in *Academy*, April 30, 1898, p. 465.

[2] *Ethnology*, p. 56.

[3] *Babylonia and Elam Four Thousand Years Ago*, in *Knowledge*, May 1, 1896, p. 116 sq. and elsewhere.

industrious, and skilful husbandmen, with a surprising knowledge of irrigating processes. Even the term "Elam" is said to have the same meaning as "Akkad" (*i.e.* Highland) in contradistinction to "Sumer" (Lowland)[1]. Yet the type would appear to be on the whole rather Semitic, judging at least from the large arched nose and thick beard of the Susian god, Ramman, brought by Ashurbanipal out of Elam, and figured in Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh*, 1st series, Plate 65. This, however, may be explained by the fact that the Elamites were subdued at an early date by intruding Semites, although they afterwards shook off the yoke and became strong enough to conquer Mesopotamia and extend their expeditions to Syria and the Jordan more than 2000 years before the new era. Of Elam, properly Anshad, the capital was the renowned city of Susa (Shushan), whence Susiana, the modern Khuzistan.

Historical Records.

Even after the capture of Susa by Ashurbanipal, Elam again rose to great power under Cyrus the Great, who, however, was no Persian adventurer, as stated by Herodotus, but the legitimate Elamite ruler, as inscribed on his cylinder and tablet now in the British Museum:—"Cyrus, the great king, the king of Babylon, the king of Sumir and Akkad, the king of the four zones, the son of Kambyses, the great king, the king of Elam, the grandson of Cyrus the great king," who by the favour of Merodach has overcome the black-headed people (*i.e.* the Akkads) and at last entered Babylon in peace. On an earlier cylinder Nabonidus, last king of Babylon, tells us how this same Cyrus subdued the Medes—here called *Mandas*, "Barbarians"—and captured their king Astyages and his capital Ekbatana. But although Cyrus, hitherto supposed to be a Persian and a Zoroastrian monotheist, here appears as an Elamite and a polytheist, "it is pretty certain that although descended from Elamite kings, these were [at that

[1] It should be noted that neither Akkad nor Sumer occurs in the oldest texts, where Akkad is called *Kish* from the name of its capital, and Sumer Kiengi (Kengi), said to mean the "land of reeds and canals." Kish has been identified with the Kush of Gen. x., one of the best abused words in Palethnology. For this identification, however, there is some ground, seeing that Kush is mentioned in the closest connection with "Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar" (Mesopotamia) *v.* 10.

time] kings of Persian race, who, after the destruction of the old [Elamite] monarchy by Ashurbanipal, had established a new dynasty at the city of Susa. Cyrus always traces his descent from Achæmenes, the chief of the leading Persian clan of Pasargadæ[1]." Hence although wrong in speaking of Cyrus as an adventurer, Herodotus rightly calls him a Persian, and at this late date Elam itself may well have been already Aryanised in speech[2], while still retaining its old Akkadian religion. The Babylonian pantheon survived, in fact, till the time of Darius Hystaspes, who introduced Zoroastrianism with its supreme gods, Ahura-Mazda, creator of all good, and Ahriman, author of all evil.

Babylonian Religion.

The Akkadian deities, thus superseded by the eternal principles of light and darkness, had themselves "begun by being the actual material of the element which was their attribute," and of which they successively became the spirit and the ruler. They continued at first to reside in this element, but in course of time were separated from it, each being free to enter a rival's domain, dwell in, and even rule the world from it, till at last most of them came to be identified with the firmament. Bel, the lord of the earth, and Ea, ruler of the waters, passed into the heavens, which did not originally belong to them. Here they took their place beside Ana (Anu), who, at first the material heaven itself, the starry vault encompassing the earth, became successively the spirit of heaven (Zi-Ana) and the supreme ruler of the universe. This transformation of the primitive spirit into a personal god-king was, according to

[1] S. Laing, *Human Origins*, p. 74.

[2] And it has remained so ever since, the present Lur and Bakhtiari inhabitants of Susiana speaking, not the standard Neo-Persian, but dialects of the ruder Kurdish branch of the Iranian family, as if they had been Aryanised from Media, the capital of which was Ekbatana. We have here, perhaps, a clue to the origin of the Medes themselves, who were certainly the above-mentioned Mandas of Nabonidus, their capital being also the same Ekbatana. Now Sayce (*Academy*, Sept. 7, 1895, p. 189) identified the Kimmerians with these Manda nomads, whose king Tukdammé (Tugdammé) was the Lygdanis of Strabo (I. 3, 16), who led a horde of Kimmerians into Lydia and captured Sardis. We know from Esar-haddon's inscriptions that by the Assyrians these Kimmerians were called Manda, their prince Teupsa (Teispe) being described as "of the people of the Manda." An oracle given to

Lenormant, due specially to the Semites[1], but neither the Chaldæans nor the Egyptians ever evolved the conception of an absolutely supreme being. The supreme god, whose existence the early Assyriologists thought they had discovered (H. and G. Rawlinson), was as much a being of their own invention as the supreme god imagined by Egyptologists to occupy the highest position in the Egyptian pantheon (*ib.*)[2]. Indeed much of the Chaldæan system passed into a condition hardly to be distinguished from the fetishism of the African negro. "The spirit of the god inspired whatever seemed good to him, and frequently entered into objects where we should least have expected to find it. It animated stones, particularly such as fall from heaven, also trees, as, for example, the tree of Eridhu, which uttered oracles. Such objects, when it was once ascertained that they were imbued with the divine spirit, were placed upon the altar and worshipped with as much veneration as were the statues themselves. Animals, however, never became objects of habitual worship as in Egypt[3]."

As in all primitive beliefs, morality is found still entirely dissociated from religion. Thus in Aralu, the Chaldæan Hades,

Esar-haddon begins: "The Kimmerian in the mountains has set fire in the land of Ellip," *i.e.* the land where Ekbatana was afterwards founded, which is now shown to have already been occupied by the Kimmerian or Manda hordes. It follows that Kimmerians, Mandas, Medes with their modern Kurd and Bakhtiari representatives, were all one people, who were almost certainly of Aryan speech, if not actually of proto-Aryan stock.

[1] *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 144 sq.; quoted by Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* p. 644.

[2] As the idea of a primitive universal revelation, from which that of a supreme being cannot be separated, seems to be at least suggested as possible by Mr A. Lang in *The Making of Religion* (1898), it may be again pointed out that such a sublime notion is immeasurably beyond the power of early man, whose cranial capacity did not greatly exceed that of the Javanese precursor (see diagram p. 6). The monotheistic conception could never have been the starting point, and was in fact arrived at in quite late times by a continuous process of elimination. In his *Mythologie des Slaves et des Finnois* (*Rev. Mens. de l'Ecole d'Anthrop.* 1897, p. 225 sq.), M. A. Lefèvre shows that even *Bog*, supposed to be the *Deus* of the proto-Slavs, and the dualism represented by *Cernobog* and *Belbog*, are all later developments of the Slav pantheon.

[3] *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 642.

all are judged by the goddess Beltis-Allat, who, however, is little influenced by the good or bad lives led by the departed. Almost everything depends on their attitude towards the gods, including Allat herself; they are punished for having neglected the service of the temples, and rewarded in proportion to the sacrifices and offerings made at the shrines of the gods.

Social System.

How the family expands through the clan and tribe into the nation, is clearly seen in the Chaldæan social system, in which the inhabitants of each city were still "divided into clans, all of whose members claimed to be descended from a common ancestor who had flourished at a more or less remote period. The members of each clan were by no means all in the same social position, some having gone down in the world, others having raised themselves; and amongst them we find many different callings—from agricultural labourers to scribes, and from merchants to artisans. No natural tie existed among the majority of these members except the remembrance of their common origin, perhaps also a common religion, and eventual rights of succession or claims upon what belonged to each one individually[1]." The god or goddess, it is suggested, who watched over each man, and of whom each was the son, was originally the god or goddess of the clan (its totem). So also in Egypt, the members of the community were all supposed to come of the same stock (*páit*), and to belong to the same family (*páitu*), whose chiefs (*ropáitu*) were the guardians of the family, several groups of such families being under a *ropáitú-há*, or head chief[2].

Amongst the local institutions, it is startling to find a fully developed ground-landlord system, though not quite so bad as that still patiently endured in England, already flourishing ages ago in Babylonia. "The cost of repairs fell usually on the lessee, who was also allowed to build on the land he had leased, in which case it was declared free of all charges for a period of about ten years; but the house and, as a rule, all he had built, then reverted to the landlord[3]."

In many other respects great progress had been made, and it

[1] *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 733.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 71.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 752.

is the belief of von Ihring[1], Hommel[2] and others that from Babylonia was first diffused a knowledge of letters, astronomy, agriculture, navigation, architecture, and other arts, to the Nile valley, and mainly through Egypt to the Western World, and through Irania to China and India. In this generalisation there is probably a large measure of truth, although it will be seen farther on that the Asiatic origin of Egyptian culture is still far from being proved.

General Culture.

One element the two peoples certainly had in common—a highly developed agricultural system, which formed the foundation of their greatness, and was maintained in a rainless climate by a stupendous system of irrigation works. Such works were carried out on a prodigious scale by the ancient Babylonians six or eight thousand years ago. The plains of the Lower Euphrates and Tigris, since rendered desolate under Turkish misrule, are intersected by the remains of an intricate network of canalisation covering all the space between the two rivers, and are strewn with the ruins of many great cities, whose inhabitants, numbering scores of thousands, were supported by the produce of a highly cultivated region, which is now an arid waste varied only by crumbling mounds, stagnant waters, and the camping-grounds of a few Arab tent-dwellers.

The Mongols Proper.

Those who attach weight to distinctive racial qualities have always found a difficulty in attributing this wonderful civilisation to the same Mongolic people, who in their own homes have scarcely anywhere advanced beyond the hunting, fishing, or pastoral states. But it has always to be remembered that man, like all other zoological forms, necessarily reflects the character of his environment. The Akkads, if Mongols, naturally became husbandmen in the alluvial Mesopotamian lands, while the kindred people who give their name to the whole ethnical division and present its physical characters in an exaggerated form, still remain tented nomads on the dry Central Asiatic steppe, which yields little but herbage, and is suitable for tillage only in a few more favoured districts.

[1] *Vorgeschichte* &c., Book II. *passim*.
[2] *Geschichte Babyloniens u. Assyriens*.

Here the typical Mongols, cut off from the arable lands of South Siberia by the Tian-shan and Altai ranges, and to some extent denied access to the rich fluvial valleys of the Middle Kingdom by the barrier of the Great Wall, have for ages led a pastoral life in the inhabitable tracts and oases of the Gobi wilderness and the Ordos region within the great bend of the Hoang-ho. During the historic period these natural and artificial ramparts have been several times surmounted by fierce Mongol hordes, pouring like irresistible flood-waters over the whole of China and many parts of Siberia, and extending their predatory or conquering expeditions across the more open northern plains westwards nearly to the shores of the Atlantic. But such devastating torrents, which at intervals convulsed and caused dislocations amongst half the settled populations of the globe, had little effect on the tribal groups that remained behind. These continued and continue to occupy the original camping-grounds, as changeless and uniform in their physical appearance, mental characters, and social usages as the Arab bedouins and all other inhabitants of monotonous undiversified steppe lands.

Physical Type.

De Ujfalvy's suggestion that the typical Mongols of the plains, with whom we are now dealing, were originally a long-headed race, can scarcely be taken seriously. At present and, in fact, throughout historic times, all true Mongol peoples are and have been distinguished by a high degree of brachycephaly, with cephalic index generally from 87 upwards, and it may be remembered that the highest known index of any undeformed skull was that of Huxley's Mongol (98·21). But, as already noticed, those recovered from prehistoric, or neolithic kurgans, are found to be dolichocephalous like those of palæolithic and early neolithic man in Europe.

Taken in connection with the numerous prehistoric remains above recorded from all parts of Central Asia and Siberia, this fact may perhaps help to bring de Ujfalvy's view into harmony with the actual conditions. Everything will be explained by assuming that the proto-Mongolic tribes, spreading from the Tibetan plateau over the plains now bearing their name, found that region already occupied by the long-headed Caucasic peoples of the Stone Ages, whom they either exterminated or drove north

to the Altai uplands, and east to Manchuria and Korea, where a strong Caucasic strain still persists. De Ujfalvy's long-heads would thus be, not the proto-Mongols who were always round-headed, but the long-headed neolithic pre-Mongol race expelled by them from Mongolia.

Ethnical and Administrative Divisions.

That this region has been their true home since the first migrations from the south there can be no doubt. Here land and people stand in the closest relation one to the other; here every conspicuous physical feature recalls some popular memory; every rugged crest is associated with the name of some national hero, every lake or stream is still worshipped or held in awe as a local deity, or else the abode of the ancestral shades. Here also the Mongols proper form two main divisions, *Sharra* in the east and *Kalmúk* in the west, while a third group, the somewhat mixed *Buryats*, have long been settled in the Siberian provinces of Irkutsk and Trans-Baikalia. Under the Chinese semi-military administration all except the Buryats, who are Russian subjects, are constituted since the 17th century in 41 *Aimaks* (large tribal groups or principalities with hereditary khans) and 226 *Koshungs*, "Banners," that is, smaller groups whose chiefs are dependent on the khans of their respective Aimaks, who are themselves directly responsible to the imperial government. Subjoined is a table of these administrative divisions, which present a curious but effective combination of the tribal and political systems, analogous to the arrangement in Pondoland and some other districts in Cape Colony, where the hereditary tribal chief assumes the functions of a responsible British magistrate.

Tribal or Territorial Divisions	Aimaks (Principalities)	Koshungs (Banners)
Khalkas	4	86
Inner Mongolia with Ordos	25	51
Chakars	1	8
Ala-Shan	1	3
Koko-nor and Tsaidam	5	29
Zungaria	4	32
Uriankhai	1	17
	41	226



1. LAO WOMAN.
(Shan Type.)



2. SAMAGHIR.
(East Mongol Type.)



3. KALMUK WOMAN, PROFILE.
(West Mongol Type.)



4. KALMUK WOMAN, FULL FACE.
(West Mongol Type.)

To face page 284]

Since their organization in Aimaks and Koshungs, the Mongols have ceased to be a terror to the surrounding peoples. The incessant struggles between these tented warriors and the peaceful Chinese populations, which began long before the dawn of history, were brought to a close with the overthrow of the Zungarian power in the 18th century, when their political cohesion was broken, and the whole nation reduced to a state of abject helplessness, from which they cannot now hope to recover. The arm of Chinese rule could be replaced only by the firmer grip of the northern autocrat, whose shadow already lies athwart the Gobi wilderness.

Buddhism.

Thus the only escape from the crushing monotony of a purely pastoral life, no longer relieved by intervals of warlike or predatory expeditions, lies in a survival of the old Shamanist superstitions, or a further development of the degrading Tibetan lamaism represented at Urga by the *Kutukhtu*, an incarnation of the Buddha only less revered than the Dalai Lama himself[1]. Besides this High Priest at Urga, there are over a hundred smaller incarnations—*Gigens*, as they are called—and these saintly beings possess unlimited means of plundering their votaries. The smallest favour, the touch of their garments, a pious ejaculation or blessing, is regarded as a priceless spiritual gift, and must be paid for with costly offerings. Even the dead do not escape these exactions. However disposed of, whether buried or cremated, like the khans and lamas, or exposed to beasts and birds of prey, as is the fate of the common folk, "masses," which also command a high price, have to be said for forty days to relieve their souls from the torments of the Buddhist purgatory.

It is a singular fact, which, however, may perhaps admit of explanation, that nearly all the true Mongol peoples have been Buddhists since the spread of Sakya Muni's teachings

[1] It is noteworthy that *Dalai*, "Ocean," is itself a Mongol word, though *Lama*, "Priest," is Tibetan. The explanation is that in the 13th century a local incarnation of Buddha was raised by the then dominant Mongols to the first rank, and this title of *Dalai Lama*, the "Ocean Priest," *i.e.* the Priest of fathomless wisdom, was bestowed on one of his successors in the 16th century, and still retained by the High Pontiff at Lhasa.

throughout Central Asia, while their Turki kinsmen are zealous followers of the Prophet. Thus is seen, for instance, the strange spectacle of two Mongolic groups, the Kirghiz of the Turki branch and the Kalmuks of the West Mongol branch, encamped side by side on the Lower Volga plains, the former all under the banner of the Crescent, the latter devout worshippers of all the incarnations of Buddha. But analogous phenomena occur amongst the European peoples, the Teutons being mainly Protestants, those of neo-Latin speech mainly Roman Catholics, and the Easterns Orthodox. From all this, however, nothing more can be inferred than that the religions are partly a question of geography, partly determined by racial temperament and political conditions; while the religious sentiment, being universal, is above all local or ethnical considerations.

Under the first term of the expression *Mongolo-Turki* (p. 267) are comprised, besides the Mongols proper, nearly all those branches of the division which lie to the east and north-east of Mongolia, and are in most respects more closely allied with the Mongol than with the Turki section. Such are the *Tunguses*, with the kindred *Manchus*, *Golds*, *Orochons*, *Lamuts*, and others of the Amur basin, the Upper Lena head-streams, the eastern affluents of the Yenisei, and the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk; the *Gilyaks* about the Amur estuary and in the northern parts of Sakhalin; the *Kamchadales* in South Kamchatka; in the extreme north-east the *Koryaks*, *Chukchis*, and *Yukaghirs*; lastly the *Koreans*, *Japanese*, and *Liu-Kiu* (*Lu-Chu*) *Islanders*. To the Mongol section thus belong nearly all the peoples lying between the Yenisei and the Pacific (including most of the adjacent archipelagos), and between the Great Wall and the Arctic Ocean. The only two exceptions are the *Yakuts* of the middle and lower Lena and neighbouring arctic rivers, who are of Turki stock; and the *Ainus* of Yezo, South Sakhalin, and some of the Kurile Islands, who belong to the Caucasic division.

The Tunguses.

A striking illustration of the general statement that the various cultural states are a question not of race, but of environment[1], is afforded by the varying social conditions of the wide-spread Tungus family, who

[1] *Ethnology*, p. 215.

are fishers on the Arctic coast, hunters in the East Siberian woodlands, and for the most part sedentary tillers of the soil and townspeople in the rich alluvial valleys of the Amur and its southern affluents. The Russians, from whom we get the term Tungus[1], recognise these various pursuits, and speak of *Horse*, *Cattle*, *Reindeer*, *Dog*, *Steppe*, and *Forest* Tunguses, besides the settled farmers and stock-breeders of the Amur. Their original home appears to have been the Shan-Alin uplands, where they dwelt with the kindred *Niu-Chi* (Manchus) till the 13th century, when the disturbances brought about by the wars and conquests of Jenghiz Khan drove them to their present seat in East Siberia. The type, although essentially Mongolic in the somewhat flat features, very prominent cheek-bones, slant eyes, long lank hair, yellowish brown colour and low stature, seems to show admixture with a higher race in the shapely frame, the nimble, active figure, and quick, intelligent expression, and especially in the variable skull. While generally round (indices 80° to 84°), the head is sometimes flat on the top, like that of the true Mongol, sometimes high and short, which, as Dr Hamy tells us, is specially characteristic of the Turki race[2].

Cradle and Type.

1 Either from the Chinese *Tunghu*, "Eastern Barbarians," or from the Turki *Tinghiz*, as in Isaac Massa: *per interpretes se Tingoesi vocari dixerunt* (*Descriptio* etc., Amsterdam, 1612). But there is no collective national name, and at present they call themselves *Don-ki*, *Boía*, *Boíe*, etc., terms all meaning "Men," "People." In the Chinese records they are referred to under the name of *I-lu* so early as 263 A.D., when they dwelt in the forest region between the Upper Temen and Yalu rivers on the one hand and the Pacific Ocean on the other, and paid tribute in kind—sable furs, bows, and stone arrow-heads. Arrows and stone arrow-heads were also the tribute paid to the emperors of the Shang dynasty (1766–1154 B.C.) by the *Su-shen*, who dwelt north of the Liao-tung peninsula, so that we have here official proof of a Stone Age of long duration in Manchuria. Later, the Chinese chronicles mention the *U-ki* or *Mo-ho*, a warlike people of the Sungari valley and surrounding uplands, who in the 7th century founded the kingdom of *Pu-haï*, overthrown in 925 by the Khitans of the Lower Sungari below its Noni confluence, who were themselves Tunguses and according to some Chinese authorities the direct ancestors of the Manchus (Howorth, *passim*).

2 "C'est la tendance de la tête à se développer en hauteur, juste en sens inverse de l'aplatissement vertical du Mongol. La tête du Turc est donc à la fois plus haute et plus courte" (*L'Anthropologie*, VI. 3, p. 8).

Mental Characters.

All observers speak in enthusiastic language of the temperament and moral qualities of the Tunguses, and particularly of those groups that roam the forests about the Tunguska tributaries of the Yenisei, which take their name from these daring hunters and trappers. "Full of animation and natural impulse, always cheerful even in the deepest misery, holding themselves and others in like respect, of gentle manners and poetic speech, obliging without servility, unaffectedly proud, scorning falsehood, and indifferent to suffering and death, the Tunguses are unquestionably an heroic people[1]."

Shamanism.

A few have been brought within the pale of the Orthodox Church, and in the extreme south some are classed as Buddhists. But the great bulk of the Tungus nation are still Shamanists. Indeed the very word *Shaman* is of Tungus origin, though current also amongst the Buryats and Yakuts. It is often taken to be the equivalent of priest; but in point of fact it represents a stage in the development of natural religion which has scarcely yet reached the sacerdotal state. "Although in many cases the shamans act as priests, and take part in popular and family festivals, prayers, and sacrifices, their chief importance is based on the performance of duties which distinguish them sharply from ordinary priests[2]." Their functions are threefold, those of the medicine-man (the leech, or healer by supernatural means); of the soothsayer (the prophet through communion with the invisible world); and of the priest, especially in his capacity as exorcist, and in his general power to influence, control, or even coerce the good and evil spirits on behalf of their votaries. But as all spirits are, or were originally, identified with the souls of the departed, it follows that in its ultimate analysis Shamanism resolves itself into a form of ancestry-worship.

The system, of which there are many phases reflecting the different cultural states of its adherents, still prevails amongst all the Siberian aborigines, and generally amongst all the uncivilised Ural-Altaic populations, so that here again the religions strictly reflect the social condition of the peoples. Thus the somewhat

[1] Reclus, VI.; Eng. ed. p. 360.

[2] V. M. Mikhailovskii, *Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia*, Translated by Oliver Wardrop, *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1895, p. 91.

cultured Finns, Turks, Mongols, and Manchus are all either Christians, Muhammadans, or Buddhists; while the uncultured but closely related Samoyads, Ostyaks, Orochons, Tunguses, Golds, Gilyaks, Koryaks, and Chukchi, are almost without exception Shamanists.

The shamans do not appear to constitute a special caste or sacerdotal order, like the hierarchies of the Christian Churches. Some are hereditary, some elected by popular vote, so to say. They may be either men, or women (*shamanka*), married or single; and if "rank" is spoken of, it simply means greater or less proficiency in the performance of the duties imposed on them. Everything thus depends on their personal merits, which naturally gives rise to much jealousy between the members of the craft. Thus amongst the "whites" and the "blacks," that is, those whose dealings are with the good and the bad spirits respectively, there is in some districts a standing feud, often resulting in fierce encounters and bloodshed. The Buryats tell how the two factions throw axes at each other at great distances, the struggle usually ending in the death of one of the combatants. The blacks, who serve the evil spirits, bringing only disease, death, or ill-luck, and even killing people by eating up their souls, are of course the least popular, but also the most dreaded. Many are credited with extraordinary and even miraculous powers, and there can be no doubt that they often act up to their reputation by performing almost incredible conjuring tricks in order to impose on the credulity of the ignorant, or outbid their rivals for the public favour. Old Richard Johnson of Chancelour's expedition to Muscovy records how he saw a Samoyad shaman stab himself with a sword, then make the sword red hot and thrust it through his body, so that the point protruded at the back, and Johnson was able to touch it with his finger. They then bound the wizard tight with a reindeer-rope, and went through some performances curiously like those of the Davenport Brothers and other modern conjurers[1].

To the much-discussed question whether the shamans are impostors, the best answer has perhaps been given by Castrèn,

[1] *Hakluyt*, 1809 ed. I. p. 317 sq.

who, speaking of the same Samoyad magicians, remarks that if they were merely cheats, we should have to suppose that they did not share the religious beliefs of their fellow-tribesmen, but were a sort of rationalists far in advance of the times. Hence it would seem much more probable that they deceived both themselves and others[1], while no doubt many bolster up a waning reputation by playing the mountebank where there is no danger of detection.

"Shamanism amongst the Siberian peoples," concludes our Russian authority, "is at the present time in a moribund condition; it must die out with those beliefs among which alone such phenomena can arise and flourish. Buddhism on the one hand, and Muhammadanism on the other, not to mention Christianity, are rapidly destroying the old ideas of the tribes among whom the shamans performed. Especially has the more ancient Black Faith suffered from the Yellow Faith preached by the lamas. But the shamans, with their dark mysterious rites, have made a good struggle for life, and are still frequently found among the native Christians and Muhammadans. The mullahs and lamas have even been obliged to become shamans to a great extent, and many Siberian tribes, who are nominally Christians, believe in the shamans, and have recourse to them."

The Manchus.

Of all members of the Tungusic family the Manchus alone can be called a historical people. If they were really descended from the *Khitans* of the Sungari valley, then their authentic records will date from the 10th century A.D., when these renowned warriors, after overthrowing the Pu-haï (925), founded the Liao dynasty and reduced a great part of north China and surrounding lands. The Khitans, from whom China was known to Marco Polo as *Khitai* (Cathay), as it still is to the Russians, were conquered in 1125 by the *Niu-chi* (*Yu-chi*, *Nu-chin*) of the Shan-alin uplands, reputed cradle of the Manchu race. These Niu-chi, direct ancestors of the Manchu, founded (1115) the State known as that of the "Golden Tartars," from *Kin*, "gold," the title adopted by their chief Aguta, "because iron (in reference to the *Liao*, 'Iron' dynasty) may rust, but gold remains ever

Origins and Early Records.

[1] Quoted by Mikhailovskii, p. 144.

pure and bright." The Kins, however, retained their brightness only a little over a century, having been eclipsed by Jenghiz-Khan in 1234. But about the middle of the 14th century the Niu-chi again rose to power under Aishiu-Gioro, who, although of miraculous birth and surrounded by other legendary matter, appears to have been a historical person. He may be regarded as the true founder of the Manchu dynasty, for it was in his time that this name came into general use. Sing-tsu, one of his descendants, constructed the palisade, a feeble imitation of the Great Wall, sections of which still exist. Thai-tsu, a still more famous member of the family, greatly extended the Manchu kingdom (1580–1626), and it was his son Tai-dsung who first assumed the imperial dignity under the title of Tai-Tsing. After his death, the Ming dynasty having been overthrown by a rebel chief, the Manchus were invited by the imperialists to aid in restoring order, entered Peking in triumph, and, finding that the last of the Mings had committed suicide, placed Tai-dsung's nephew on the throne, thus founding the still reigning Manchu dynasty (1644).

Such has been the contribution of the Manchu people to history; their contributions to arts, letters, science, in a word, to the general progress of mankind, have been *nil*. They found the Middle Kingdom, after ages of a sluggish growth, in a state of absolute stagnation, and there they have left it. On the other hand their assumption of the imperial administration has brought about their own ruin, their effacement, and almost their very extinction as a separate nationality. Manchuria, like Mongolia, is organised in a number of half military, half civil divisions, the so-called *Paki*, or "Eight Banners," and the constant demand made on these reserves, to support the dynasty and supply trustworthy garrisons for all the strongholds of the empire, has drawn off the best blood of the people, in fact sapped its vitality at the fountain-head. Then the rich arable tracts thus depleted were gradually occupied by agricultural settlers from the south, with the result that the Manchu race has nearly disappeared. From the ethnical standpoint the whole region beyond the Great Wall as far north as the Amur has practically become an integral part of China, and from the political standpoint since 1898 an

integral part of the Russian empire. Towards the middle of the 19th century the Eight Banners numbered scarcely more than a quarter of a million, and about that time the Abbé Huc declared that "the Manchu nationality is destroyed beyond recovery. At present we shall look in vain for a single town or a single village throughout Manchuria which is not exclusively inhabited by Chinese. The local colour has been completely effaced, and except a few nomad groups nobody speaks Manchu[1]."

Similar testimony is afforded by later observers, and the Rev. Henry Lansdell, amongst others, remarks that "the Manchu, during the two centuries they have reigned in China, may be said to have been working out their own annihilation. Their manners, language, their very country has become Chinese, and some maintain that the Manchu proper are now extinct[2]."

Type.

But the type, so far from being extinct, may be said to have received a considerable expansion, especially amongst the populations of north-east China. The taller stature and greatly superior physical appearance of the inhabitants of Tien-tsin and surrounding districts[3] over those of the southern provinces (Fokien, Kwang-tung), who are the chief representatives of the Chinese race abroad, seems best explained by continual crossings with the neighbouring Manchu people, at least since the 12th century, if not earlier.

The Dauri.

Closely related to the Manchus (of the same stock says Sir H. H. Howorth, the distinction being purely political) are the *Dauri*, who give their name to the extensive Daur plateau, and formerly occupied both sides of the Upper

[1] *Souvenirs d'un voyage dans la Tartarie*, 1853, I. 162.

[2] *Through Siberia*, 1882, Vol. II. p. 172.

[3] European visitors often notice with surprise the fine physique of these natives, many of whom average nearly six feet in height. But there is an extraordinary disparity between the two sexes, perhaps greater than in any other country. The much smaller stature and feebler constitution of the women is no doubt due to the detestable custom of crippling the feet in childhood, thereby depriving them of natural exercise during the period of growth. It may be noted that an anti-foot-bandaging movement is now in progress throughout China, the object being to abolish the cruel practice by making the *kin lien* ("golden lilies") unfashionable, and the *ti mien*, the "heavenly feet,"—*i.e.* the natural—popular in their stead.

Amur. Daur is, in fact, the name applied by the Buryats to all the Tungus peoples of the Amur basin. The Dauri proper, who are now perhaps the best representatives of the original Manchu type, would seem to have intermingled at a remote time with the long-headed pre-Mongol populations of central Asia. They are "taller and stronger than the Oronchons [Tungus groups lower down the Amur]; the countenance is oval and more intellectual, and the cheeks are less broad. The nose is rather prominent, and the eyebrows straight. The skin is tawny, and the hair brown[1]." Most of these characters are such as we should expect to find in a people of mixed Mongolo-Caucasic descent, the latter element being derived from the long-headed race who had already reached the present Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea, and the adjacent islands during neolithic times. Thus may be explained the tall stature, somewhat regular features, brown hair, light eyes, and even florid complexion so often observed amongst the present inhabitants of Manchuria, Korea, and parts of North China.

Mongolo-Turki Speech.

But no admixture, except of Chinese literary terms, is seen in the Manchu language, which, like Mongolic, is a typical member of the agglutinating Ural-Altaic family. Despite great differences, lexical, phonetic, and even structural, all the members of this widespread order of speech have in common a number of fundamental features, which justify the assumption that all spring from an original stock language, which has long been extinct, and the germs of which were perhaps first developed on the Tibetan plateau. The essential characters of the system are:—(1) a "root" or notional term, generally a closed syllable, nominal or verbal, with a vowel or diphthong, strong or weak (hard or soft) according to the meaning of the term, hence incapable of change; (2) a number of particles or relational terms somewhat loosely postfixed to the root, but incorporated with it by the principle of (3) vowel harmony, a kind of vocal concordance, in virtue of which the vowels of all the postfixes must harmonise with the unchangeable vowel of the root. If this is strong all the following vowels of the combination, no matter what its length, must be strong; if weak

[1] Lansdell, II. p. 172.

they must conform in the same way. With nominal roots the postfixes are necessarily limited to the expression of a few simple relations; but with verbal roots they are in principle unlimited, so that the multifarious relations of the verb to its subject and object are all incorporated in the verbal compound itself, which may thus run at times to inordinate lengths. Hence we have the expression "incorporating," commonly applied to this agglutinating system, which sometimes goes so far as to embody the notions of causality, possibility, passivity, negation, intensity, condition, and so on, besides the direct pronominal objects, in one interminable conglomerate, which is then treated as a simple verb, and run through all the secondary changes of number, person, tense, and mood. The result is an endless number of theoretically possible verbal forms, which, although in practice naturally limited to the ordinary requirements of speech, are far too numerous to allow of a complete verbal paradigm being constructed of any fully developed member of the Ural-Altaic group, such, for instance, as Yakut, Tungus, Turki, Mordvinian, Finnish, or Magyar.

In this system the vowels are classed as strong or hard (*a*, *o*, *u*), weak or soft (the same *umlauted*: *ä*, *ö*, *ü*), and neutral (generally *e*, *i*), these last being so called because they occur indifferently with the two other classes. Thus, if the determining root vowel is *a* (strong), that of the postfixes may be either *a* (strong), *e* or *i* (neutral); if *ä* (weak), that of the postfixes may be either *ä* (weak), or *e* or *i* as before. The postfixes themselves no doubt were originally notional terms worn down in form and meaning, so as to express mere abstract relation, as in the Magyar *vel* = with, from *veli* = companion. Tacked on to the root *fa* = tree, this will give the ablative case, first unharmonised: *fa-vel*; then harmonised: *fa-val* = tree-with, with a tree. In the early Magyar texts of the 12th century inharmonic compounds, such as *halál-nek*, later *halál-nak* = at death, are numerous, from which it has been inferred that the principle of vowel harmony is not an original feature of the Ural-Altaic languages, but a later development, due in fact to phonetic decay, and still scarcely known in some members of the group, such as Votyak and Highland Cheremissian (Volga Finn). But M. Lucien Adam holds that these idioms have lost the principle

through foreign (Russian) influence, and that the few traces still perceptible are survivals from a time when all the Ural-Altaic tongues were subject to progressive vowel harmony[1].

Language and Racial Characters.

But however this be, Dean Byrne is disposed to regard the alternating energetic utterance of the hard, and indolent utterance of the soft vowel series, as an expression of the alternating active and lethargic temperament of the race, such alternations being themselves due to the climatic conditions of their environment. "Certainly the life of the great nomadic races involves a twofold experience of this kind, as they must during their abundant summer provide for their rigorous winter, when little can be done. Their character, too, involves a striking combination of intermittent indolence and energy; and it is very remarkable that this distinction of roots is peculiar to the languages spoken originally where this great distinction of seasons exists. The fact that the distinction [between hard and soft] is imparted to all the suffixes of a root proves that the radical characteristic which it expresses is thought with these; and consequently that the radical idea is retained in the consciousness while these are added to it[2]."

This is a highly characteristic instance of the methods followed by Dean Byrne in his ingenious but hopeless attempt to explain the subtle structure of speech by the still more subtle temperament of the speaker, taken in connection with the alternating nature of the climate. The feature in question cannot be due to such alternation of mood and climate, because it is persistent throughout all seasons, while the hard and soft elements occur simultaneously, one might say, promiscuously, in conversation under all mental states of those conversing.

The true explanation is given by Schleicher, who points out that progressive vocal assimilation is the necessary result of

[1] *De l'Harmonie des Voyelles dans les Langues Uralo-Altaïques*, 1874, p. 67 sq.

[2] *General Principles of the Structure of Language*, 1885, Vol. I. p. 357. The evidence here chiefly relied upon is that afforded by the Yakutic, a pure Turki idiom, which is spoken in the region of extremest heat and cold (Middle and Lower Lena basin), and in which the principle of progressive assonance attains its greatest development.

agglutination, which by this means binds together the idea and its relations in their outward expression, just as they are already inseparately associated in the mind of the speaker. Hence it is that such assonance is not confined to the Ural-Altaic group, analogous processes occurring at certain stages of their growth in all forms of speech, as in Wolof, Zulu-Xosa, Keltic (expressed by the formula of Irish grammarians: "broad to broad, slender to slender"), and even in Latin, as in such vocalic concordance as: *annus*, *perennis*; *ars*, *iners*; *lego*, *diligo*. In these examples the root vowel is influenced by that of the prefix, while in the Mongolo-Turki family the root vowel, coming first, is unchangeable, but, as explained, influences the vowels of the postfixes, the phonetic principle being the same in both systems.

Mongol and Manchu Script.

Both Mongol and Manchu are cultivated languages, employing modified forms of the Uiguric (Turki) script, which is based on the Syriac introduced by the Christian (Nestorian) missionaries in the 7th century. It was first adopted by the Mongols about 1280, and perfected by the scribe Tsorji Osir under Jenezek Khan (1307–1311). The letters, connected together by continuous strokes, and slightly modified, as in Syriac, according to their position at the beginning, middle, or end of the word, are disposed in vertical columns from left to right, an arrangement due no doubt to Chinese influence. This is the more probable since the Manchus, before the introduction of the Mongol system in the 16th century, employed the Chinese characters ever since the time of the Kin dynasty.

The Yukaghirs.

None of the other Tungusic or north-east Siberian peoples possess any writing system except the Yukaghirs of the Yasachnaya affluent of the Kolyma river, who were visited in 1892 by the Russian traveller, S. Shargorodsky. From his report[1], it appears that this symbolic writing is carved with a sharp knife out of soft fresh birch-bark, these simple materials sufficing to describe the tracks followed on hunting and fishing expeditions, as well as the sentiments of the young women in their correspondence with their sweethearts.

[1] Explained and illustrated by General Krahmer in *Globus*, 1896, p. 208 sq.

Specimens are given of these curious documents, some of which are touching and even pathetic. "Thou goest hence, and I bide alone, for thy sake still to weep and moan," writes one disconsolate maiden to her parting lover. Another with a touch of jealousy: "Thou goest forth thy Russian flame to seek, who stands 'twixt thee and me, thy heart from me apart to keep. In a new home joy wilt thou find, while I must ever grieve, as thee I bear in mind, though another yet there be who loveth me." Or again: "Each youth his mate doth find; my fate alone it is of him to dream, who to another wedded is, and I must fain contented be, if only he forget not me." And with a note of wail: "Thou hast gone hence, and of late it seems this place for me is desolate; and I too forth must fare, that so the memories old I may forget, and from the pangs thus flee of those bright days, which here I once enjoyed with thee."

Details of domestic life may even be given, and one accomplished maiden is able to make a record in her note-book of the combs, shawls, needles, thimble, cake of soap, lollipops, skeins of wool, and other sundries, which she has received from a Yakut packman, in exchange for some clothes she has made him. Without illustrations no description of the process would be intelligible. Indeed it would seem these primitive documents are not always understood by the young folks themselves. They gather at times in groups to watch the process of composition by some expert damsel, the village "notary," and much merriment, we are told, is caused by the blunders of those who fail to read the text aright.

It is not stated whether the system is current amongst the other Yukaghir tribes, who dwell on the banks of the Indigirka, Yana, Kerkodona, and neighbouring districts. They thus skirt the Frozen Ocean from near the Lena delta to and beyond the Kolyma, and are conterminous landwards with the Yakuts on the south-west and the Chukchi on the north-east. With the Chukchi, the Koryaks, the Kamchadales, and the Gilyaks they form a separate branch of the Mongolic division sometimes grouped together as "Hyperboreans," but distinguished from other Ural-Altaic peoples perhaps strictly on linguistic grounds. Although now reduced to scarcely 1500, the Yukaghirs were formerly a

numerous people, and the popular saying that their hearths on the banks of the Kolyma at one time outnumbered the stars in the sky seems a reminiscence of more prosperous days. But great inroads have been made by epidemics, tribal wars, the excessive use of coarse Ukraine tobacco and of bad spirits, indulged in even by the women and children. "A Yukaghir, it is said, never intoxicates himself alone, but calls upon his family to share the drink, even children in arms being supplied with a portion[1]." Their language, which A. Schiefner regards as radically distinct from all others[2], is disappearing even more rapidly than the people themselves, if it be not already quite extinct. In the eighties it was spoken only by about a dozen old persons, its place being taken almost everywhere by the Turki dialect of the Yakuts.

Chukchis and Koryaks.

There appears to be a curious interchange of tribal names between the Chukchi and their Koryak neighbours, the term *Koryak* being the Chukchi *Khorana*, "Reindeer," while the Koryaks are said to call themselves *Chauchau*, whence some derive the word *Chukchi*. Hooper, however, tells us that the proper form of Chukchi is *Tuski*, "Brothers," or "Confederates[3]," and in any case the point is of little consequence, as Dittmar is probably right in regarding both groups as closely related, and sprung originally from one stock[4]. Jointly they occupy the north-east extremity of the continent between the Kolyma and Bering Strait, together with the northern parts of Kamchatka; the Chukchi lying to the north, the Koryaks to the south, mainly round about the north-eastern inlets of the Sea of Okhotsk. Reasons have already been advanced for supposing that the Chukchi were a Tungus people who came originally from the Amur basin. In their arctic homes they appear to have waged long wars with the Onkilon (Ang-kali) aborigines, gradually merging with the survivors and

[1] Lansdell, I. p. 299.

[2] *Ueber die Sprache der Jukagiren* in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, 1859, III. p. 595 sq.

[3] *Ten Months among the Tents of the Tuski.*

[4] *Ueber die Koriaken u. ihnen nahe verwandten Tchouktchen*, in *Bul. Acad. Sc.* St Petersburg, XII. p. 99.

also mingling both with the Koryaks and Chuklukmiut Eskimo settled on the Asiatic side of Bering Strait.

Chukchi and Eskimo Relations.

But their relations to all these peoples are involved in great obscurity, and while some connect them with the Itelmes of Kamchatka[1], by others they have been affiliated to the Eskimo, owing to the Eskimo dialect said to be spoken by them. But this "dialect" is only a trading jargon, a sort of "pidgin Eskimo" current all round the coast, and consisting of Chukchi, Innuit, Koryak, English, and even Hawaii elements, mingled together in varying proportions. The true Chukchi language, of which Nordenskiöld collected 1000 words, is quite distinct from Eskimo, and probably akin to Koryak[2], and the Swedish explorer aptly remarks that "this race, settled on the primeval route between the Old and New World, bears an unmistakable stamp of the Mongols of Asia and the Eskimo and Indians of America." He was much struck by the great resemblance of the Chukchi weapons and household utensils to those of the Greenland Eskimo, while Signe Rink shows that even popular legends have been diffused amongst the populations on both sides of Bering Strait[3]. Such common elements, however, prove little for racial affinity, which seems excluded by the extremely round shape of the Chukchi skull, as compared with the long-headed Eskimo.

Type and Social State.

But the type varies considerably both amongst the so-called "Fishing Chukchi," who occupy permanent stations along the seaboard, and the "Reindeer Chukchi," who roam the inland districts, shifting their camping-grounds with the seasons. There are no hereditary chiefs, and little deference is paid to the authority even of the owner of the largest reindeer herds, on whom the Russians have conferred the title of *Jerema*, regarding him as the head of the Chukchi nation, and holding him responsible for the good conduct of his rude subjects. Although nominal Christians, they continue to sacrifice animals to the

[1] Peschel, *Races of Man*, p. 391, who says the Chukchi are "as closely related to the Itelmes in speech as are Spaniards to Portuguese."

[2] *Petermann's Mitt.*, Vol. 25, 1879, p. 138.

[3] *The Girl and the Dogs, an Eskimo Folk-tale*, *Amer. Anthropologist*, June, 1898, p. 181 sq.

spirits of the rivers and mountains, and also to practise Shamanist rites. They believe in an after life, but only for those who die a violent death. Hence the resignation and even alacrity with which the hopelessly infirm and the aged submit, when the time comes, to be despatched by their kinsfolk, in accordance with the tribal custom of *kamitok*, which still survives in full vigour amongst the Chukchi, as amongst the Sumatran Battas, and formerly prevailed even amongst our Aryan forefathers.

"The doomed one," writes Mr Harry de Windt, "takes a lively interest in the proceedings, and often assists in the preparation for his own death. The execution is always preceded by a feast, where seal and walrus meat are greedily devoured, and whisky consumed till all are intoxicated. A spontaneous burst of singing and the muffled roll of walrus-hide drums then herald the fatal moment. At a given signal a ring is formed by the relations and friends, the entire settlement looking on from the background. The executioner (usually the victim's son or brother) then steps forward, and placing his right foot behind the back of the condemned, slowly strangles him to death with a walrus-thong. A kamitok took place during the latter part of our stay[1]."

This traveller also fully confirms previous accounts of the indescribable moral and bodily filth in which these debased aborigines are content to welter through their lives. But those who care for such nauseous details must be referred to the work just quoted.

Koryaks and Kamchadales.

Most recent observers have come to look upon the Chukchi and *Koryaks* as essentially one and the same people, the chief difference being that the latter are if possible even more degraded than their northern neighbours[2]. Like them they are classed as sedentary fisher-folk or nomad reindeer-owners, the latter, who call themselves Tumugulu, "Wanderers," roaming chiefly between Ghiyiginsk Bay and the Anadyr river. Through them the Chukchi merge

[1] *Through the Gold Fields of Alaska to Bering Strait*, 1898.

[2] This, however, applies only to the fishing Koryaks, for Mr Kennan speaks highly of the domestic virtues, hospitality, and other good qualities of the nomad groups (*Tent Life in Siberia*, 1871).

gradually in the *Itelmes*, who are better known as Kamchadales, from the Kamchatka river, where they are now chiefly concentrated. Most of the Itelmes are already Russified in speech and —outwardly at least—in religion; but they still secretly immolate a dog now and then, to propitiate the malevolent beings who throw obstacles in the way of their hunting and fishing expeditions. Yet their very existence depends on their canine associates, who are of a stout, almost wolfish breed, inured to hunger and hardships, and excellent for sledge work.

The Gilyaks.

Somewhat distinct both from all these Hyperboreans and from their neighbours, the Orochons, Golds, Manegrs and other Tungus peoples, are the *Gilyaks*, formerly wide-spread, but now confined to the Amur delta and the northern parts of Sakhalin. Some observers have connected them with the Ainu and the Korean aborigines, while Dr A. Anuchin detects two types—a Mongoloid with sparse beard, high cheekbones, and flat face, and a Caucasic with bushy beard and more regular features[1]. The latter traits have been attributed to Russian mixture, but, as conjectured by H. von Siebold, are more probably due to a fundamental connection with their Ainu neighbours[2].

Mentally the Gilyaks take a low position—Mr Lansdell thought the lowest of any people he had met in Siberia[3]. Despite the zeal of the Russian missionaries, and the inducements to join the fold, they remain obdurate Shamanists, and even fatalists, so that "if one falls into the water the others will not help him out, on the plea that they would thus be opposing a higher power, who wills that he should perish....The soul of the Gilyak is supposed to pass at death into his favourite dog, which is accordingly fed with choice food; and when the spirit has been prayed by the shamans out of the dog, the animal is sacrificed on his master's grave. The soul is then represented as passing underground, lighted and guided by its own sun and

[1] *Mem. Imp. Soc. Nat. Sc.* xx. Supplement, Moscow, 1877.

[2] "Scheinen grosse Aenlichkeit in Sprache, Gesichtsbildung und Sitten mit den Aino zu haben" (*Ueber die Aino*, Berlin, 1881, p. 12).

[3] *Through Siberia*, II. p. 227.

moon, and continuing to lead there, in its spiritual abode, the same manner of life and pursuits as in the flesh[1]."

A speciality of the Gilyaks, as well as of their Gold neighbours, is the fish-skin costume, made from the skins of two kinds of salmon, and from this all these aborigines are known to the Chinese as *Yupitatse*, "Fish-skin-clad People." "They strip it off with great dexterity, and by beating with a mallet remove the scales, and so render it supple. Clothes thus made are waterproof. I saw a travelling-bag, and even the sail of a boat, made of this material[2]."

Like the Ainu, the Gilyaks may be called bear-worshippers. At least this animal is supposed to be one of their chief gods, although they ensnare him in winter, keep him in confinement, and when well fattened tear him to pieces, devouring his mangled remains with much feasting and jubilation.

The Koreans.

Since the opening up of Korea, some fresh light has been thrown upon the origins and ethnical relations of its present inhabitants. In his monograph on the Yellow Races[3] Dr Hamy had included them in the Mongol division, but not without reserve, adding that "while some might be taken for Tibetans, others look like an Oceanic cross; hence the contradictory reports and theories of modern travellers." Since then the study of some skulls forwarded to Paris has enabled him to clear up some of the confusion, which is obviously due to interminglings of different elements dating from remote (neolithic) times. On the data supplied by these skulls Hamy classes the Koreans in three groups:—1. The natives of the northern provinces (Ping-ngan-tao and Hien-king-tao), strikingly like their Mongol [Tungus] neighbours; 2. Those of the Southern provinces (Kling-chang-tao and Thsiusan-lo-tao), descendants of the ancient Chin-hans and Pien-hans, showing Japanese affinities; 3. Those of the inner provinces (Hoang-hae-tao and Ching-tsing-tao), who present a transitional form between the northerns and southerns, both in their physical type and geographical position[4].

Ethnical Elements.

[1] *Through Siberia*, II. p. 235.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 221.

[3] *L'Anthropologie*, VI. No. 3.

[4] *Bul. du Muséum d'Hist. Nat.* 1896, No. 4. All the skulls were brachy



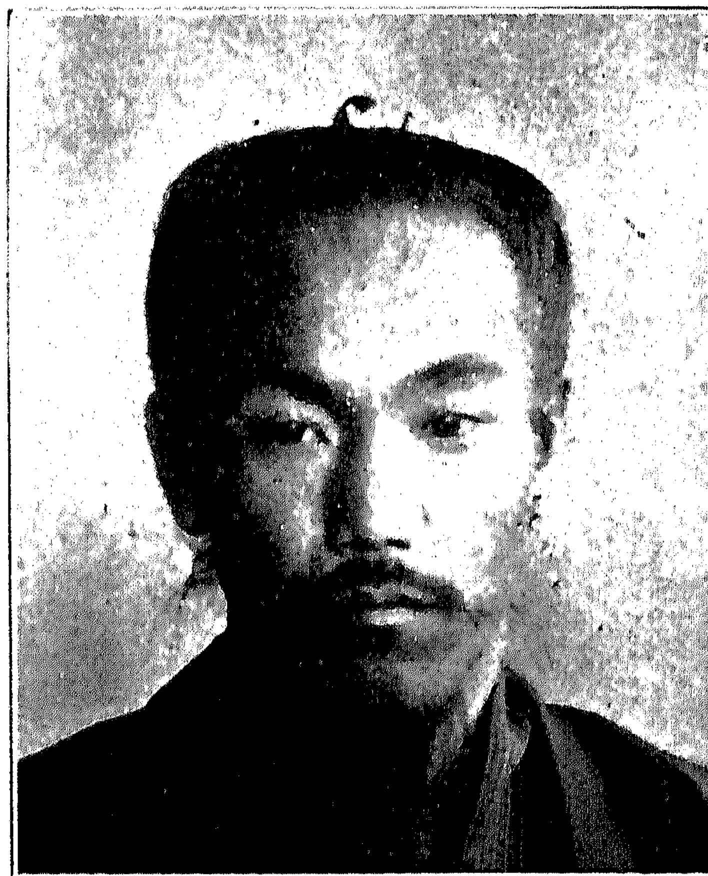
1. GOLD OF AMUR RIVER.
(South Tungus Type.)



2. GILYAK WOMAN.
(N.E. Mongol Type.)



3. KOREAN.
(East Mongoloid Type.)



4. LIU-KIUAN.
(Sub-Japanese Type.)

To face page 302]

On the whole he considers that, as at present constituted, their affinities are less with the Continental than with the Oceanic Mongols, meaning by this expression Lesson's "Pelasgo-Mongols," that is, both the Malayan and the Polynesian groups of the Oceanic peoples. As the true Polynesians, *i.e.* the Indonesians, belong physically to the Caucasic division, Hamy's view accords very well with the now established fact that Caucasic features—light eyes, large nose, hair often brown, full beard, fair and even white skin, tall stature—are conspicuous, especially amongst the upper classes and many of the southern Koreans[1]. The round form of Dr Hamy's skulls no longer presents any difficulty, since multitudes of other Caucasic peoples—the Slavs, the South Germans, the Swiss and Tyrolese for instance—are also characterised by distinctly round heads; and if it be said that this is due to mixture in the West, the same cause applies with equal force in the East, where the Koreans are now shown to be a mixed race, the Mongol element dominating in the north, as might be expected, and the Caucasic in the south.

Korean Origins and Records.

These conclusions seem to be confirmed by what is known of the early movements, migrations, and displacements of the populations in North-east Asia about the dawn of history. In these vicissitudes the Koreans, as they are now called[2], appear to have first taken

or sub-brachy, varying from 81 to 83·8 and 84·8. The author remarks generally that "photographes et crânes diffèrent, du tout au tout, des choses similaires venues jusqu'à présent de Mongolie et de Chine, et font plutôt penser au Japon, à Formose, et d'une manière plus générale à ce vaste ensemble de peuples maritimes que Lesson désignait jadis sous le nom de 'Mongols-pélasgiens'" p. 3.

[1] On this juxtaposition of the yellow and blond types in Korea V. de Saint-Martin's language is highly significative: "Cette dualité de type, un type tout à fait caucasique à côté du type mongol, est un fait commun à toute la ceinture d'îles qui couvre les côtes orientales de l'Asie, depuis les Kouriles jusqu'à Formose, et même jusqu'à la zone orientale de l'Indo-Chine" (*Art. Corée*, p. 800).

[2] From *Koraï*, in Japanese *Kome* (Chinese *Kaoli*), name of a petty state, which enjoyed political predominance in the peninsula for about 500 years (10th to 14th century A.D.). An older designation still in official use is *Tsio-sien*, that is, the Chinese *Chao-sien*, "Bright Dawn" (Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 334 sq.).

part in the 12th century B.C., when the peninsula was already occupied, as it still is, by Mongols, the *Sien-pi*, in the north, and in the south by several branches of the *Hans* (*San-San*), of whom it is recorded that they spoke a language unintelligible to the Sien-pi, and resembled the Japanese in appearance, manners, and customs. From this it may be inferred that the Hans were the true aborigines, probably direct descendants of the Caucasic peoples of the New Stone Age, while the Sien-pi were Mongolic (Tungusic) intruders from the present Manchuria. For some time these Sien-pi played a leading part in the political convulsions prior and subsequent to the erection of the Great Wall by Shih Hwang Ti, founder of the Tsin dynasty (221–209 B.C.)[1]. Soon after the completion of this barrier, the *Hiung-nu*, no longer able to scour the fertile plains of the Middle Kingdom, turned their arms against the neighbouring *Yuê-chi*, whom they drove westwards to the Zungarian valleys. Here they were soon displaced by the *Usuns* (*Wu-sun*), a fair, blue-eyed people of unknown origin, who have been called "Aryans," and even "Teutons," and whom Ch. de Ujfalvy identifies with the tall long-headed western blonds (de Lapouge's *Homo Europæus*), mixed with brown round-headed hordes of white complexion[2].

[1] This stupendous work, on which about 1,000,000 hands are said to have been engaged for five years, possesses great ethnical as well as political importance. Running for over 1500 miles across hills, valleys, and rivers along the northern frontier of China proper, it long arrested the southern movements of the restless Mongolo-Turki hordes, and thus gave a westerly direction to their incursions many centuries before the great invasions of Jenghiz-Khan and his successors. It is strange to reflect that the ethnological relations were thus profoundly disturbed throughout the eastern hemisphere by the work of a ruthless despot who reigned only twelve years, and in that time waged war against all the best traditions of the empire, destroying the books of Confucius and the other sages, and burying alive 460 men of letters for their efforts to rescue those writings from total extinction.

[2] *Les Aryens au Nord et au Sud de l'Hindou-Kouch*, 1896, p. 25. This writer does not think that the Usuns should be identified with the tall race of horse-like face, large nose, and deep-set eyes mentioned in the early Chinese records, because no reference is made to "blue eyes," which would not have been omitted had they existed. But, if I remember, "green eyes" are spoken of, and we know that none of the early writers use colour terms with strict accuracy.

Accepting this view, we may go further, and identify the Usuns, as well as the other white peoples of the early Chinese records, with the already described Central Asiatic Caucasians of the Stone Ages, whose osseous remains we now possess, and who come to the surface in the very first Chinese documents dealing with the turbulent populations beyond the Great Wall. The white element, with all the correlated characters, existed beyond all question, for it is continuously referred to in those documents. How is its presence in East Central Asia, including Manchuria and Korea, to be explained? Only on two assumptions—*proto-historic* migrations from the Far West, barred by the proto-historic migrations from the Far East, as largely determined by the erection of the Great Wall; or *pre-historic* (neolithic) migrations, also from the Far West, but barred by no serious obstacle, because antecedent to the arrival of the proto-Mongolic tribes from the Tibetan plateau. The true solution of the endless ethnical complications in the extreme East, as in the Oceanic world, will still be found in the now-demonstrated presence of a Caucasic element antecedent to the Mongol in those regions.

When the Hiung-nu[1] power was weakened by their westerly migrations to Zungaria and South-west Siberia (Upper Irtish and Lake Balkash depression), and broken into two sections during their wars with the two Han dynasties (201 B.C.—220 A.D.), the Korean Sien-pi became the dominant nation north of the Great Wall. After destroying the last vestiges of the unstable Hiung-nu empire, and driving the Mongolo-Turki hordes still westwards, the Yuan-yuans, most powerful of all the Sien-pi tribes, remained

[1] I have not thought it desirable to touch on the interminable controversy respecting the ethnical relations of the Hiung-nu, regarding them, not as a distinct ethnical group, but like the Huns, their later western representatives, as a heterogeneous collection of Mongol, Tungus, Turki, and perhaps even Finnish hordes under a Mongol military caste. At the same time I have little doubt that Mongolo-Tungus elements greatly predominated in the eastern regions (Mongolia proper, Manchuria) both amongst the Hiung-nu and their Yuan-Yuan (Sien-pi) successors, and that all the founders of the first great empires prior to that of the Turki Assena in the Altai region (6th century A.D.) were full-blood Mongols, as indeed recognised by Jenghiz-Khan himself. This seems also the view of Sir H. H. Howorth, who returned to the subject at the 6th Congress of Orientalists, Leyden, 1883 (*Actes*, Part IV, p. 177–95).

masters of East Central Asia for about 400 years and then disappeared from history[1]. At least after the 6th century A.D. no further mention is made of the Sien-pi principalities either in Manchuria or in Korea. Here, however, they appear still to form a dominant element in the northern (Mongol) provinces, calling themselves Ghirin (Khirin), from the Khirin (Sungari) valley of the Amur, where they once held sway.

Since those days Korea has been alternately a vassal State and a province of the Middle Kingdom, with interludes of Japanese ascendancy, interrupted only by the four centuries of Koraï ascendancy (934—1368). This was the most brilliant epoch in the national records, when Korea was rather the ally than the vassal of China, and when trade, industry, and the arts, especially porcelain and bronze work, flourished in the land. But by centuries of subsequent misrule, a people endowed with excellent natural qualities have been reduced to the lowest state of degradation. Before the reforms introduced by the political events of 1895–96, "the country was eaten up by officialism. It is not only that abuses without number prevailed, but the whole system of government was an abuse, a sea of corruption, without a bottom or a shore, an engine of robbery, crushing the life out of all industry[2]." But an improvement is already perceptible. "The air of the men has undergone a subtle and real change, and the women, though they nominally keep up their habits by seclusion, have lost the hang-dog air which distinguishes them at home. The alacrity of movement is a change also, and has replaced the conceited swing of the *yang-ban* [nobles] and the

[1] On the authority of the Wei-Shu documents contained in the Wei-Chï, Mr E. H. Parker gives (in the *China Review* and *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, Shanghai, 1895) the dates 386–556 A.D. as the period covered by the "Sien-pi Tartar dynasty of Wei." This is not to be confused with the Chinese dynasty of Wei (224–264, or according to Kwong Ki-Chiu 234–274 A.D.). The term "Tartar" (Ta-Ta), it may be explained, is used by Mr Parker, as well as by the Chinese historians generally, in a somewhat wide sense, so as to include all the nomad populations north of the Great Wall, whether of Tungus (Manchu), Mongol, or even Turki stock. The original tribes bearing the name were Mongols, and Jenghiz-Khan himself was a Tata on his mother's side (*Eth.* p. 303).

[2] Mrs Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbours*, 1898.

heartless lounge of the peasant." It should also be mentioned to their credit that, amid much moral and material squalor, coarse and repulsive habits, they at least possess the sterling quality of honesty. Baron von Grünau tells us that in the villages along his route his effects had to remain on the highway for want of room in the wretched hovels, but he never lost anything, and his watch, after passing from hand to hand for general inspection, was always returned to the owner[1].

Religion.

The religious sentiment is perhaps less developed than among any other Asiatic people. Buddhism, introduced about 380 A.D., never took root, and while the literati are satisfied with the moral precepts of Confucius, the lower classes seem to live in a state of complete religious indifference. Some make offerings to the spirits of the forests and mountains, and there is a "Children's Feast," when all put on new clothes, probably a reminiscence of Buddhism. Seul, the capital, is perhaps the only city in the world outside Korea which possesses neither temple nor church of any kind.

The Korean Script.

Philologists now recognise some affinity between the Korean and Japanese languages, both of which appear to be remotely connected with the Ural-Altaic family. The Koreans possess a true alphabet of 28 letters, which, however, is not a local invention, as is sometimes asserted. It appears to have been introduced by the Buddhist monks about or before the 10th century, and to be based on some cursive form of the Indian (Devanágari) system[2], although scarcely any resemblance can now be traced between the two alphabets. This script is little used except by the lower classes and the women, the literati preferring to write either in Chinese, or else in the so-called *nido*, that is, an adaptation of the Chinese symbols to the phonetic expression of the Korean syllables. The *nido* is exactly analogous to the Japanese *Katakana* script, in which modified forms of Chinese ideographs are used phonetically to

[1] *Globus*, Nov. 27, 1897, p. 322.

[2] T. de Lacouperie says on "a Tibeto-Indian base" (*Beginnings of Writing in Central and Eastern Asia*, 1894, p. 148); and Mr E. H. Parker: "It is demonstrable that the Korean letters are an adaptation from the Sanskrit," *i.e.* the Devanágari (*Academy*, Dec. 21, 1895, p. 550).

express 47 syllables (the so-called *I-ro-fa* syllabary), raised to 73 by the *nigori* and *maru* diacritical marks.

The Japanese.

Passing to Japan, we find that to Chinese influence is also due the present national name *Nippon*, which was adopted about the 7th century A.D., and is etymologically the same word as *Japan*[1]. After the first settlement by neolithic Caucasians, now represented by the "hairy Ainu" of Yezo, the archipelago was occupied at long intervals both by Continental Mongols from Korea, and by Oceanic Mongols and Indonesians from Malaysia.

Origins—Constituent Elements.

From the fact that the Japanese language shows radical affinities with Korean, but none with Malayo-Polynesian, it may perhaps be inferred that the Korean element arrived first, and also outnumbered the later Malayan intruders sufficiently to impose their Mongol speech on them, and gradually merge with them in the present composite Japanese nationality. This ethnical fusion must have taken place long before the establishment of political unity, which is, comparatively speaking, quite a recent event. Even for the legendary Jimmu Tenno, reputed founder of the empire, no greater antiquity is claimed than 660 B.C. No doubt he is represented as being fifth in descent from Amaterasu, the Sun-Goddess, and the great divinity of the Shinto religion[2]. But even were his predecessors endowed with the longevity of the antediluvian patriarchs, they would not require the beginnings

[1] Both forms come from the Chinese *Nit-pon*, the "Rising Sun" (*Nit*, sun, *pön*, origin), from which the Chinese made first *Ni-pen*, then through Mongol influence *Ji-pen*, whence Marco Polo's *Zipangu*, and the European variants (*Giappone*, *Japon*, *Japan*, etc.). But in Japan, by assimilation of *t*, *Nit-pon* became *Nippon* (*Nip-hon*, *Nif-hon*), the name, not merely of the large island of Hondo, as shown on some maps, but of the whole archipelago. Thus Chin. Ji-pen=Jap. Nippon=Japan. There is also a fanciful national name, *Akizu-no-Sima*, "Mermaid Isle."

[2] "The reigning House of Japan descends from the Sun-Goddess Amaterasu" (J. J. Rein, *Japan nach Reisen u. Studien*, 1881, p. 245). The veracious native chroniclers made out that the present Mikado is the 121st in direct descent from Jimmu Tenno. In any case the contrast is striking between the impassive Chinese with their 28 or 30 dynasties, and the mercurial Japanese, who have been contented to live under a single dynasty since the appearance of the "Sun-Goddess" on earth.

of terrestrial rule in Japan to be set so far back by one or two millenniums as in Babylonia or Egypt.

The Ebisu Aborigines.

After the formation of the Japanese people and the establishment of orderly government, apparently first in the smaller southern islands[1], the Ebisu (Ainu) aborigines of Hondo had still to be dealt with. It is now generally admitted that the Ainu formerly dwelt in those districts where shell-mounds and other remains like those of Yezo are still found. And this is confirmed by tradition and history, according to which the present Japanese, on arriving in Nippon, "found it tenanted by Ebisu or barbarians, whom they recognise as the ancestors of the modern Ainus. Year by year the aborigines were driven step by step towards the north. About the year 800 they were struggling near Morioka, and by the year 1200 they seem to have been practically exterminated from Nippon, and those who remained or had taken refuge farther to the north of Yezo were completely subjugated[2]."

Apart from some exceptionally tall and robust persons amongst the upper classes, and the famous athletes, acrobats, and wrestlers, the general impression that the Japanese are on the whole a short race with rather weak frames is fully borne out by the now regularly recorded military measurements of recruits, showing for height an average of 5 ft. 4½ in., for chest 33 in., and disproportionately short legs. Other distinctive characters, all tending to stamp a certain individuality on the people, taken as a whole and irrespective of local peculiarities, are a flat forehead, great distance between the eyebrows, a very small nose with raised nostrils, no glabella, no perceptible nasal root[3]; an active, wiry figure; the exposed skin less yellow than the Chinese, and rather inclining to a light fawn, but the covered parts very light, some

[1] So Prof. Basil Hall Chamberlain; who thinks "the common ancestors of the present Japanese and Luchuan [Liu-kiuan] nations entered Japan from the South-west, crossing the Korean Channel with the island of Tsushima as a stepping-stone, and landing in Kyushu, the southernmost great island of Japan. This is rendered probable, alike by geography, by the trend of legend, and by the grammatical affinities connecting Japanese and Luchuan with Korean and Mongol" (*Geogr. Journ.* 1895, p. 316).

[2] Prof. J. Milne, quoted in *Asia*, Vol. I. p. 474.

[3] G. Baudens, *Bul. Soc. Geogr.* X. p. 419.

say even white; the eyes also less oblique, and all other characteristically Mongol features generally softened, except the black lank hair, which in transverse section is perhaps even rounder than that of most other Mongol peoples[1].

With this it will be instructive to compare Dr Guillemard's graphic account of the Liu-Kiu islanders, whose Koreo-Japanese affinities are now placed beyond all doubt: "They are a short race, probably even shorter than the Japanese, but much better proportioned, being without the long bodies and short legs of the latter people, and having as a rule extremely well-developed chests. The colour of the skin varies of course with the social position of the individual. Those who work in the fields, clad only in a waist-cloth, are nearly as dark as a Malay, but the upper classes are much fairer, and are at the same time devoid of any of the yellow tint of the Chinaman. To the latter race indeed they cannot be said to bear any resemblance, and though the type is much closer to the Japanese, it is nevertheless very distinct. ...In Liu-Kiu the Japanese and natives were easily recognised by us from the first, and must therefore be possessed of very considerable differences. The Liu-Kiuan has the face less flattened, the eyes are more deeply set, and the nose more prominent at its origin. The forehead is high and the cheek-bones somewhat less marked than in the Japanese; the eyebrows are arched and thick, and the eyelashes long. The expression is gentle and pleasing, though somewhat sad, and is apparently a true index of their character[2]."

Japanese and Liu-Kiu Islanders.

This description is not accepted without some reserve by Mr Chamberlain, who in fact holds that "the physical type of the Luchuans resembles that of the Japanese almost to identity[3]." In explanation however of the singularly mild, inoffensive, and "even timid disposition" of the Liu-Kiuans, this observer suggests "the probable absence of any admixture of Malay blood in the race[4]." But everybody admits a Malay element in Japan. It

[1] See especially Dr E. Bälz, *Die körperlichen Eigenschaften der Japaner*, in *Mitt. der Deutschen Ges. f. Natur. u. Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, 28 and 32.

[2] *Cruise of the Marchesa*, 1886, I. p. 36.

[3] *Geogr. Journ.* 1895, II. p. 318.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 460.

would therefore appear that Guillemard must be right, and that, as even shown by all good photographs, differences do exist, due in fact to the presence of this very Malay strain in the Japanese race.

The Languages and Religions.

Elsewhere[1] Mr Chamberlain has given us a scholarly account of the Liu-Kiu language, which is not merely a "sister," as he says, but obviously an *elder* sister, more archaic in structure and partly in its phonetics, than the oldest known form of Japanese. In the verb, for instance, Japanese retains only one past tense of the indicative, with but one grammatical form, whereas Liu-Kiuan preserves the three original past tenses, each of which possesses a five-fold inflection. All these racial, linguistic, and even mental resemblances, such as the fundamental similarity of many of their customs and ways of thought, he would explain with much probability by the routes followed by the first emigrants from the mainland. While the great bulk spread east and north over the great archipelago, everywhere "driving the aborigines before them," a smaller stream may have trended southwards to the little southern group, whose islets stretch like stepping-stones the whole way from Japan to Great Liu-Kiu[2].

Cult of the Dead.

Amongst the common mental traits, mention is made of the Shinto religion, "the simplest and most rustic form" of which still survives in Liu-Kiu. Here, as in Japan, it was originally a rude system of nature-worship, the normal development of which was arrested by Chinese and Buddhist influences. Later it became associated with spirit-worship, the spirits being at first the souls of the dead, and although there is at present no cult of the dead, in the strict sense of the expression, the Liu-Kiu islanders probably pay more respect to the departed than any other people in the world.

Shintoism.

In Japan, Shintoism, as reformed in recent times, has become much more a political institution than a religious system. The *Kami-no-michi*, that is, the Japanese form of the Chinese *Shin-to*, "way of the Gods," or "spirits," is

[1] *Jour. Anthrop. Soc.* 1897, p. 47 sq.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 58.

not merely the national faith, but is inseparably bound up with the interests of the reigning dynasty, holding the Mikado to be the direct descendant of the Sun-goddess. Hence its three cardinal precepts now are:—1. Honour the Kami (spirits), of whom the emperor is the chief representative on earth; 2. Revere him as thy sovereign; 3. Obey the will of his Court, and that is the whole duty of man. There is no moral code, and loyal expositors have declared that the Mikado's will is the only test of right and wrong.

But apart from this political exegesis, Shintoism in its higher form may be called a cultured deism, in its lower a "blind obedience to governmental and priestly dictates[1]." There are dim notions about a supreme creator, immortality, and even rewards and penalties in the after-life. Some also talk vaguely, as a pantheist might, of a sublime being or essence pervading all nature, too vast and ethereal to be personified or addressed in prayer, identified with the *tenka*, "heavens," from which all things emanate, to which all return. Yet, although a personal deity seems thus excluded, there are Shinto temples, apparently for the worship of the heavenly bodies and powers of nature, conceived as self-existing personalities—the so-called *Kami*, "spirits," "gods," of which there are "eight millions," that is, they are countless.

Buddhism.

One cannot but suspect that some of these notions have been grafted on the old national faith by Buddhism, which was introduced about 550 A.D. and for a time had great vogue. It was encouraged especially by the Shoguns, or military usurpers of the Mikado's[2] functions, obviously as a set-off against the Shinto theocracy. During their tenure of power (1192–1868 A.D.) the land was covered with Buddhist shrines and temples, some of vast size and quaint design, filled with hideous idols, huge bells, and colossal statues of Buddha.

But with the fall of the Shogun the little prestige still enjoyed by Buddhism came to an end, and the temples, spoiled of their

[1] Ripley and Dana, *Amer. Cyc.* IX. 538.

[2] *Shogun* from *Sho*=general and *gun*=army, hence Commander-in-chief; *Mikado* from *mi*=sublime, and *kado*=gate, with which cf. the "Sublime Porte" (Rein, *op. cit.* I. p. 245). But Mikado has become somewhat antiquated, being now generally replaced by the title *Kotei*, "Emperor."

treasures, have more than ever become the resort of pleasure-seekers rather than of pious worshippers. "To all the larger temples are attached regular spectacles, playhouses, panoramas, besides lotteries, games of various sorts, including the famous 'fan-throwing,' and shooting-galleries, where the bow and arrow and the blow-pipe take the place of the rifle. The accumulated wealth of the priests has been confiscated, the monks driven from their monasteries, and many of these buildings converted into profane uses. Countless temple bells have already found their way to America, or have been sold for old metal[1]."

Besides these forms of belief, there is a third religious, or rather philosophic system, the so-called *Siza*, based on the ethical teachings of Confucius, a sort of refined materialism, such as underlies the whole religious thought of the nation. Siza, always confined to the literati, has in recent years found a formidable rival in the "English Philosophy," represented by such writers as Buckle, Mill, Herbert Spencer, Darwin, and Huxley, most of whose works have already been translated into Japanese.

Thus this highly gifted people, whose best qualities may perhaps be traced back to the Caucasic substratum dating from the Stone Ages, are being rapidly—some fear too rapidly—assimilated to the western world in their social and religious, as well as their political institutions. Their intellectual powers, already tested in the fields of war, science, diplomacy, and self-government, are certainly superior to those of all other Asiatic peoples, and this is perhaps the best guarantee for the stability of the stupendous transformation that a single generation has witnessed from an exaggerated form of mediæval feudalism to a political and social system in harmony with the most advanced phases of modern thought. The system has doubtless not yet penetrated to the lower strata, especially amongst the rural populations. But their natural receptivity, combined with a singular freedom from "insular prejudice," must ensure the ultimate acceptance of the new order by all classes of the community.

[1] Keane's *Asia*, I. p. 487.

CHAPTER IX.

THE NORTHERN MONGOLS (*continued*).

The Finno-Turki Peoples—Assimilation to the Caucasic Type—Turki Cradle—Origins and early Records—The Scythians—Parthians and Turkomans—Massagetæ and Yué-chi—Indo-Scythians and Græco-Baktrians—Dahæ, Jat, and Rájput Origins—The "White Huns"—The Uigurs—Orkhon Inscriptions—The Assena Turki Dynasty—Toghuz-Uigur Empire—Kashgarian and Zungarian Populations—The Oghuz Turks and their Migrations—Seljuks and Osmanli—The Yakuts—The Kirghiz—Kazák and Kossack—The Kara-Kirghiz—The Finnish Peoples—Former and Present Domain—Late Westward Spread of the Finns—The Bronze and Iron Ages in the Finnish lands—The Baltic Finns—Relations to Goths, Letts, and Slavs—Finno-Russ Origins—Tavastian and Karelian Finns—The Kwæns—The Lapps—Samoyads and Permian Finns—Lapp Origins and Migrations—Temperament—Religion—The Volga Finns—The Votyak Pagans—Human Sacrifices—The Bulgars—Origins and Migrations—An Ethnical Transformation—Great and Little Bulgaria—Avars and Magyars—Magyar Origins and early Records—Present Position of the Magyars—Ethnical and Linguistic Relations in Eastern Europe.

The Finno-Turki Peoples.

IN a very broad way all the western branches of the North Mongol division may be comprised under the collective designation of Finno-Turki Mongols. Jointly they constitute a well-marked section of the family, being distinguished from the eastern section by several features which they have in common, and the most important of which is unquestionably a much larger infusion of Caucasic blood than is seen in any of the Mongolo-Tungusic groups. So pronounced is this feature amongst many Finnish as well as Turkish peoples, that some anthropologists have felt inclined to deny any direct connection between the eastern and western divisions of *Homo Mongolicus*, and to regard the Baltic Finns, for instance,

rather as "Allophylian Whites" than as original members of the yellow race. Prichard, to whom we owe this now nearly obsolete term "Allophylian," held this view[1], and even Prof. Sayce is "more than doubtful whether we can class the Mongols physiologically with the Turkish-Tatars [the Turki peoples], or the Ugro-Finns[2]."

Assimilation to the Caucasic Type.

It may, indeed, be allowed that at present the great majority of the Finno-Turki populations occupy a position amongst the varieties of mankind which is extremely perplexing for the strict systematist. When the whole division is brought under survey, every shade of transition is observed between the Siberian Samoyads of the Finnic branch and the steppe Kirghiz of the Turki branch on the one hand, both of whom show Mongol characters in an exaggerated form, and on the other the Osmanli Turks and Hungarian Magyars, most of whom may be regarded as typical Caucasians. Moreover, the difficulty is increased by the fact, already pointed out, that these mixed Mongolo-Caucasic characters occur not only amongst the late historic groups, but also amongst the earliest known groups—"Chudes," Usuns, Uigurs and others—who may be called Proto-Finnish and Proto-Turki peoples. But precisely herein lies the solution of the problem. Most of the region now held by Turki and Finnish nations was originally occupied by long-headed Caucasic men of the late Stone Ages (see above). Then followed the Proto-Mongol intruders from the Tibetan tableland, who partly submerged, partly intermingled with their Neolithic forerunners, many thus acquiring those mixed characters by which they have been distinguished from the earliest historic times. Later, further interminglings took place according as the Finno-Turki hordes, leaving their original seats in the Altai and surrounding regions, advanced westwards and came more and more into contact with the European populations of Caucasic type.

We may therefore conclude that the majority of the Finno-Turks were almost from the first a somewhat mixed race, and that during historic times the original Mongol element has gradually yielded to the Caucasic in the direction from east to west. Such is the picture now presented by these heterogeneous populations,

1 *Natural History of Man*, 1865 ed. pp. 185–6.

2 *Science of Language*, II. p. 190.

who in their primeval eastern seats are still mostly typical Mongols, but have been more and more assimilated to the European type in their new Anatolian, Baltic, Danubian, and Balkan homes.

Observant travellers have often been impressed by this progressive conformity of the Mongolo-Turks to Europeans. During his westward journey through central Asia Capt. Younghusband, on passing from Mongolia to Eastern Turkestan, found that the people, though tall and fine-looking, had at first more of the Mongol caste of feature than he had expected. "Their faces, however, though somewhat round, were slightly more elongated than the Mongol, and there was considerably more intelligence about them. But there was more roundness, less intelligence, less sharpness in the outlines than is seen in the inhabitants of Kashgar and Yarkand." Then he adds: "As I proceeded westwards I noticed a gradual, scarcely perceptible, change from the round of a Mongolian type to a sharper and yet more sharp type of feature. ...As we get farther away from Mongolia, we notice that the faces become gradually longer and narrower; and farther west still, among some of the inhabitants of Afghan Turkestan, we see that the Tartar or Mongol type of feature is almost entirely lost[1]." To complete the picture it need only be added that still further west, in Asia Minor, the Balkan Peninsula, Hungary, and Finland, the Mongol features are often entirely lost. "The Turks of the west have so much Aryan and Semitic blood in them, that the last vestiges of their original physical characters have been lost, and their language alone indicates their previous descent[2]."

Turki Cradle.

Before they were broken up and dispersed over half the northern hemisphere by Mongol pressure from the east, the primitive Turki tribes dwelt, according to Howorth, mainly between the Ulugh-dagh mountains and the Orkhon river in Mongolia, that is, along the southern slopes and spurs of the Altai-Sayan system from the headwaters of the Irtysh to the valleys draining north to Lake Baikal. But the Turki cradle is shifted farther east by Richthofen, who thinks that their true home lay between the Amur, the Lena, and the Selenga, where at one time they had their camping-grounds in close proximity

[1] *The Heart of a Continent*, 1896, p. 118.

[2] O. Peschel, *Races of Man*, p. 380.

to their Mongol and Tungus kinsmen. There is nothing to show that the Yakuts, who are admittedly of Turki stock, ever migrated to their present northern homes in the Lena basin, which has more probably always been their native land[1].

But when they come within the horizon of history the Turks are already a numerous nation, with a north-western and south-eastern division[2], which may well have jointly occupied the whole region from the Irtysh to the Lena, and both views may thus be reconciled. In any case the Turki domain lay west of the Mongol, and the Altai uplands, taken in the widest sense, may still be regarded as the most probable zone of specialisation for the Turki physical type, which in the new nomenclature introduced or revived by De Lapouge, was formed by a fusion of *Homo Asiaticus* and *H. Europæus* with his ubiquitous *H. Acrogonus*. Of these elements is constituted the characteristic Turki head, which is noted for its cuboid aspect, due to the parieto-occipital flattening, as observed especially among the Yakuts, and some Turkomans (Yomuds, Goklans).

Intermediate between these typical Turks and the Mongols Dr Hamy places the Usbegs, Kirghiz, Bashkirs, and Nogais; and between the Turks and Finns those extremely mixed groups of East Russia commonly but wrongly called "Tartars," as well as other transitions between Turk, Slav, Greek, Arab, Osmanli of Constantinople, Kurugli of Algeria and others, whose study shows the extreme difficulty of accurately determining the limits of the Yellow and the White races[3].

Analogous difficulties recur in the study of the Northern (Siberian) groups—Samoyads, Ostyaks, Voguls and other Ugrians—who present great individual variations, leading almost without a break from the Mongol to the Lapp, from the Lapp to the Finn,

[1] See Ch. de Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens* &c. 1896, p. 25. Reference should perhaps be also made to Mr E. H. Parker's theory (*Academy*, Dec. 21, 1895) that the Turki cradle lay, not in the Altai or Altun-dagh ("Golden Mountains") of North Mongolia, but 1000 miles farther south in the "Golden Mountains" (*Kin-shan*) of the present Chinese province of Kansu. But the evidence relied on is not satisfactory, and indeed in one or two important instances not evidence at all.

[2] Prof. Bury, *English Historical Rev.* July 1897.

[3] *L'Anthropologie*, VI. No. 3.

from Finn to Slav and Teuton. Thus may be shown a series of observations continuous between the most typical Mongol, and those aberrant Mongolo-Caucasic groups which answer to Prichard's "Allophylian races." Thus also is confirmed by a study of details the above broad generalisation in which I have endeavoured to determine the relation of the Finno-Turki peoples to the primary Mongol and Caucasic divisions.

Origins and Early Records.

Gibbon has shrewdly remarked that "the savage tribes of mankind, as they approach nearer to the condition of animals, preserve a stronger resemblance to themselves and to each other. The uniform stability of their manners is the natural consequence of the imperfection of their faculties. Reduced to a similar situation, their wants, their desires, their enjoyments, still continue the same... and the banks of the Borysthenes [Dnieper], of the Volga, or of the Selenga [in Mongolia], will indifferently present the same uniform spectacle of similar and native manners[1]." To this general uniformity in their social usages and institutions, combined with an almost complete ignorance of their speech and largely of their physical appearance, is unquestionably due the still prevailing confusion regarding the earliest known Central Asiatic populations and their first westward migrations. In the popular estimation the countless hordes vaguely comprised by the ancients under the general designation of Scythians[2], are regarded as rude nomads of true Mongol stock, to be identified with the Hiung-nu of the Chinese records and the historical Huns (Attila's Huns), now best represented in the Far East by the Sharra Mongols and farther west by the Zungarian and Volga Kalmaks. But there is good reason to believe that many, perhaps the majority of those early Scythians were not Mongols at all, but Finns and Turks, whose domain had already extended from the Altai uplands to the confines of Europe many centuries before the new era.

The Scythians.

[1] *Decline and Fall*, Ch. XXVI.

[2] They distinguished, to be sure, between the Scythians *intra Imaum* and those *extra Imaum*. But this was merely a convenient geographical division, and if the Imaus is to be identified with the Altai, no ethnical distinction is drawn between the nomad tribes on either side of that range.

Mr E. H. Parker has unfortunately lent the weight of his authority to the statement that the word "Türkö" [Turki] "goes no farther back than the fifth century of our era," and that "so far as recorded history is concerned the name of Turk dates from this time[1]." But Turki tribes bearing this national name had penetrated into East Europe hundreds of years before that time, and were already seated on the Tanais (Don) about the new era. They are mentioned by name both by Pomponius Mela[2] and by Pliny[3], and to the same connection belonged, beyond all doubt, the warlike *Parthians*, who 300 years earlier were already seated on the confines of Irán and Turán, routed the legions of Crassus and Anthony, and for five centuries (250 B.C.–229 A.D.) usurped the throne of the "King of Kings," holding sway from the Euphrates to the Ganges, and from the Caspian to the Indian Ocean. Direct descendants of the Parthians are the fierce Turkoman nomads, who for ages terrorised over all the settled populations encircling the Aralo-Caspian depression. Their power has at last been broken by the Russians, but they are still politically dominant in Persia[4]. They have thus been for many ages in the closest contact with the Caucasic Iranians, with the result that the present Turkoman type is shown by J. L. Yavorsky's observations to be extremely variable[5].

Parthians and Turkomans.

[1] *Academy*, Dec. 21, 1895, p. 548.

[2] "Budini Gelonion urbem ligneam habitant; juxta Thyssagetæ *Turcæque* vastas silvas occupant, alunturque venando" (I. 19, p. 27 of Leipzig ed. 1880).

[3] "Dein Tanain amnem gemino ore influentem incolunt Sarmatæ...Tindari, Thussagetæ, *Tyrcæ*, usque ad solitudines saltuosis convallibus asperas &c." (Bk. VIII. 7, Vol. I. p. 234 of Berlin ed. 1886). The variants *Turcæ* and *Tyrcæ* are noteworthy, as indicating the same vacillating sound of the root vowel (*u* and *y*=*ü*) that still persists.

[4] Not only was the usurper Nadir Shah a Turkoman of the Afshár tribe, but the present reigning family belongs to the rival clan of Qajar Turkomans long settled in Khorasan, the home of their Parthian forefathers.

[5] Of 59 Turkomans the hair was generally a dark brown; the eyes brown (45) and light grey (14); face orthognathous (52) and prognathous (7); eyes mostly *not* oblique; ceph. index 68·69 to 81·76, mean 75·64; dolicho 28, sub-dolicho 18, 9 mezaticeph, 4 sub-brachy. Five skulls from an old graveyard at Samarkand were also very heterogeneous, ceph. index ranging from 77·72 to 94·93. This last, unless deformed, exceeds in brachycephaly "le célèbre crâne

Massagetæ and Yué-chi.

Both the Parthians and the *Massagetæ* have been identified with the *Yué-chi*, who figure so largely in the annals of the Han dynasties, and are above mentioned as having been driven west to Zungaria by the Hiung-nu after the erection of the Great Wall. It has been said that, could we follow the peregrinations of the Yué-chi bands from their early seats at the foot of the Kinghan mountains to their disappearance amid the snows of the Western Himalayas, we should hold the key to the solution of the obscure problems associated with the migrations of the Mongolo-Turki hordes since the torrent of invasion was diverted westwards by Shih Hwang Ti's mighty barrier. One point, however, seems clear enough, that the Yué-chi were a different people both from the Parthians who had already occupied Hyrcania (Khorasan) at least in the third century B.C., if not earlier, and from the Massagetæ. For the latter were seated on the Yaxartes (Sir-darya) in the time of Cyrus (6th century B.C.), whereas the Yué-chi still dwelt east of Lake Lob (Tarim basin) in the third century. After their defeat by the Hiung-nu and the Usuns (201 and 165 B.C.), they withdrew to Sogdiana (Transoxiana), reduced the *Ta-Hia* of Baktria, and in 126 B.C. overthrew the Græco-Baktrian kingdom, which had been founded after the death of Alexander towards the close of the 4th century. But in the Kabul valley, south of the Hindu-Kush, the Greeks still held their ground for over 100 years, until Kadphises I., king of the Kushans—a branch of the Yué-chi—after uniting the whole nation in a single Indo-Scythian state, extended his conquests to Kabul and succeeded Hermæus, last of the Greek dynasty (40–20 B.C.?). Kadphises' son Kadaphes (10 A.D.) added to his empire a great part of North India, where his successors of the Yué-chi dynasty reigned from the middle of the first to the end of the fourth century A.D. Here they are supposed by some authorities to be still represented by the *Játs* and *Rajputs*, and even Prichard allows that the supposition "does not appear altogether preposterous," although "the physical characters of the Játs are very different

Indo-Scythians and Græco-Baktrians.

Dahæ, Jat, and Rajput Origins.

d'un Slave vende qu'on cite dans les manuels d'anthropologie" (Th. Volkov, *L'Anthropologie*, 1897, pp. 355–57).

from those attributed to the Yuetschi [Yué-chi] and the kindred tribes [Suns, Kushans etc.] by the writers cited by Klaproth and Abel Remusat, who say that they are of sanguine complexion with blue eyes[1]."

We now know that these characters present little difficulty when the composite origin of the Turki people is borne in mind. On the other hand it is interesting to note that the above-mentioned Ta-Hia have by some been identified with the warlike Scythian Dahæ[2], and these with the Dehiya or Dhé, one of the great divisions of the Indian Játs. But if Prof. G. Rawlinson[3] is right, the term *Dahæ* was not racial but social, meaning *rustici*, —the peasantry as opposed to the nomads; hence the Dahæ are heard of everywhere throughout Irania, just as *Dehwar*[4] is still the common designation of the Tajik (Persian) peasantry in Afghanistan and Baluchistan. This is also the view taken by De Ujfalvy, who identifies the Ta-Hia, not with the Scythian Dahæ, or with any other particular tribe, but with the peaceful rural population of Baktriana[5], whose reduction by the Yué-chi, possibly Strabo's Tokhari, was followed by the overthrow of the Græco-Baktrians. The solution of the puzzling Yué-chi-Ját problem would therefore seem to be that the Dehiya and other Játs, always an agricultural people, are descended from the old Iranian peasantry of Baktriana, some of whom followed the fortunes of their Greek rulers into the Kabul valley, while others accompanied the conquering Yué-chi founders of the Indo-Scythian empire into northern India.

Then followed the overthrow of the Yué-chi themselves by the *Yê-tha* (*Ye-tha-i-li-to*) of the Chinese records, that is, the

1 Quoted by W. Crooke, who points out that "the opinion of the best Indian authorities seems to be gradually turning to the belief that the connection between Játs and Rájputs is more intimate than was formerly supposed" (*The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, Calcutta, 1896, III. p. 27).

2 Virgil's "indomiti Dahæ" (*Æn.* VIII. 728): possibly the Dehavites (Dievi) of Ezra, IV. 9.

3 *Herodotus*, Vol. I. p. 413.

4 From Pers. ده, *dih*, *dah*, village (Parsi *dahi*).

5 *Les Aryens*, etc. p. 68 sq.

Ephthalites, or so-called "White Huns," of the Greek and Arab writers, who about 425 A.D. overran Transoxiana, and soon afterwards penetrated through the mountain passes into the Kabul and Indus valleys. Although confused by some contemporary writers (Zosimus, Am. Marcellinus) with Attila's Huns, M. Drouin has made it clear that the Yé-tha were not Huns (Mongols) at all, but, like the Yué-chi, a Turki people, who were driven westwards about the same time as the Hiung-nu by the Yuan-Yuans (see above). Of Hun they had little but the name, and the more accurate Procopius was aware that they differed entirely from "the Huns known to us, not being nomads, but settled for a long time in a fertile region." He speaks also of their white colour and regular features, and their sedentary life[1], as in the Chinese accounts, where they are described as warlike conquerors of twenty kingdoms, as far as that of the A-si (Arsacides, Parthians), and in their customs resembling the Tu-Kiu (Turks), being in fact "of the same race." On the ruins of the Indo-Scythian (Yué-chi) empire, the White Huns ruled in India and the surrounding lands from 425 to the middle of the sixth century. A little later came the Arabs, who in 706 captured Samarkand, and under the Abassides were supreme in Central Asia till scattered to the winds by the Oghuz Turki hordes.

The "White Huns."

From all this it may perhaps be inferred that—while the Baktrian peasants entered India as settlers, and are now represented by the agricultural Játs—the Yué-chi and Yé-tha, both of fair Turki stock, came as conquerors, and are now represented by the Rájputs, "Sons of Kings," the warrior and land-owning race of northern India. It is significant that these Thákur, "feudal lords," mostly trace their genealogies from about the beginning of the 7th century, as if they had become Hinduized soon after the fall of the foreign Yé-tha dynasty, while on the other hand "the country legends abound with instances of the conflict between the Rájput and the Bráhman in prehistoric times[2]." This "prehistoric" hostility shows that the Rájputs entered India, not as "Aryans" of the Kshatriya or military caste, as is commonly assumed, but as aliens (Turks), the

[1] *De Bello Persico*, *passim*.

[2] Crooke, *op. cit.* IV. p. 221.

avowed foes of the true Aryans, that is, the Bráhman or theocratic (priestly) caste. Thus also is explained the intimate association of the Rájputs and the Játs from the first. The Rájputs were the Turki leaders of the invasions; the Játs were their peaceful Baktrian subjects following in their wake.

The statement, therefore, that the Játs may be ethnologically identical with the Rájputs[1]," is perhaps too strong, and even somewhat misguiding. It might be more correct to say the two races were not originally one, but have become largely assimilated one to the other through close contact during the last 1600 years. The theory that the haughty Rájputs are of unsullied "Aryan blood" is scarcely any longer held even by the Rájputs themselves. Alliances with Játs and others of much lower caste have, one might say, been always the normal condition, and in many septs two classes of different social rank are recognised: "one the offspring of wives of legitimate descent, married in the orthodox way; the other the descendants of irregular connections with low-caste women."

The Uigurs.

Nearly related to the White Huns were the *Uigurs*, the *Kao-che* of the Chinese annals, who may claim to be the first Turki nation that founded a relatively civilised State in Central Asia. Before the general commotion caused by the westward pressure of the Hiung-nu, they appear to have dwelt in eastern Turkestan (Kashgaria) between the Usuns and the Sacæ, and here they had already made considerable progress under Buddhist influences about the fourth or fifth century of the new era. Later, the Buddhist missionaries from Tibet were replaced by Christian (Nestorian) evangelists from western Asia, who in the seventh century reduced the Uigur language to written form, adapting for the purpose the Syriac alphabet, which was afterwards borrowed by the Mongols and the Manchus.

This Syriac script—which, as shown by the authentic inscription of Si-ngan-fu, was introduced into China in 635 A.D.—is not to be confused with that of the Orkhon inscriptions[2] dating from

[1] *Ibid.* p. 220.

[2] Discovered in 1889 by N. M. Yadrintseff in the Orkhon valley, which drains to the Selenga affluent of Lake Baikal. The inscriptions, one in Chinese

732 A.D., and bearing a certain resemblance to some of the Runic characters, as also to the Korean, at least in form, but never in sound. Yet although differing from the Uiguric, Prof. Thomsen, who has successfully deciphered the Orkhon text, thinks that this script may also be derived, at least indirectly through some of the Iranian varieties, from the same Aramean (Syriac) form of the Semitic alphabet that gave birth to the Uiguric[1].

The Orkhon Inscriptions.

It is more important to note that all the non-Chinese inscriptions are in the Turki language, while the Chinese text refers by name to the father, the grandfather, and the great-grandfather of the reigning Khan Bilga, which takes us back nearly to the time when Sinjibu (Dizabul), Great Khan of the Altai Turks, was visited by the Byzantine envoy, Zimarchus, in 569 A.D. In the still extant report of this embassy[2] the Turks (Τοῦρκοι) are mentioned by name, and are described as nomads who dwelt in tents mounted on waggons, burnt the dead, and raised monuments to their memory, statues, and cairns with as many stones as the foes slain by the deceased in battle. It is also stated that they had a peculiar writing-system, which must have been that of these Orkhon inscriptions, the Uiguric having apparently been introduced somewhat later.

Originally the Uigurs comprised nineteen clans, which at a remote period already formed two great sections:—the On-Uigur ("Ten Uigurs") in the south, and the Toghuz-Uigur ("Nine

and three in Turki, cover the four sides of a monument erected by a Chinese emperor to the memory of Kyul-teghin, brother of the then reigning Turki Khan Bilga (Mogilan). In the same historical district, where stand the ruins of Karakoram—long the centre of Turki and later of Mongol power—other inscribed monuments have also been found, all apparently in the same Turki language and script, but quite distinct from the glyptic rock carvings of the Upper Yenisei river, Siberia. The chief workers in this field were the Finnish archæologists J. R. Aspelin, A. Snellman and Axel O. Heikel, the results of whose labours are collected in the *Inscriptions de l'Jénisséi recueillies et publiées par la Société Finlandaise d'Archéologie*, Helsingfors, 1889; and *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon* etc., Helsingfors, 1892.

[1] "La source d'où est tirée l'origine de l'alphabet turc, sinon immédiatement, du moins par intermédiaire, c'est la forme de l'alphabet sémitique qu'on appelle araméenne" (*Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées*, Helsingfors, 1894).

[2] See Klaproth, *Tableau Historique de l'Asie*, p. 116 sq.

Uigurs") in the north. The former had penetrated westwards to the Aral Sea[1] as early as the 2nd century A.D., and many of them undoubtedly took part in Attila's invasion of Europe.

Later, all these Western Uigurs, mentioned amongst the hordes that harassed the Eastern Empire in the 5th and 6th centuries, in association especially with the Turki Avars, disappear from history, being merged in the Ugrian and other Finnish peoples of the Volga basin. The Toghuz section also, after throwing off the yoke of the Mongol or Tungus Geugen (Jeu-Jen) in the 5th century, were for a time submerged in the vast empire of the Altai Turks, founded in 552 by Tumen of the House of Assena (A-shi-na), who was the first to assume the title of Kha-Khan, "Great Khan," and whose dynasty ruled over the united Turki and Mongol peoples from the Pacific to the Caspian, and from the Frozen Ocean to the confines of China and Tibet. Both the above-mentioned Singibu, who received the Byzantine envoy, and the Bilga Khan of the Orkhon *stele*, belonged to this dynasty, which was replaced in 774 by Pei-lo (Huei-hu), chief of the Toghuz-Uigurs. This is how we are to understand the statement that all the Turki peoples who during the somewhat unstable rule of the Assena dynasty from 552 to 774 had undergone many vicissitudes, and about 580 were even broken into two great sections (Eastern Turks of the Karakoram region and Western Turks of the Tarim basin) were again united in one vast political system under the Toghuz-Uigurs. These are henceforth known in history simply as Uigurs, the On branch having, as stated, long disappeared in the West. The centre of their power seems to have oscillated between Karakoram and Turfan in Eastern Turkestan, the extensive ruins of which have been explored by Regel and the brothers Grum Grigimailo. Their vast dominions were gradually dismembered, first by the *Hakas*, or *Ki-li-Kissé*, precursors of the present Kirghiz, who overran the eastern (Orkhon) districts about 840, and then by the Muhammadans of Máwar-en-Nahar (Transoxiana), who overthrew the "Lion Kings," as the Uigur Khans of Turfan

The Assena Turki Dynasty.

Toghuz-Uigur Empire.

[1] They are the *Onoi*, the "Tens," who at this time dwelt beyond the Scythians of the Caspian Sea (Dionysius Periegetes).

were called, and set up several petty Mussulman states in Eastern Turkestan. Later they fell under the yoke of the Kara-Khitais, and were amongst the first to join the devastating hordes of Jenghiz-Khan; their name, which henceforth vanishes from history[1], being thus perhaps perpetuated under the form of "Ogres," in fable and nursery tales.

At present the heterogeneous populations of the Tarim basin (Kashgaria, Eastern Turkestan) where the various elements have been intermingled, offer a striking contrast to those of the Ili valley (Zungaria), where one invading horde has succeeded and been superimposed on another. Hence the complexity of the Kashgarian type, in which the original "horse-like face" everywhere crops out, absorbing the later Mongolo-Turki arrivals. But in Zungaria the Kalmak, Chinese, Dungan, Taranchi, and Kirghiz groups are all still sharply distinguished and perceptible at a glance. "Amongst the Kashgarians—a term as vague ethnically as 'Aryan'—Richthofen has determined the successive presence of the Su, Yué-chi, and Usun hordes, as described in the early Chinese chronicles[2]."

In close proximity to the Toghuz-Uigurs dwelt the *Oghuz* (*Ghuz*, *Uz*), for whom eponymous heroes have been provided in the legendary records of the Eastern Turks, although all these terms would appear to be merely shortened forms of Toghuz[3].

The Oghuz Turks and their Migrations.

But whether true Uigurs, or a distinct branch of the Turki people, the Ghuz, as they are commonly called by the Arab writers, began their westward migrations about the year 780. After occupying Transoxiana, where they are now represented by the Uzbegs[4] of

[1] It still persists, however, as a tribal designation both amongst the Kirghiz and Uzbegs, and in 1885 Potanin visited the *Yegurs* of the Edzin-gol valley in south-east Mongolia, said to be the last surviving representatives of the Uigur nation (H. Schott, *Zur Uigurenfrage* in *Abhandl. d. k. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Berlin, 1873, p. 101–21).

[2] Ch. de Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens au Nord et au Sud de l'Hindou-Kouch*, p. 28.

[3] "The Uzi of the Greeks are the Gozz [Ghuz] of the Orientals. They appear on the Danube and the Volga, in Armenia, Syria, and Chorasan, and their name seems to have been extended to the whole Turkoman [Turki] race" [by the Arab writers]; *Gibbon*, Ch. LVII.

[4] Who take their name from a mythical Uz-beg, "Prince Uz" (*beg* in Turki = a chief, or hereditary ruler).

Bokhara and surrounding lands, they gradually spread as conquerors over all the northern parts of Irania, Asia Minor, Syria, the Russian and Caucasian steppes, Ukrania, Dacia, and the Balkan Peninsula. In most of these lands they formed fresh ethnical combinations both with the Caucasic aborigines, and with many kindred Turki as well as Mongol peoples, some of whom were settled in these regions since neolithic times, while others had either accompanied Attila's expeditions, or followed in his wake (Pechenegs, Komans, Alans, Kipchaks, Kara-Kalpaks), or else arrived later in company with Jenghiz-Khan and his successors (Kazan and Nogai "Tatars"[1]).

In Russia, Rumania (Dacia), and most of the Balkan peninsula these Mongolo-Turki blends have been again submerged by the dominant Slav and Rumanian peoples (Great and Little Russians, Servo-Croatians, Montenegrini, Moldavians, and Walachians). But in south-western Asia they still constitute perhaps the majority of the population between the Indus and Constantinople, in many places forming numerous compact communities, in which the Mongolo-Turki physical and mental characters are conspicuous. Such, besides the already mentioned Turkomans of Parthian lineage, are all the nomad and many of the settled inhabitants of Khiva, Ferghana, Karategin, Bokhara, generally comprised under the name of Uzbegs and "Sartes." Such also are the Turki peoples of Afghan Turkestan, and of the neighbouring uplands (Hazaras and Aimaks who claim Mongol descent, though now of Persian speech); the Aderbaijani and many other more scattered groups in Persia; the Nogai and Kumuk tribes of Caucasia, and especially most of the nomad and settled agricultural populations of Asia Minor. The Anatolian peasantry form, in fact, the most numerous and compact division of the Turki family still surviving in any part of their vast domain between the Bosporus and the Lena.

[1] Both of these take their name, not from mythical but from historical chiefs:—*Kazan Khan* of the Volga, "the rival of Cyrus and Alexander," who was however of the House of Jenghiz, consequently not a Turk, like most of his subjects, but a true Mongol (*ob.* 1304); and *Noga*, the ally and champion of Michael Palæologus against the Mongols marching under the terrible Holagu almost to the shores of the Bosporus.

Out of this prolific Oghuz stock arose many renowned chiefs, founders of vast but somewhat unstable empires, such as those of the Gasnevides, who ruled from Persia to the Indus; the Seljuks, who first wrested the Asiatic provinces from Byzantium; the Osmanli, so named from Othman, the Arabized form of Athman, who prepared the way for Orkhan (1326–60), true builder of the Ottoman power, which has alone survived the shipwreck of all the historical Turki states. The vicissitudes of these monarchies, looked on perhaps with too kindly an eye by Gibbon, belong to the domain of history, and it will suffice here to state that from the ethnical standpoint the chief interest centres in that of the Seljukides, covering the period from about the middle of the 11th to the middle of the 13th century. It was under Togrul-beg of this dynasty (1038–63) that "the whole body of the Turkish nation embraced with fervour and sincerity the religion of Mahomet[1]." A little later began the permanent Turki occupation of Asia Minor, where after the conquest of Armenia (1065–68) and the overthrow of the Byzantine emperor Romanus Diogenes (1071), numerous military settlements, followed by nomad Turkoman encampments, were established by the great Seljuk rulers, Alp Arslan and Malek Shah (1063–92), at all the strategical points. These first arrivals were joined later by others fleeing before the Mongol hosts led by Jenghiz-Khan's successors down to the time of Timur-beg. But the Christians (Greeks and earlier aborigines) were not exterminated, and we read that, while great numbers apostatized, "many thousand children were marked by the knife of circumcision; and many thousand captives were devoted to the service or the pleasures of their masters" (*ib.*). In other words, the already mixed Turki intruders were yet more modified by further interminglings with the earlier inhabitants of Asia Minor. Those who, following the fortunes of the Othman dynasty, crossed the Bosporus and settled in Rumelia and some other parts of the Balkan Peninsula, now prefer to call themselves *Osmanli*, even

Seljuks and Osmanli.

[1] Gibbon, Chap. LVII. By the "Turkish nation" is here to be understood the western section only. The Turks of Máwar-en-Nahar and Kashgaria (eastern Turkestan) had been brought under the influences of Islam by the first Arab invaders from Persia two centuries earlier.

repudiating the national name "Turk" still retained with pride by the ruder peasant classes of Asia Minor. The latter are often spoken of as "Seljuk Turks," as if there were some racial difference between them and the European Osmanli, and for the distinction there is some foundation. As pointed out by Arminius Vambéry[1], the Osmanli have been influenced and modified by their closer association with the Christian populations of the Balkan lands, while in Anatolia the Seljuks have been able better to preserve the national type and temperament. The true Turki spirit ("das Türkentum") survives especially in the provinces of Lykaonia and Kappadokia, where the few surviving natives were not only Islamised but ethnically fused, whereas in Europe most of them (Bosnians, Albanians) were only Islamised, and here the Turki element has always been slight.

The Yakuts.

At present the original Turki type and temperament are perhaps best preserved amongst the remote *Yakuts* of the Lena, and the *Kirghiz* groups (*Kirghiz Kazaks* and *Kara Kirghiz*) of the West Siberian steppe and the Pamir uplands. The Turki connection of the Yakuts, about which some unnecessary doubts had been raised, has been set at rest by V. A. Sierochevsky[2], who, however, describes them as now a very mixed people, owing to alliances with the Tunguses and Russians. They are of short stature, averaging scarcely 5 ft. 4 in., and this observer thought their dark but not brilliant black eyes, deeply sunk in narrow orbits, gave them more of a Red Indian than of a Mongol cast. They are almost the only progressive aboriginal people in Siberia, although numbering not more than 200,000 souls, concentrated chiefly along the river banks on the plateau between the Lena and the Aldan.

In the Yakuts we have an extreme instance of the capacity of man to adapt himself to the *milieu*. They not merely exist, but thrive and display a considerable degree of energy and enterprise in the coldest region on the globe. Within the isothermal of – 72° Fahr. Verkhoyansk, in the heart of their territory, is alone

[1] *Die Stellung der Türken in Europa*, in *Geogr. Zeitschrift*, Leipzig, 1897, Part 5, p. 250 sq.

[2] *Ethnographic Researches*, edited by Prof. N. E. Vasilofky for the *Imperial Geogr. Soc.* 1896, quoted in *Nature*, Dec. 3, 1896, p. 97.

included for the period from November to February, and in this temperature, at which the quicksilver freezes, the Yakut children may be seen gambolling naked in the snow. In midwinter Mr R. Kennan met some of these "men of iron," as Wrangel calls them, airily arrayed in nothing but a shirt and a sheepskin, lounging about as if in the enjoyment of the balmy zephyrs of some genial sub-tropical zone.

Although nearly all are Orthodox Christians, or at least baptized as such, they are mere Shamanists at heart, still conjuring the powers of nature, but offering no worship to a supreme deity, of whom they have a vague notion, though he is too far off to hear, or too good to need their supplications. The world of good and evil spirits, however, has been enriched by accessions from the Russian calendar and pandemonium. Thanks to their commercial spirit, the Yakut language, a very pure Turki idiom, is even more widespread than the race, having become a general medium of intercourse for Tungus, Russian, Mongol and other traders throughout East Siberia, from Irkutsk to the Sea of Okhotsk, and from the Chinese frontier to the Arctic Ocean[1].

The Kirghiz.

To some extent W. Radloff is right in describing the great Kirghiz Turki family as "of all Turks most nearly allied to the Mongols in their physical characters, and by their family names such as Kyptshak [Kipchak], Argyn, Naiman, giving evidence of Mongolian descent, or at least of intermixture with Mongols[2]." But we have already been warned against the danger of attaching too much importance to these tribal designations, many of which seem, after acquiring renown on the battle-field, to have passed readily from one ethnic group to another. There are certain Hindu Kush and Afghan tribes who think themselves Greeks or Arabs, because of the supposed descent of their chiefs from Alexander the Great or the Prophet's family, and genealogical trees spring up like the conjurer's mango plant in support of such illustrious lineage. The Chagatai (Jagatai) tribes, of Turki stock and speech, take their name from a full-blood Mongol, Chagatai, second son of Jenghiz-Khan, to whom fell Eastern Turkestan in the partition of the empire.

[1] A. Erman, *Reise um die Erde*, 1835, Vol. III. p. 51.

[2] Quoted by Peschel, *Races of Man*, p. 383.

In the same way many Uzbeg and Kirghiz Turki tribes are named from famous Mongol chiefs, although no one will deny a strain of true Mongol blood in all these heterogeneous groups. This is evident enough from the square and somewhat flat Mongol features, prominent cheek-bones, oblique eyes, large mouth, feet and hands, yellowish brown complexion, ungainly obese figures and short stature, all of which are characteristic of both sections, the Kara-Kirghiz highlanders, and the Kazaks of the lowlands. Some ethnologists regard these Kirghiz groups, not as a distinct branch of the Mongolo-Turki race, but rather as a confederation of several nomad tribes stretching from the Gobi to the Lower Volga, and mingled together by Jenghiz-Khan and his successors[1].

Kazák and Kossack.

The true national name is *Kazák*, "Riders," and as they were originally for the most part mounted marauders, or free lances of the steppe, the term came to be gradually applied to all nomad and other horsemen engaged in predatory warfare. It thus at an early date reached the South Russian steppe, where it was adopted in the form of *Kossack* by the Russians themselves. It should be noted that the compound term Kirghiz-Kazak, introduced by the Russians to distinguish these nomads from their own Cossacks, is really a misnomer. The word "Kirghiz," whatever its origin, is never used by the Kazaks in reference to themselves, but only to their near relations, the Kirghiz, or Kara-Kirghiz[2], of the uplands.

The Kara-Kirghiz.

These highlanders, who roam the Tian-shan and Pamir valleys, form two sections:—*On*, "Right" or East, and *Sol*, "Left," or West. They are the *Diko Kamennyi*, that is, "Wild Rock People," of the Russians, whence the expression "Block Kirghiz" still found in some English books of travel. But they call themselves simply Kirghiz, claiming descent from an original tribe of that name, itself sprung from a legendary Kirghiz-beg, from whom are also descended the Chiliks, Kitars and others, all now reunited with the Ons and the Sols.

The Kazaks also are grouped in long-established and still jealously maintained sections—the *Great*, *Middle*, *Little*, and

[1] M. Balkashin in *Izvestia Russ. Geogr. Soc.* April, 1883.

[2] *Kara*="Black," with reference to the colour of their round felt tents.

Inner Horde—whose joint domain extends from Lake Balkhash round the north side of the Caspian down to the Lower Volga[1]. All accepted the teachings of Islam many centuries ago, but their Muhammadanism[2] is of a somewhat negative character, without mosques, mollahs, or fanaticism, and in practice not greatly to be distinguished from the old Siberian Shamanism. Kumiss, fermented mare's milk, their universal drink, as amongst the ancient Scythians, plays a large part in the life of these hospitable steppe nomads.

The Finns. One of the lasting results of Castrèn's labours has been to place beyond reasonable doubt the Altai origin of the Finnish peoples[3]. Their cradle may now be localized with some confidence about the headwaters of the Yenisei, in proximity to that of their Turki kinsmen. Here is the seat of the *Soyotes* and of the closely allied *Koibals*, *Kamassintzi*, *Matores*, *Karagasses* and others, who occupy a considerable territory along both slopes of the Sayan range, and may be regarded as the primitive stock of the widely diffused Finnish race. Some of these groups have intermingled with the neighbouring Turki peoples, and even speak Turki dialects. But the original Finnish

[1] On the obscure relations of these Hordes to the Kara-Kirghiz and prehistoric Usuns some light has been thrown by the investigations of N. A. Aristov, a summary of whose conclusions is given by Dr A. Ivanovski in *Centralblatt für Anthropologie* etc., 1896, p. 47.

[2] Although officially returned as Muhammadans of the Sunni sect, Levchine tells us that it is hard to say whether they are Moslem, Pagan (Shamanists), or Manichean, this last because they believe God has made good angels called *Mankir* and bad angels called *Nankir*. Two of these spirits sit invisibly on the shoulders of every person from his birth, the good on the right, the bad on the left, each noting his actions in their respective books, and balancing accounts at his death. It is interesting to compare these ideas with those of the Uzbeg prince who explained to Mr Lansdell that at the resurrection, the earth being flat, the dead grow out of it like grass; then God divides the good from the bad, sending these below and those above. In heaven nobody dies, and every wish is gratified; even the wicked creditor may seek out his debtor, and in lieu of the money owing may take over the equivalent in his good deeds, if there be any, and thus be saved (*Through Central Asia*, 1887, p. 438).

[3] See especially his *Reiseberichte u. Briefe aus den Jahren* 1845–49, p. 401 sq.; and *Versuch einer Koibalischen u. Karagassischen Sprachlehre*, 1858, vol. I. *passim*.

type and speech are well represented by the Soyotes, who are here indigenous, and "from these their...kinsmen, the Samoyeds have spread as breeders of reindeer to the north of the continent from the White Sea to the Bay of Chatanga[1]." Others, following a westerly route along the foot of the Altai and down the Irtish to the Urals, appear to have long occupied both slopes of that range, where they acquired some degree of culture, and especially that knowledge of, and skill in working, the precious and other metals, for which the "White-eyed Chudes" were famous, and to which repeated reference is made in the songs of the *Kalevala*[2]. As there are no mines or minerals in Finland itself, it seems obvious that the legendary heroes of the Finnish national epic must have dwelt in some metalliferous region, which could only be the Altai or the Urals, possibly both.

In any case the Urals became a second home and point of dispersion for the Finnish tribes (*Ugrian Finns*), whose migrations—some prehistoric, some historic—can be followed thence down the Pechora and Dvina to the Frozen Ocean[3], and down the Kama to the Volga. From this artery, where permanent settlements were formed (*Volga Finns*), some conquering hordes went south and west (*Danubian Finns*), while more peaceful wanderers

[1] Peschel, *Races of Man*, p. 386.

[2] In a suggestive paper on this collection of Finnish songs Mr C. U. Clark (*Forum*, April, 1898, p. 238 sq.) shows from the primitive character of the mythology, the frequent allusions to copper or bronze, and the almost utter absence of Christian ideas and other indications, that these songs must be of great antiquity. "There seems to be no doubt that some parts date back to at least 3000 years ago, before the Finns and the Hungarians had become distinct peoples; for the names of the divinities, many of the customs, and even particular incantations and bits of superstitions mentioned in the Kalevala are curiously duplicated in ancient Hungarian writings."

[3] When Ohthere made his famous voyage round North Cape to the Cwen Sea (White Sea) all this Arctic seaboard was inhabited, not by Samoyads, as at present, but by true Finns, whom King Alfred calls *Beormas, i.e.* the *Biarmians* of the Norsemen, and the *Permiaki* (*Permians*) of the Russians (*Orosius* I. 13). In medieval times the whole region between the White Sea and the Urals was often called Permia; but since the withdrawal southwards of the Ziryanians and other Permian Finns this Arctic region has been thinly occupied by Samoyad tribes spreading slowly westwards from Siberia to the Pechora and Lower Dvina.

ascended the great river to Lakes Ladoga and Onega, and thence to the shores of the Baltic and Lapland (*Baltic and Lake Finns*).

Former and Present Domain.

Thus were constituted the main branches of the wide-spread Finnish family, whose domain formerly extended from the Khatanga beyond the Yenisei to Lapland, and from the Arctic Ocean to the Altai range, the Caspian, and the Volga, with considerable *enclaves* in the Danube basin. But throughout their relatively short historic life the Finnish peoples, despite a characteristic tenacity and power of resistance, have in many places been encroached upon, absorbed, or even entirely eliminated, by more aggressive races, such as the Siberian "Tatars" in their Altai cradleland, the Turki Kirghiz and Bashkirs in the West Siberian steppes and the Urals, the Russians in the Volga and Lake districts, the Germans and Lithuanians in the Baltic Provinces (Kurland, Livonia, Esthonia), the Rumanians, Slavs, and others in the Danube regions, where the Ugrian Bulgars and Magyars have been almost entirely assimilated in type (and the former also in speech) to the surrounding European populations.

Late Westward Spread of the Finns.

Few anthropologists now attach much importance to the views not yet quite obsolete regarding a former extension of the Finnish race over the whole of Europe and the British Isles. Despite the fact that all the Finns are essentially round-headed, they were identified first with the long-headed cavemen, who retreated north with the reindeer, as was the favourite hypothesis, and then with the early neolithic races who were also long-headed. Elaborate but now forgotten essays were written by learned philologists to establish a common origin of the Basque and the Finnic tongues, which have nothing in common, and half the myths, folklore, and legendary heroes of the western nations were traced to Finno-Ugrian sources.

Now we know better, and both archæologists and philologists have made it evident that the Finnish peoples are relatively quite recent arrivals in Europe, that the men of the Bronze Age in Finland itself were not Finns but Teutons, and that at the beginning of the new era all the Finnish tribes still dwelt east of the Gulf of Finland[1].

[1] See A. Hackmann, *Die Bronzezeit Finnlands*, Helsingfors, 1897; also

Not only so, but the eastern migrations themselves, as above roughly outlined, appear to have taken place at a relatively late epoch, long after the inhabitants of west Siberia had passed from the New Stone to the Metal Ages. J. R. Aspelin, "founder of Finno-Ugrian archæology," points out that the Finno-Ugrian peoples originally occupied a geographical position between the Indo-Germanic and the Mongolic races, and that their first Iron Age was most probably a development, between the Yenisei and the Kama, of the so-called Ural-Altai Bronze Age, the last echoes of which may be traced westwards to Finland and north Scandinavia. In the Upper Yenisei districts iron objects had still the forms of the Bronze Age, when that ancient civilisation, associated with the name of the "Chudes," was interrupted by an invasion which introduced the still persisting Turki Iron Age, expelled the aboriginal inhabitants, and thus gave rise to the great migrations first of the Finno-Ugrians, and then of the Turki peoples (Bashkirs, Volga "Tatars" and others) to and across the Urals. It was here, in the Permian territory between the Irtish and the Kama, that the West Siberian (Chudish) Iron Age continued its normal and unbroken evolution. The objects recovered from the old graves and kurgans in the present governments of Tver and Iaroslav, and especially at Ananyino on the Kama, centre of this culture, show that here took place the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age some 300 years before the new era, and here was developed a later Iron Age, whose forms are characteristic of the northern Finno-Ugrian lands. The whole region would thus appear to have been first occupied by these immigrants from Asia after the irruption of the Turki hordes into Western Siberia during the First Iron Age, at most some 500 or 600 years before

The Iron and Bronze Ages in the Finnish Lands.

M. Aspelin, O. Montelius, V. Thomsen and others, who have all, on various grounds, arrived at the same conclusion. Even D. E. D. Europæus, who has advanced so many heterodox views on the Finnish cradleland, and on the relations of the Finnic to the Mongolo-Turki languages, agrees that "vers l'époque de la naissance de J. C., c'est-à-dire bien longtemps avant que ces tribus immigrassent en Finlande, elles [the western Finns] étaient établies immédiatement au sud des lacs d'Onéga et de Ladoga." (*Travaux Géographiques exécutés en Finlande jusqu'en* 1895, Helsingfors, 1895, p. 141.)

the Christian era. The Finno-Ugrian migrations are thus limited to a period of not more than 2,600 years from the present time, and this conclusion, based on archæological grounds, agrees fairly well with the historical, linguistic, and ethnical data.

The Baltic Finns.

It is especially in this obscure field of research that the eminent Danish scholar, Prof. Vilhelm Thomsen, has rendered inestimable services to European ethnology. By the light of his linguistic studies A. H. Snellman[1] has elucidated the origins of the Baltic Finns, the Proto-Esthonians, the now all but extinct Livonians, and the quite extinct Kurlanders, from the time when they still dwelt east and south-east of the Baltic lands, under the influence of the surrounding Lithuanian and Gothic tribes, till the German conquest of the Baltic provinces. We learn from Jordanes, to whom is due the first authentic account of these populations, that the various Finnish tribes were subject to the Gothic king Hermanarich, and Thomsen now shows that all the Western Finns (Esthonians, Livonians, Votes, Vepses, Karelians, Tavastians, and others of Finland), must in the first centuries of the new era have lived practically as one people in the closest social union, speaking one language, and following the same religious, tribal, and political institutions. Earlier than the Gothic was the Letto-Lithuanian contact, as shown by the fact that its traces are perceptible in the language of the Volga Finns, in which German loan-words are absent. From these investigations it becomes clear that the Finnish domain must at that time have stretched from the present Esthonia, Livonia, and Lake Ladoga south to the western Dvina.

Relations to Goths, Letts, and Slavs.

The westward movement was connected with the Slav migrations. When the Slavs south of the Letts moved west, other Slav tribes must have pushed north, thus driving both Letts and Finns west to the Baltic provinces, which had previously been occupied by the Germans (Goths). Some of the Western Finns must have found their way about 500 A.D., scarcely earlier, into parts of this region, where they came into hostile and friendly contact with

[1] *Finska Forminnesföreningens Tidskrift*, *Journ. Fin. Antiq. Soc.* 1896, p. 137 sq.

the Norsemen. These relations would even appear to be reflected in the Norse mythology, which may be regarded as in great measure an echo of historic events. The wars of the Swedish and Danish kings referred to in these oral records may be interpreted as plundering expeditions rather than permanent conquests, while the undoubtedly active intercourse between the east and west coasts of the Baltic may be explained on the assumption that, after the withdrawal of the Goths, a remnant of the Germanic populations remained behind in the Baltic provinces.

Finno-Russ Origins.

From Nestor's statement that all three of the Varangian princes settled, not amongst Slavish but amongst Finnish peoples, it may be inferred that the Finnish element constituted the most important section in the newly founded Russian State; and it may here be mentioned that the term "Russ" itself has now been traced to the Finnish word *Ruost* (*Ruosti*), a "Norseman." But although at first greatly outnumbering the Slavs, the Finnish peoples soon lost the political ascendancy, and their subsequent history may be summed up in the expression—gradual absorption in the surrounding Slav populations. This inevitable process is still going on amongst all the Volga, Lake and Baltic Finns, except in Finland and Lapland, where other conditions obtain[1].

Most Finnish ethnologists agree that however much they may now differ in their physical and mental characters and usages, Finns and Lapps were all originally one people. Some variant of *Suoma*[2] enters into the national name of all the Baltic groups—*Suomalaiset*, the Finns of Finland, *Somelaïzed*, those of Esthonia, *Samelats* (Sabmelad), the Lapps, *Samoyad*, the Samoyedes. In Ohthere's time the Norsemen called all the Lapps "Finnas" (as

[1] "Les Finnois et leurs congénères ont occupé autrefois, sur d'immenses espaces, les vastes régions forestières de la Russie septentrionale et centrale, et de la Sibérie occidentale; mais plus tard, refoulés et divisés par d'autres peuples, ils furent réduits à des tribus isolées, dont il ne reste maintenant que des débris épars" (*Travaux Géographiques*, p. 132).

[2] A word of doubtful meaning, commonly but wrongly supposed to mean *swamp* or *fen*, and thus to be the original of the Teutonic *Finnas*, "Fen People" (see Thomsen, *Einfluss d. ger. Spr. auf die finnisch-lappischen*, p. 14).

the Norwegians still do), and that early navigator already noticed that these "Finns" seemed to speak the same language as the Beormas, who were true Finns[1]. Nor do the present inhabitants of Finland, taken as a whole, differ more in outward appearance and temperament from their Lapp neighbours than do the Tavastians and the Karelians, that is, their western and eastern sections, from each other. The Tavastians, who call themselves Hémelaiset, "Lake People," have rather broad, heavy frames, small and oblique blue or grey eyes, towy hair and white complexion, without the clear florid colour of the North Germanic and English peoples. The temperament is somewhat sluggish, passive and enduring, morose and vindictive, but honest and trustworthy.

Tavastian and Karelian Finns.

Very different are the tall, slim, active Karelians (*Karialaiset*, "Cowherds," from *Kari*, "Cow"), with more regular features, straight grey eyes, brown complexion, and chestnut hair, like that of the hero of the Kalevala, hanging in ringlets down the shoulders. Many of the Karelians, and most of the neighbouring *Ingrians* about the head of the Gulf of Finland, as well as the Votes and Vepses of the great lakes, have been assimilated in speech, religion, and usages to the surrounding Russian populations. But the more conservative Tavastians have hitherto tenaciously preserved the national sentiment, language, and traditions. Despite the pressure of Sweden on the west, and of Russia on the east, the Finns still stand out as a distinct European nationality, and continue to cultivate with success their harmonious and highly poetical language. Since the 12th century they have been Christians, converted to the Catholic faith by "Saint" Eric, King of Sweden, and later to Lutheranism, again by the Swedes[2]. The national university, removed in 1827 from Abo to Helsingfors, is a centre of much scientific and literary work, and here E. Lönnrot, father of Finnish literature, brought out his various editions of the *Kalevala*, that of 1849 consisting of some 50,000 strophes.

A kind of transition from these settled and cultured Finns

[1] "þa Finnas, him þuhte, and þa Beormas spræcon neah án geðeode" (Orosius I. 14).

[2] See my paper on the Finns in Cassell's *Storehouse of Information*, p. 296.

to the Lapps of Scandinavia and Russia is formed by the still almost nomad, or at least restless *Kwæns*, who formerly roamed as far as the White Sea, which in Alfred's time was known as the *Cwen Sæ* (Kwæn Sea). These Kwæns, who still number nearly 300,000, are even called nomads by Prof. J. A. Friis, who tells us that there is a continual movement of small bands between Finland and Scandinavia. "The wandering Kwæns pass round the Gulf of Bothnia and up through Lappmarken to Kittalä, where they separate, some going to Varanger, and others to Alten. They follow the same route as that which, according to historians, some of the Norsemen followed in their wanderings from Finland[1]." The references of the Sagas are mostly to these primitive Bothnian Finns, with whom the Norsemen first came in contact, and who in the 6th and following centuries were still in a rude state not greatly removed from that of their Ugrian forefathers. As shown by Almqvist's researches, they lived almost exclusively by hunting and fishing, had scarcely a rudimentary knowledge of agriculture, and could prepare neither butter nor cheese from the milk of their half-wild reindeer herds.

The Kwæns.

Such were also, and in some measure still are, the kindred Lapps, who with the allied *Yurak Samoyads* of Arctic Russia are the only true nomads still surviving in Europe. Mr A. H. Cocks, who travelled amongst all these rude aborigines in 1888, describes the Kwæns who range north to Lake Enara, as "for the most part of a very rough class," and found that the Russian Lapps of the Kola Peninsula, "except as to their clothing and the addition of coffee and sugar to their food supply, are living now much the same life as their ancestors probably lived 2000 or more years ago, a far more primitive life, in fact, than the Reindeer Lapps [of Scandinavia]. They have not yet begun to use tobacco, and reading and writing are entirely unknown among them. Unlike the three other divisions of the race [the Norwegian, Swedish, and Finnish Lapps], they are a very cheerful, light-hearted people,

The Lapps, Samoyads and Permian Finns.

[1] *Laila*, Earl of Ducie's English ed. p. 58. The Swedish *Bothnia* is stated to be a translation of *Kwæn*, meaning low-lying coastlands; hence *Kainulaiset*, as they call themselves, would mean "Coastlanders."

and have the curious habit of expressing their thoughts aloud in extempore sing-song[1]."

Similar traits have been noticed in the Samoyads, whom Mr F. G. Jackson describes as an extremely sociable and hospitable people, delighting in gossip, and much given to laughter and merriment[2]. He gives their mean height as nearly 5 ft. 2 in., which is about the same as that of the Lapps (Von Düben, 5 ft. 2 in., others rather less), while that of the Finns averages 5 ft. 5 in. (Topinard). Although the general Mongol appearance is much less pronounced in the Lapps than in the Samoyads, in some respects—low stature, flat face with peculiar round outline—the latter reminded Mr Jackson of the Ziryanians, who are a branch of the Beormas (Permian Finns), though like them now much mixed with the Russians. The so-called prehistoric "Lapp Graves," occurring throughout the southern parts of Scandinavia, are now known from their contents to have belonged to the Norse race, who appear to have occupied this region since the New Stone Age, while the Lapp domain seems never to have reached very much farther south than Trondhjem.

Lapp Origins and Migrations.

All these facts, taken especially in connection with the late arrival of the Finns themselves in Finland, lend support to the view that the Lapps are a branch, not of the Suomalaiset, but of the Permian Finns, and reached their present homes, not from Finland, but from North Russia through the Kanin and Kola Peninsulas, if not round the shores of the White Sea, at some remote period prior to the occupation of Finland by its present inhabitants. This assumption would also explain Ohthere's statement that Lapps and Permians seemed to speak nearly the same language. The resemblance is still close, though I am not competent to say to which branch of the Finno-Ugrian family Lapp is most nearly allied.

Temperament—Religion.

Of the Mongol physical characters the Lapp still retains the round low skull (index 83), the prominent cheek-bones, somewhat flat features, and ungainly figure. The temperament, also, is still perhaps more Asiatic

[1] *A Boat Journey to Inari*, Viking Club, Feb. 1, 1895.

[2] *The Great Frozen Land*, 1895, p. 61.

than European, although since the 18th century they have been Christians—Lutherans in Scandinavia, Orthodox in Russia. In pagan times Shamanism had nowhere acquired a greater development than among the Lapps. A great feature of the system were the "rune-trees," made of pine or birch bark, inscribed with figures of gods, men, or animals, which were consulted on all important occasions, and their mysterious signs interpreted by the Shamans. Even foreign potentates hearkened to the voice of these renowned magicians, and in England the expression "Lapland witches" became proverbial, although it appears that there never were any witches, but only wizards, in Lapland. Such rites have long ceased to be practised, although some of the crude ideas of a material after-life still linger on. Money and other treasures are often buried or hid away, the owners dying without revealing the secret, either through forgetfulness, or more probably of set purpose in the hope of thus making provision for the other world.

Amongst the kindred Samoyads, despite their Russian orthodoxy, the old pagan beliefs enjoy a still more vigorous existence. "As long as things go well with him, he is a Christian; but should his reindeer die, or other catastrophe happen, he immediately returns to his old god *Num* or *Chaddi*...He conducts his heathen services by night and in secret, and carefully screens from sight any image of Chaddi[1]." Mr Jackson noticed several instances of this compromise between the old and the new, such as the wooden cross supplemented on the Samoyad graves by an overturned sledge to convey the dead safely over the snows of the under-world, and the rings of stones, within which the human sacrifices were perhaps formerly offered to propitiate Chaddi; and although these things have ceased, "it is only a few years ago that a Samoyad living on Novaia Zemlia sacrificed a young girl."

The Volga Finns.

Similar beliefs and practices still prevail not only amongst the Siberian Finns—Ostyaks of the Yenisei and Obi rivers, Voguls of the Urals—but even amongst the Votyaks, Mordvinians, Cheremisses and other scattered groups still surviving in the Volga basin. So recently as

[1] *The Great Frozen Land*, p. 84.

the year 1896 a number of Votyaks were tried and convicted for the murder of a passing mendicant, whom they had beheaded to appease the wrath of Kiremet, Spirit of Evil and author of the famine raging at that time in Central Russia. Besides Kiremet, the Votyaks—who appear to have migrated from the Urals to their present homes between the Kama and the Viatka rivers about 400 A.D., and are mostly heathens—also worship Inmar, God of Heaven, to whom they sacrifice animals as well as human beings whenever it can be safely done. We are assured by Baron de Baye that even the few who are baptized take part secretly in these unhallowed rites[1].

To the Ugrian branch, rudest and most savage of all the Finnish peoples, belong these now moribund Volga groups, as well as the fierce Bulgar and Magyar hordes, if not also their precursors, the *Jazyges* and *Rhoxolani*, who in the 2nd century A.D. swarmed into Pannonia from the Russian steppe, and in company with the Germanic Quadi and Marcomanni twice (168 and 172) advanced to the walls of Aquileia, and were twice arrested by the legions of Marcus Aurelius and Verus. Of the once numerous Jazyges, whom Pliny calls Sarmates, there were several branches —*Mæotæ*, *Metanastæ*, *Basilii* ("Royal")—who were first reduced by the Goths spreading from the Baltic to the Euxine and Lower Danube, and then overwhelmed with the Dacians, Getæ, Bastarnæ, and a hundred other ancient peoples in the great deluge of the Hunnish invasion.

The Bulgars—Origins and Migrations.

From the same South Russian steppe—the plains watered by the Lower Don and Dnieper—came the *Bulgars*, first in association with the Huns, from whom they are scarcely distinguished by the early Byzantine writers, and then as a separate people, who, after throwing off the yoke of the Avars (635 A.D.), withdrew before the pressure of the Khazars westwards to the Lower Danube (678). But their records go much farther back than these dates, and while philologists and archæologists are able to trace their wanderings step by step north to the Middle Volga and the Ural Mountains, authentic Armenian

[1] *Notes sur les Votiaks payens des Gouvernements de Kazan et Viatka*, Paris, 1897. They are still numerous, especially in Viatka, where they numbered 240,000 in 1897.

documents carry their history back to the 2nd century B.C. Under the Arsacides numerous bands of Bulgars, driven from their homes about the Kama confluence by civil strife, settled on the banks of the Aras, and since that time (150—114 B.C.) the Bulgars were known to the Armenians as a great nation dwelling away to the north far beyond the Caucasus.

Originally the name, which afterwards acquired such an odious notoriety amongst the European peoples, may have been more geographical than ethnical, implying not so much a particular nation as all the inhabitants of the *Bulga* (Volga) between the Kama and the Caspian. But at that time this section of the great river seems to have been mainly held by more or less homogeneous branches of the Finno-Ugrian family, and palethnologists have now shown that to this connection beyond all question belonged in physical appearance, speech, and usages those bands known as Bulgars, who formed permanent settlements in Mœsia south of the Lower Danube towards the close of the 7th century[1]. Here "these bold and dexterous archers, who drank the milk and feasted on the flesh of their fleet and indefatigable horses; whose flocks and herds followed, or rather guided, the motions of their roving camps; to whose inroads no country was remote or impervious, and who were practised in flight, though incapable of fear[2]," established a powerful state, which maintained its independence for over seven hundred years (678—1392).

Acting at first in association with the Slavs, and then assuming "a vague dominion" over their restless Sarmatian allies, the Bulgars spread the terror of their hated name throughout the Balkan lands, and were prevented only by the skill of Belisarius from anticipating their Turki kinsmen in the overthrow of the Byzantine Empire itself. Procopius and Jornandes have left terrible pictures of the ferocity, debasement, and utter savagery, both of the Bulgars and of their Slav confederates during the period preceding the foundation of the Bulgar dynasty in Mœsia. Wherever the Slavs (Antes, Slavini) passed, no soul was left

[1] See especially Schafarik's classical work *Slavische Alterthümer*, II. p. 159 sq. and V. de Saint-Martin, *Études de Géographie Ancienne et d'Ethnographie asiatique*, II. p. 10 sq., also the still indispensable Gibbon, Ch. XLII. &c.

[2] *Decline and Fall*, XLII.

alive; Thrace and Illyria were strewn with unburied corpses; captives were shut up with horse and cattle in stables, and all consumed together, while the brutal hordes danced to the music of their shrieks and groans. Indescribable was the horror inspired by the Bulgars, who killed for killing's sake, wasted for sheer love of destruction, swept away all works of the human hand, burnt, razed cities, left in their wake nought but a picture of their own cheerless native steppes. Of all the barbarians that harried the Empire, the Bulgars have left the most detested name, although closely rivalled by the Slavs.

To the ethnologist the later history of the Bulgarians is of exceptional interest. They entered the Danubian lands in the seventh century as typical Ugro-Finns, repulsive alike in physical appearance and mental characters. Their dreaded chief, Krum, celebrated his triumphs with sanguinary rites, and his followers yielded in no respects to the Huns themselves in coarseness and brutality. Yet an almost complete moral if not physical transformation had been effected by the middle of the 9th century, when the Bulgars were evangelised by Byzantine Missionaries, exchanged their rude Ugrian speech for a Slavonic tongue, the so-called "Church Slav," or even "Old Bulgarian," and became henceforth merged in the surrounding Slav populations. The national name "Bulgar" alone survives, as that of a somewhat peaceful southern "Slav" people, who have in our time again acquired the political independence of which they had been deprived by Bajazet I. in 1392.

Great and Little Bulgaria.

Nor did this name disappear from the Volga lands after the great migration of Bulgar hordes to the Don basin during the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. On the contrary, here arose another and a greater Bulgar empire, which was known to the Byzantines of the 10th century as "Black Bulgaria," and later to the Arabs and Western peoples as "Great Bulgaria," in contradistinction to the "Little Bulgaria" south of the Danube[1]. It fell to pieces during the later "Tatar"

[1] Rubruquis (13th century): "We came to the Etil, a very large and deep river four times wider than the Seine, flowing from 'Great Bulgaria,' which lies to the north." Farther on he adds: "It is from this Great Bulgaria that

wars, and nothing now remains of the Volga Bulgars, except the Volga itself from which they were named.

Avars and Magyars.

In the same region, but farther north[1], lay also a "Great Hungary," the original seat of those other Ugrian Finns known as Hungarians and Magyars, who followed later in the track of the Bulgars, and like them formed permanent settlements in the Danube basin, but higher up in Pannonia, the present kingdom of Hungary. Here, however, the Magyars had been preceded by the kindred (or at least distantly connected) Avars, the dominant people in the Middle Danube lands for a great part of the period between the departure of the Huns and the arrival of the Magyars[2]. Rolling up like a storm cloud from the depths of Siberia to the Volga and Euxine, sweeping everything before them, reducing Kutigurs, Utigurs, Bulgars, and Slavs, the Avars presented themselves in the 6th century on the frontiers of the empire as the unwelcome allies of Justinian. Arrested at the Elbe by the Austrasian Franks, and hard pressed by the Gepidæ, they withdrew to the Lower Danube under the ferocious Khagan Bayan, who, before his overthrow by the Emperor Mauritius and death in 602, had crossed the Danube, captured Sirmium, and reduced the whole region bordering on the Byzantine empire. Later the still powerful Avars with their Slav followers, "the Avar viper and the Slav locust," overran the Balkan lands, and in 625 nearly captured Constantinople. They were at last crushed by Pepin, king of

issued those Bulgarians who are beyond the Danube, on the Constantinople side" (quoted by V. de Saint-Martin).

[1] Evidently much nearer to the Ural Mountains, for Jean du Plan Carpin says this "Great Hungary was the land of *Bascart*," that is, *Bashkir*, a large Finno-Turki people, who still occupy a considerable territory in the Orenburg Government about the southern slopes of the Urals.

[2] With them were associated many of the surviving fugitive On-Uigurs (Gibbon's "Ogors or Varchonites"), whence the report that they were not true Avars. But the Turki genealogies would appear to admit their claim to the name, and in any case the Uigurs and Avars of those times cannot now be ethnically distinguished. *Kandish*, one of their envoys to Justinian, is clearly a Turki name, and *Varchonites* seems to point to the Warkhon (Orkhon), seat in successive ages of the eastern Turks, the Uigurs, and the true Mongols.

Italy, who reoccupied Sirmium in 799, and brought back such treasure that the value of gold was for a time enormously reduced.

Then came the opportunity of the *Hunagars* (Hungarians), who, after advancing from the Urals to the Volga (550 A.D.), had reached the Danube about 886. Here they were invited to the aid of the Germanic king Arnulf, threatened by a formidable coalition of the western Slavs under the redoubtable Zventibolg, a nominal Christian who would enter the church on horseback followed by his wild retainers, and threaten the priest at the altar with the lash. In the upland Transylvanian valleys the Hunagars had been joined by eight of the derelict Khazar tribes, amongst whom were the *Megers* or *Mogers*, whose name under the form of *Magyar* was eventually extended to the united Hunagar-Khazar nation. Under their renowned king Arpad, son of Almuth, they first overthrew Zventibolg, and then with the help of the surviving Avars reduced the surrounding Slav populations. Thus towards the close of the 9th century was founded in Pannonia the present kingdom of Hungary, in which were absorbed all the kindred Mongol and Finno-Turki elements that still survived from the two previous Mongolo-Turki empires, established in the same region by the Huns under Attila (430–453), and by the Avars under Khagan Bayan (562–602).

Magyar Origins and early Records.

After reducing the whole of Pannonia and ravaging Carinthia and Friuli, the Hungars raided Bavaria and Italy (899–900), imposed a tribute on the feeble successor of Arnulf (910), and pushed their plundering expeditions as far west as Alsace, Lorraine, and Burgundy, everywhere committing atrocities that recalled the memory of Attila's savage hordes. They were reported to drink the blood of their captives, so that in medieval legends the term *hungar*, *ongar* (the *ogre* of our fairy tales), indicated a man-eating monster who devoured the flesh and drank the blood of children. Later the same word seems to have been revived and associated with the Uigur Turks who, as above seen, took part in the Mongol invasions of Europe under Jenghiz-Khan and his successors.

This period of lawlessness and savagery was closed by the

conversion of Saint Stephen I. (997–1038), after which the Magyars became gradually assimilated in type and general culture, but not in speech, to the western nations[1]. Their harmonious and highly cultivated language still remains a typical member of the Ural-Altaic family, reflecting in its somewhat composite vocabulary the various Finno-Ugric and Turki elements (Ugrians and Permians from the Urals, Volga Finns, Turki Avars and Khazars), of which the substratum of the Magyar nation is constituted[2].

Politically the Magyars continue to occupy a position of vital importance in Eastern Europe, wedged in between the northern and southern Slav peoples, and thus presenting an insurmountable obstacle to the aspirations of the Panslavist dreamers. The fiery and vigorous Magyar nationality, a compact body of about 8,000,000 (1898), holds the boundless plains watered by the Middle Danube and the Theiss, and thus permanently separates the Chekhs, Moravians, and Slovaks of Bohemia and the northern Carpathians from their kinsmen, the Yugo-Slavs ("Southern Slavs") of Servia and the other now Slavonized Balkan lands. These Yugo-Slavs are in their turn severed by the Rumanians of Neo-Latin speech from their northern and eastern brethren, the Ruthenians, Poles, Great and Little Russians. Had the Magyars and Rumanians adopted any of the neighbouring Slav idioms, it is safe to say that, like the Ugrian Bulgarians, they must have long ago been absorbed in the surrounding Panslav world, with consequences to the central European nations which it would not be difficult to forecast. Here we have a striking illustration of the influence of language in developing and preserving the national sentiment, analogous in many respects to that now witnessed on a larger scale amongst the English-speaking populations on both

[1] *Ethnology*, p. 309.

[2] Vambéry, perhaps the best authority on this point, holds that in its structure Magyar leans more to the Finno-Ugric, and in its vocabulary to the Turki branch of the Ural-Altaic linguistic family. He attributes the effacement of the physical type partly to the effects of the environment, partly to the continuous interminglings of the Ugric, Turki, Slav, and Germanic peoples in Pannonia (*Ueber den Ursprung der Magyaren*, in *Mitt. d. K. K. Geograph. Ges.*, Vienna, 1897, XL. Nos. 3 and 4).

sides of the Atlantic and in the Austral lands. From this point of view the ethnologist may unreservedly accept Ehrenreich's trenchant remark that "the nation stands and falls with its speech[1]."

[1] "Das Volk steht und fällt mit der Sprache" (*Urbewohner Brasiliens*, 1897, p. 14).

CHAPTER X.

THE AMERICAN ABORIGINES.

Origin and Cultural Evolution—Two Primitive Types: Long-heads from Europe; Round-heads from Asia—Mongolo-Caucasic Relations—The American specialised in America—Palæolithic Man in America—Independent Evolution of Speech in America—Stock Languages—Distribution of the Original Ethnical Elements—Cranial Deformation—The "Toltecs"—Type of North-west Coast Indians—Contrasts and Transitions between British Columbians and Eskimoans—*Eskimo* Origins and Migrations—*Skrällinger* and *Norsemen*—Eskimo and *Aleut* Cradleland—Tribal Organization—Variable Type—Uniform Character of Eskimo Speech—Cultural Systems—Shamanism—*Thlinkit* and *Haida* Heraldic Posts—Folklore—Range of the *Athabascans*—*Navajos* and *Apaches*—The Indian Reservations—The Mound-Builders—The "Six Nations"—The *Cherokees*—The Cherokee Writing System—The *Muskhogeans*—Primitive Man in Florida—The *Siouans*: Origins and Migrations—The *Biloxi*: Migrations and Displacements—Cosmogonies—The *Dakotas*——Dakota Social System—The Totem:—Clan, Gens, and Phratry—*The Pueblo Indians* and Cliff-Dwellers—Their Cultural Relations—The Pueblo Clan System—Symbolism and Snake Dances.

CONSPECTUS.

Distribution in Past and Present Times.

Primeval Home. *North and South America.*

Present Range. *N. W. Pacific Coastlands; the shores of the Arctic Ocean, Labrador, and Greenland; the unsettled parts of Alaska and the Dominion; Reservations and Agencies in the Dominion and the United States; parts of Florida, Arizona, and New Mexico; most of Central and South America with Fuegia either wild and full-blood, or semi-civilized half-breeds.*

Physical Characters.

Hair, *black, lank, coarse, often very long, nearly round in transverse section; face and body hairless;* **Colour,** *normally coppery or yellowish-brown, but dark brown on the uplands, and light brown in the Amazonian and other woodlands;* **Skull,** *generally mesaticephalous*

(79°), *but with wide range from* 65 (*some Eskimo*) *to* 89 *or* 90 (*some British Columbians, Peruvians*); *the* **os Incae** *more frequently present than amongst other races, but the* **os linguae** (*hyoid bone*) *often imperfectly developed;* **Jaws,** *massive, but moderately projecting* (*mesognathous,* 72); **Cheek-bone**, *rather prominent laterally, and also high, but often of normal Caucasic form;* **Nose,** *generally large, straight or even aquiline, and mesorrhine* (50); **Eyes,** *nearly always black, round, and straight, but small, rather deep-set, and sometimes slightly oblique;* **Stature,** *usually above the medium* (5 *ft.* 8 *or* 10 *in.*), *but variable—under* 5 *ft.* 6 *in. on the western plateaux* (*Peruvians, &c.*), *also in Fuegia and Alaska;* 6 *ft. and upwards in Patagonia* (*Tehuelches*), *Central Brazil* (*Bororos*) *and Prairie* (*Algonquians, Iroquoians*); **Lips, Arms, Legs,** *and* **Feet,** *of normal* (*European*) *type.*

Mental Characters.

Temperament, *moody, reserved, and wary; outwardly impassive and capable of enduring extreme physical pain; considerate towards each other, kind and gentle towards their women and children, but not in a demonstrative manner; keen sense of justice, hence easily offended, but also easily pacified. The outward show of dignity and a lofty air assumed by many seems due more to vanity or ostentation than to a feeling of true pride. Mental capacity considerable, much higher than the Negro, but on the whole inferior to the Mongol.*

Speech, *exclusively polysynthetic, a type unknown elsewhere; is not a primitive condition, but a highly specialised form of agglutination, in which all the terms of the sentence tend to coalesce in a single polysyllabic word; stock languages very numerous, perhaps more so than all the stock languages of all the other orders of speech in the rest of the world.*

Religion, *various grades of spirit and nature worship, corresponding to the various cultural grades; a crude form of shamanism prevalent amongst most of the North American aborigines, polytheism with sacrifice and priestcraft amongst the cultured peoples* (*Aztecs, Mayas,*

&c.); the monotheistic concept nowhere clearly evolved; belief in a natural afterlife very prevalent, if not universal.

Culture, *highly diversified, ranging from the lowest stages of savagery through various degrees of barbarism to the advanced social state of the more or less civilised Mayas, Aztecs, Chibchas, Yuncas, Quichuas, and Aymaras; amongst these pottery, weaving, metal-work, agriculture, and especially architecture fairly well developed; letters less so, although the Maya script seems to have reached the true phonetic state; navigation and science rudimentary or absent; in general savagery far more prevalent and intense in South than in North America, but the tribal state almost everywhere persistent.*

Main Divisions.

North America: *Eskimauan* (Innuit, Aleut, Karalit); *Athapascan* (Kuchin, Chippewyan, Apache, Navajo); *Kolushan; Algonquian* (Delaware, Abenaki, Chippeway, Shawnee, Arapaho, Sac and Fox, Blackfoot); *Iroquoian* (Huron, Mohawk, Tuscarora, Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga); *Siouan* (Dakota, Omaha, Crow, Iowa, Osage, Assiniboin); *Shoshonean* (Comanche, Ute); *Salishan; Sahaptian; Caddoan; Muskhogean* (Creek, Choctaw, Chicasa, Seminole); *Pueblo* (Zuñi, Tegua, Jemez, Moqui).

Central America: *Opatan; Nahuatlan* (Aztec, Pipil); *Huaxtecan* (Maya, Quiché, Pocoman); *Miztecan; Zapotecan; Charotegan; Otomitlan; Talamancan.*

South America: *Muyscan* (Chibcha); *Quechuan* (Quitu, Chincha, Inca, Aymara); *Yuncan* (Chimu); *Antisan; Jivaran; Zaparan; Betoyan; Warrauan; Chi-Panoan; Ticunan; Lecan; Barréan; Tacanan; Chiquitan; Mojan; Arawakan* (Atorai, Maypure, Wapiana, Vaura, Mahinacu, Layana); *Cariban* (Bakairi, Nahuqua, Pamella, Galibi, Calina, Arecuna, Macusi, Ackawoi); *Guaranian* (Tembo, Tupi, Omagua, Mundrucu); *Gesan* (Botocudo, Camacan); *Charruan; Mataguayan; Lulean; Toban; Mocobian; Araucan; Puelchean* (Pampas); *Tehuelchean; Fuegian* (Yahgan, Alacaluf).

No serious inquiry into the ethnical relations of the primitive inhabitants of the New World can avoid the discussion of such primary questions as their origin and cultural evolution. Are they indigenous in the absolute sense of the word? If not, from what quarter or quarters of the Eastern Hemisphere did they reach their present habitat? Or, what is practically the same thing, from what other division or divisions of mankind did they branch off? When did the segmentation take place? How far, if at all, was their subsequent physical and cultural development influenced by the peoples of the Old World?

Origin and Cultural Evolution.

My own views on these fundamental questions, elsewhere given in some detail[1], may here be briefly re-stated. The abundant traces of primitive man—both the works of his hand, and in some places even his osseous remains themselves—strewn over the continent from Alaska to Fuegia, show that America forms no exception to the general statement that all the habitable parts of the globe were occupied by man in pleistocene times, that is, during the early Stone Ages. But at that period the works of man, as well as man himself, were still but slightly specialised, everywhere presenting the same generalised and uniform types[2]. Consequently the American pleistocene man was not greatly to be distinguished from his fellows in other regions of the world. But this generalised precursor originated, not independently in several zoological zones from several independent pliocene and miocene ancestors, but in one zoological zone—Indo-Malaysia—from one pliocene ancestor, perhaps best represented by Dubois' *Pithecanthropus erectus*, and spread by migration thence over the globe[3]. It follows that the American aborigines are not indigenous in the absolute sense, but reached the Western from the Eastern Hemisphere in the primitive state, prior to all strictly cultural developments.

A study of their physical constitution, substantially but not wholly uniform—with indeed two marked sub-varieties, respectively

[1] *American Indians*, *Encyclopædia Britannica* New (IXth) edition; *Ethnology*, Chap. XIII.

[2] See pp. 8–9.

[3] pp. 3–8.

represented in the north by the Eskimo long-heads and the Mexican round-heads, in the south by the Botocudo long-heads and the Andean round-heads—points at two streams of immigrants from the Old World. The Eskimo-Botocudo section has been traced to the long-headed palæolithic man of Europe[1], which continent geology has shown to have been connected with North America through the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland down to post-glacial times. The other section, which probably greatly outnumbered the first, came apparently later (during the New Stone Age) from Eastern Asia by the Bering waters, and are now represented, allowing for great intermixture, by the still prevalent round-headed element.

Two primitive Types: Long-heads from Europe; Round-heads from Asia.

Since then till late historic times there were no further arrivals by the European route, the land connection having been submerged; nor by the Asiatic to any appreciable extent, no clear evidence being forthcoming of the presence of early historic, that is, highly specialised Asiatic peoples in the New World. On like negative grounds, which have here the force of the strongest positive arguments, early immigrants numerous enough to affect the questions at issue are also excluded both from Africa and Australasia.

The constituent elements of our aborigines would therefore appear to be proto-Europeans of the First Stone Age, a somewhat generalised primitive Caucasic type, and proto-Asiatics, a somewhat generalised primitive Mongolo-American type, both European and Asiatic still preserving many common features of the common pleistocene precursors. Is it surprising that, under such conditions, opinions should differ as to the actual relations of the Americans to the great ethnical groups in the Old World; some insisting upon, others vehemently denying, all Mongol kinship, some emphasising a European connection, some with Ehrenreich

[1] G. de Mortillet amongst others suggests that at the close of the Solutrian and Madelenian epochs some of the primitive inhabitants of France migrated northwards with the reindeer, and passing by the then existing land bridge into America became the ancestors of the Eskimo, the earliest "French Colonists" in that part of the world (*Formation de la Nation Française*, 1897). This view is anticipated by Topinard on anatomical grounds (*Eth.* p. 364).

maintaining that they are *sui generis*, products of the soil, to be considered as much or as little a distinct race as those of other parts of the world, in any case differing no more from Europeans than from Asiatics? This is precisely what we should expect, if the American division, with its undeniable general family likeness and substantial uniformity, combined with two rather strongly marked types, were really constituted in the way here set forth. Ehrenreich winds up a lengthy discussion of the whole question with the remark that "if the Caucasic race is to be regarded as one, there is no reason for treating the American differently. It were strange were it not subject to variation like the other main divisions. In fact the American shows considerably more uniformity when compared with the whole Caucasic division, which taken in its widest sense comprises the Aryan, Semitic, and Hamitic stocks, whose colour ranges from an albino white through all transitional shades to the deepest black, and whose skulls show every degree of dolicho- and brachycephaly. Such differences also as occur in Africa amongst the Bantu negroes, Hottentots, and Bushmen are not found amongst the Americans, whose variability is scarcely greater than that of the Malay and Mongol peoples." To me it is specially gratifying to find that this careful observer of the American aborigines in almost every part of the continent closes the discussion with the frank acceptance of my general conclusion that "without denying a common origin of both groups [Mongol and American] it may still be argued that the American offshoot has diverged sufficiently to be regarded as a distinct variety in the same sense that the Mongol is itself taken as a distinct variety[1]."

[1] *Eth.* p. 222, quoted by Ehrenreich in *Anthropologische Studien*, &c., p. 44. Indications of such divergence are afforded by the five anatomical peculiarities of the American aborigines described by Dr Hermann Ten Kate, the most characteristic of which is perhaps the form of the hyoid bone (*os linguæ* supporting the tongue). This observer finds that the large cornua, nearly always soldered to the body of the bone in Europeans, remains distinct in the Americans, as in 17 old Zuñis, 9 moundbuilders, one Yahgan, a mummy from north-west Argentina, another from a Patagonian cave near Lake Argentin, 3 old Patagonians from the Rio Chubut, and one Brazilian. He regards the character as a case of arrested development which he considers himself justified in distinguishing as "American" (*Sur quelques points d'ostéologie ethnique*, &c., in

The question of origins thus disposed of, that of cultural development is settled *à priori*. It must be obvious that if the American race starts on its life history from the Stone Ages, and receives no later accessions from abroad, whatever degree of culture it ultimately reached, whatever stage of progress the arts, industries, science, and letters may have acquired in Mexico, Yucatan, Peru, or any other centre of civilisation, they must all have been independent local growths, owing absolutely nothing to foreign influences.

American Culture independently developed.

To this logical position the only possible reply might be an *a posteriori* argument based on facts at variance with the *a priori* assumption. Such facts, if forthcoming, might, for instance, be the presence in some part or parts of the continent of some language or languages clearly traceable to an eastern source; or some ancient buildings unmistakably designed on Egyptian, Babylonian, Hindu, or other foreign prototypes; or any inscriptions on such monuments either explicable by the aid of Asiatic or other languages, or carved in some script whose foreign origin could not be denied; or any sailing craft built on the lines of the Greek trireme, the Venetian galley, the Chinese junk, the Malay prau, or even the more primitive Polynesian outrigger or Indian catamaran; or oil lamps of some familiar type[1]; or some such economic plants as wheat and rice, which, not being indigenous, might be found cultivated in suitable localities, and thus supply an argument at least for later intercourse. But nothing of all this

Revista del Museo de la Plata, VII. 1896). Here may be quoted Virchow's weighty words on the general uniformity of the American type in connection with the seven Patagonians (Piyoche tribe) brought to Europe in 1879: "Wir haben fast nichts in der alten Welt dieser Homogeneität an die Seite zu stellen. Die Massenhaftigkeit der Knochenentwickelung...die bei den Grönländern anfängt, und sich durch fast alle ältern Völkerschichten Amerikas bis zur Magelhäensstrasse verfolgen lässt, tritt hier so auffallend vor, dass der Kopf, in Verhältniss zu dem Gesammtkörper, nahezu so gewaltig erscheint wie der Kopf eines Löwen" (*Zeitsch. f. Ethnol.* 1879, p. 199).

[1] Except amongst the Eskimo, who might have borrowed the idea from the Norsemen, "no lamps at all were known to the indigenes of America, not even to the comparatively cultured Mexicans and Peruvians" (E. B. Tylor, *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* 1884, p. 352).

has ever been found, and the list might be prolonged indefinitely without discovering any cultural links between the two hemispheres beyond such as may be traced to the Stone Ages, or to the common psychic unity of the human family. Proofs need not here be advanced of this sweeping statement, because it will find its confirmation in the details that are to follow.

One point only need detain us—the complete absence in America of any sailing vessels or other navigable appliances, whether for inland or marine waters, at all comparable to those of the eastern peoples. The Algonquians had their birch-bark canoes, in the calm Peruvian waters rafts drifted with the tides and currents, and it is somewhere mentioned that in the West Indies the roving Caribs hoisted a rudimentary sail on their frail craft when venturing from island to island. Can any more violent contrast be imagined than that presented by Prof. Flinders Petrie's "New Race" already 5000 years ago decorating their fictile vases with the device of "a long boat with two cabins, an ensign pole, and many oars," and the rude representations of the Eskimo, who despite their vicinity to Asia have still nothing to show except the open skin kayak with its double paddle, or at most the larger skin-covered umiak, or "woman's boat," with which oars and sail may be used, but in which "the natives sit with the face toward the bow, using the paddle and not an oar[1]." In fact all the American boats were mainly propelled by the paddle, which replaced oar, rudder, and true sails, the rare references to such contrivances occurring for the most part in later times some years after contact with Europeans. On his fourth voyage, however, Columbus met some fine canoes with room for 150 persons off the coast of Cuba; Pizarro also captured a large vessel at Tumbez, which was said to have a sail and rudder, and one or two other allusions are made by the early writers to canoes with sail and rudder, or with sail and oars[2]. If these statements can be trusted, it may be inferred that in pre-Columbian times the art of navigation had at least made a beginning amongst the Mayas,

[1] Dr W. J. Hoffman. *The Graphic Art of the Eskimos*, Washington, 1897, p. 847.

[2] Fr. Ratzel, *The History of Mankind*, Eng. ed. 1896, I. p. 41 sq.

Peruvians, and one or two other cultured peoples. But this very beginning was clearly local, as shown by the fact that the Aztecs, most advanced of all in so many respects, had not even got beyond the raft, so that the sails hoisted by Cortez on their lagoons terrified them as an unknown wonder.

But in historic times America could be reached only by more or less civilised peoples of specialised type, possessing, not merely crazy junks, but real seaworthy vessels capable of long oceanic voyages, and freighted with useful commodities to sustain life on the journey and open trading relations on arrival. Moreover, one or two casual trips would be useless in the present connection. To produce any general effect such intercourse must have been maintained for a considerable period of time, that is, the ocean route to America must have become a beaten track in pre-Norse and pre-Columbian days. Who is bold enough to associate his name with such an assumption as that?

Again, these early navigators—Phœnicians, Egyptians, Arabs, Malays, Chinese, Japanese, Pelasgians, Mykenæans—wherever they landed must have found the country either uninhabited, or already occupied by the American aborigines; or, is there any other alternative? If uninhabited, then they took possession, formed permanent settlements, and perpetuated their race and culture. Or did they burn their ships behind them, like Cæsar's legionaries, and voluntarily relapse into savagery, beginning again with the birch-bark canoe or coracle? But even so, the racial type must have persisted, and one asks, where in America are these early Phœnician, Egyptian, or other civilised and specialised settlers?

If, on the other hand, the country was already held by the present natives did these learn nothing from their foreign friends or foes? And if anything what has become of it? Where before the discovery was the wheat or rice[1], which could scarcely help running wild in many places? Where the dog, sheep, horse, ox, pig, poultry, which once introduced must have thriven then as

[1] That is the true Asiatic cereal, not the "wild rice," or "Canada rice" (*Zizania aquatica*), which is known to many North American tribes, and an account of which is given by Mr Gardiner P. Stickney in the *Amer. Anthropologist* for April, 1896.

well as now? Where the linguistic affinities, the inevitable loan words, the Egyptian or Chinese hieroglyphs, the Phœnician alphabet, the Babylonian cuneiforms, or other eastern scripts? Of such things there are frauds, enough and to spare, but not a single genuine document in stone, bronze, or durable material has ever been found anywhere between the two oceans. Not one link, not one tangible link, has ever come to light to connect the cultures of the Old and New Worlds. Yet how many links would be needed for a chain long enough to stretch across Atlantic or Pacific!

The *à priori* assumption therefore stands, and, pending further research, those ethnologists are fully justified who maintain the absolutely independent evolution of post-neolithic culture in the New World. Amongst them it is satisfactory to be able now to include Mr J. W. Powell, who has rendered such inestimable services to American anthropology, of which he may claim to be the first living exponent. In the paper already referred to[1] Mr Powell affirms that "the aboriginal peoples of America cannot be allied preferentially to any one branch of the human race in the Old World"; that "there is no evidence that any of the arts of the American Indians were borrowed from the Orient"; that "stone implements and many other things are found in the latest pleistocene deposits of valleys and plains everywhere throughout America," although "nothing has been discovered which antedates the glacial epoch"; that "the industrial arts of America were born in America, America was inhabited by tribes at the time of the beginning of industrial arts. They left the Old World before they had learned to make knives, spear and arrowheads, or at least when they knew the art only in its crudest state. Thus primitive man has been here ever since the invention of the stone knife and the stone hammer." He further contends that "the American Indian did not derive his forms of government, his industrial or decorative arts, his languages, or his mythological opinions from the Old World, but developed them in the New"; and that "in the demotic characteristics of the American Indians, all that is common to tribes of the Orient is universal, all that distinguishes

[1] *Whence came the American Indians? Forum*, Feb. 1898.

one group of tribes from another in America distinguishes them from all other tribes of the world[1]."

These general conclusions, however, leave untouched the question of palæolithic man in the New World, on which opinion continues to be divided, especially in the United States. Some confusion has certainly been caused by the failure to distinguish carefully between time and cultural sequences. It is not denied that multitudes of stone implements occur in many parts of America which closely resemble those of the palæolithic age in Europe. Nevertheless their value as evidence of a corresponding palæolithic age in the New World is denied, because here they represent, or may represent, merely a low stage of culture which still continues, and has no necessary reference to time. The European objects occur in undisturbed glacial and even pre-glacial deposits, in caves under thick stalagmite floors, in association with long extinct faunas, and under other circumstances, by all of which their pleistocene age and absolute antiquity are established. But in America, it is argued, they are mostly surface finds, and when occurring *in situ*, doubts are raised on the geological age of the beds, or on their condition (whether disturbed or not), or even on the good faith of the finders. Hence in his *Primitive Industry*[2], Dr Thomas Wilson, who favours antiquity, claimed for the objects in question no more than that they were "to be taken as serious evidence in favour of Palæolithic Man in America," just as they have "proved him to have existed in Europe," and this "under all reserve, and subject to future discoveries."

Palæolithic Man in America.

Since then such a discovery would appear to have been made in 1897 by the party of experts who undertook by independent inquiry to sift the much contested evidence from the Delaware gravels at Trenton, where Dr C. C. Abbott had been at work for

[1] The same position is taken by others, among them being Prof. Edward S. Morse, who opened a discussion on the subject at the meeting of the *Amer. Assoc.* Detroit, 1897, and insisted upon the essential unity of the American race, both in its physical characters and cultural developments, noting especially the absence from America of tea, silk, and other useful and easily transported Asiatic commodities, as already pointed out in *Eth.* Ch. XIII.

[2] *Washington*, 1894, p. 534 of the Smithsonian Report for 1892.

years. Mr Mercer, while suggesting possible intrusions from above, "when all was considered felt forced to conclude that a significant number[1] of artificial chips rested *in situ* in the sand, and hence were of an age indicating its deposition." On this question of age, Prof. Hollick reported that "the undisturbed sand was found to be distinctly stratified and evidently a water deposit." He "accepts the conclusions of competent authorities that the so-called palæoliths are of human manufacture, and that the sand in which they occur is of glacial age....The only controversy which seems possible is over the question of intrusion from above and, in view of the facts now adduced, the burden of proof should in fairness rest with those who hold this view[2]." Unless, therefore, intrusion is proved, of which there seems to be no evidence, the question would appear to be settled in favour of Palæolithic Man in North America.

Further evidence in the same direction has been adduced for South America by Prof. A. Nehring, who describes a skull from a *sambaqui* (shell-mound) at Santos, on the south coast of Brazil, which presents many characters like those of the Javanese *Pithecanthropus erectus*[3]. There is the same marked constriction of the frontal behind the orbital region, a trait highly characteristic of old and late South American skulls, some being not merely relatively, but absolutely not broader than the Java skull. The orbital region of the frontal is somewhat like the Neanderthal, with low retreating forehead and well-developed glabella and orbital ridges; cephalic index 77·6, but height and consequent cranial capacity much greater than the Java, so far as this can be conjectured. The face also is strongly prognathous, a feature enhanced perhaps by the abnormal dental development, the premolars and molars being very like those of the Spy, No. 1, cranium.

Dr H. Meyer's explorations in 1896 of the huge Laguna *sambaquis* in the same region, some quite 50 feet high and

[1] About fifty mostly man-made argillite, chert, jasper, and quartz flakes.

[2] *An Investigation of Man's Antiquity at Trenton*, by Prof. G. F. Wright, Prof. Arthur Hollick, Messrs H. B. Kümmel, G. N. Knapp, and H. C. Mercer (*Science*, Nov. 5, 1897).

[3] *Verhandl. Berliner Anthrop. Ges.* 1896, p. 710.

of vast extent, have brought to light further remains of primitive man, including as many as seven skeletons found at different levels[1]. Thus are greatly strengthened the views which were already entertained regarding the presence of Pleistocene Man in South America, and were based on the researches of Ameghino, Lund, Moreno, Burmeister, Hudson, Lovisato and others in the now classical Lagôa Santa caves of Minas Geraes, in the Parana basin (*Rio Carcaraña*), in the Buenos Ayres district (Samborombon), in Patagonia (Rio Negro Valley), and in Tierra del Fuego (Elizabeth Island)[2].

It may be incidentally mentioned that, from a thorough study of the fossil remains, especially of Lagôa Santa, the Danish anthropologist, Herluf Winge, infers that man is more closely allied to the gibbon than to the other simians—a conclusion also pointed at by the Java skull—and that the cradle of mankind is to be sought in the Old World, whence primitive man migrated to America at a remote period[3]. These independent inferences harmonise completely with the views here advocated on the origin and dispersion of the human race, and on the peopling of America during the Stone Ages.

Independent Evolution of Speech in America.

They are also confirmed by the linguistic relations in the New World. These are such as can be explained only on the assumption that the early settlers possessed some agglutinating form of speech at a low stage of development, and that its further development took place on American soil during an immense period of complete isolation unaffected in any way by extraneous influences. The freedom from extraneous influences is shown by the entirely independent character of the American languages, not one of which, after many years of patient comparative study, has yet been traced to a foreign source. It is not merely that they differ from other forms of speech in their general phonetic, structural, and

[1] Fully described in *Globus*, LXIX. p. 338 sq.

[2] *Eth.* p. 96 sq.

[3] *Jordfundne og nulevende Aber* (Primates) *fra Lagôa Santa*, &c. Copenhagen, 1895. The migration from the Old to the New World is, of course, necessitated by the absence of all traces of the Simiidæ from America, as this naturalist insists upon. On this point see *Eth.* p. 157.

lexical features; they differ from them in their very morphology, as much, for instance, as in the zoological world class differs from class, order from order. They have all of them developed on the same polysynthetic lines, from which if a few here and there now appear to depart, it is only because in the course of their further evolution they have, so to say, broken away from that prototype[1]. Take the rudest or the most highly cultivated anywhere from Alaska to Fuegia—Eskimo, Iroquois, Algonquin, Aztec, Tarascan, Ipurina, Peruvian, Yahgan—and you will find each and all giving abundant evidence of this universal polysynthetic character, not one true instance of which can be found anywhere in the eastern hemisphere. There is incorporation with the verb, as in Basque, many of the Caucasus tongues, and the Ural-Altaic group; but it is everywhere limited to pronominal and purely relational elements.

But in the American order of speech there is no such limitation, and not merely the pronouns, which are restricted in number, but the nouns with their attributes, which are practically numberless, all enter necessarily into the verbal paradigm. Thus in Tarascan (Mexico): *hopocuni* = to wash the hands; *hopodini* = to wash the ears, from *hoponi* = to wash, which cannot be used alone[2]. So in Ipurina (Amazonia): *nicuçacatçaurumatinií* = I draw the cord tight round your waist, from *ni*, I; *cuçaca*, to draw tight; *tça*, cord; *túruma*, waist; *tini*, characteristic verbal affix; *í*, thy, referring to waist[3].

[1] Such disintegration is clearly seen in the Carib still surviving in Dominica, of which Mr J. Numa Rat has contributed a somewhat full account to the *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* for Nov. 1897, p. 293 sq. Here the broken form *arametakuahátina buka* appears to represent the polysynthetic *arametakuanientibubuka* (root *arameta*, to hide), as in Père Breton's *Grammaire Caraibe*, p. 45, where we have also the form Arametakualubatibubasubutuiruni = know that he will conceal thee (p. 48). It may at the same time be allowed that great inroads have been made on the principle of polysynthesis even in the continental (South American) Carib, as well as in the Colombian Chibcha, the Mexican Otomi and Pima, and no doubt in some other linguistic groups. But that the system must have formerly been continuous over the whole of America seems proved by the persistence of extremely polysynthetic tongues in such widely separated regions as Greenland (Eskimo), Mexico (Aztec), Peru (Quechuan), and Chili (Araucanian).

[2] R. de la Grasserie and N. Léon, *Langue Tarasque*, Paris, 1896.

[3] Rev. J. E. R. Polak, *Ipurina Grammar*, &c., London, 1894.

We see from such examples that polysynthesis is not a primitive condition of speech, as is often asserted, but on the contrary a highly developed system, in which the original agglutinative process has gone so far as to attract all the elements of the sentence to the verb, round which they cluster like swarming bees round their queen. In Eskimo the tendency is shown in the construction of nouns and verbs, by which other classes of words are made almost unnecessary, and one word, sometimes of interminable length, is able to express a whole sentence with its subordinate clauses. Dr H. Rink, one of the first Eskimo scholars of modern times, gives the instance: "Suérúkame-autdlásassoq-tusaramiuk-tuningingmago-iluaríngilát = they did not approve that he (*a*) had omitted to give him (*b*) something, as he (*a*) heard that he (*b*) was going to depart on account of being destitute of everything[1]." Such monstrosities "are so complicated that in daily speech they could hardly ever occur; but still they are correct and can be understood by intelligent people[2]."

He gives another and much longer example, which the reader may be spared, adding that there are altogether about 200 particles, as many as ten of which may be piled up on any given stem. The process also often involves great phonetic changes, by which the original form of the elements becomes disguised, as, for instance, in the English *hap'oth* = half-pennyworth. The attempt to determine the number of words that might be formed in this way on a single stem, such as *igdlo*, a house, had to be given up after getting as far as the compound igdlorssualiortugssarsiumavoq = he wants to find one who will build a large house.

It is clear that such a linguistic evolution implies both the postulated isolation from other influences, which must have disturbed and broken up the cumbrous process, and also the postulated long period of time to develop and consolidate the

[1] *The Eskimo Tribes, their Distribution and Characteristics*, Copenhagen, 1887, I. p. 62 sq.

[2] In fact this very word was first given "as an ordinary example" by Kleinschmidt, *Gram. d. Grönlandischen Sprache*, Sect. 99, and is also quoted by Byrne, who translates: "They disapproved of him, because he did not give to him, when he heard that he would go off, because he had nothing" (*Principles*, etc. I. p. 140).

system throughout the New World. But time is still more imperiously demanded by the vast number of stock languages, many already extinct, many still current all over the continent, all of which differ profoundly in their vocabulary, often also in their phonesis, and in fact have nothing in common except this extraordinary polysynthetic groove in which they are cast. The most moderate calculations allow at least 150 such stock languages for the whole region, probably as many as in all the rest of the world.

Stock Languages.

But even that conveys but a faint idea of the astonishing diversity of speech prevailing in this truly linguistic Babel. Prof. Powell, who has himself determined as many as 58 stock languages for North America alone[1], points out that the practically distinct idioms are far more numerous than might be inferred even from such a large number of mother tongues. Thus, in the Algonquian[2] linguistic family he tells us there are about forty, no one of which could be understood by a people speaking another; in Athapascan from 30 to 40; in Siouan over 20; and in Shoshonean a still greater number[3]. It is the same, or perhaps even worse, in Central and in South America, where the linguistic confusion is so great that no complete classification of the native tongues seems possible. Sir Clements R. Markham has given a tolerably full list of the Amazonian tribes, with altogether 905 entries[4], and even after allowing for a large number of synonyms and sub-branches, there still remain some 625 tribal groups, each with at least a distinct dialect. Indeed, but for such linguistic differences, large numbers of these groups would be quite indistinguishable from each other, so great is the prevailing similarity in physical appearance and usages in many districts. Thus Ehrenreich tells us that, "despite their ethnico-linguistic differences, the tribes about the head-waters of the Xingu present complete uniformity

[1] *Indian Linguistic Families of America north of Mexico*, Washington, 1891.

[2] Following this ethnologist's convenient precedent, I use both in *Ethnology* and here the final syllable *an* to indicate stock races and languages in America. Thus *Algonquin* = the particular tribe and language of that name; *Algonquian* = the whole family; *Iroquois*, *Iroquoian*; *Carib*, *Cariban*, etc.

[3] *Forum*, Feb. 1898, p. 683.

[4] *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1895, p. 236 sq.

in their daily habits, in the conditions of their existence, and their general culture[1]." Yet amongst them are represented three of the radically distinct linguistic groups of Brazil, some (Bakairi and Nahugua) belonging to the Carib, some (Anetö and Kamayura) to the Guarani-Tupi, and some (Mehinaku and Vaura) to the Arawak family. Obviously these could not be so discriminated but for their linguistic differences. On the other hand the opposite phenomenon is occasionally presented of tribes differing considerably in their social relations, which are nevertheless of the same origin, or, what is regarded by Ehrenreich as the same thing, belong to the same linguistic group. Such are the Ipurinas, the Paumari and the Yamamadi of the Purus valley, all grouped as Arawaks because they speak dialects of the Arawakan stock language. At the same time it should be noted that the social differences observed by some modern travellers are often due to the ever-increasing contact with the whites, who are now encroaching on the Gran Chaco plains, and ascending every Amazonian tributary in quest of rubber and the other natural produce abounding in these regions.

In the introduction to his valuable list Sir Clements Markham observes that the evidence of language favours the theory that the Amazonian tribes, "now like the sands on the sea-shore for number, originally sprang from two or at most three parent stocks. Dialects of the Tupi language extend from the roots of the Andes to the Atlantic and southwards into Paraguay...and it is established that the differences in the roots between the numerous Amazonian languages are not so great as was generally supposed." This no doubt is true, and will account for much. But when we see it here recorded that of the Carabuyanas (Japura river) there are or were 16 branches, that the Chiquito group (Bolivia) comprises forty tribes speaking "seven different languages"; that of the Juris (Upper Amazons) there are ten divisions; of the Moxos (Beni and Mamoré rivers) 26 branches, "speaking nine, or according to Southey, thirteen languages"; of the Uaupés (Rio Negro) 28 divisions, and so on, we feel how much there is still left to be accounted for. Attempts have been made to weaken

[1] *Urbewohner Brasiliens*, p. 46.

the force of the linguistic argument by the assumption, at one time much in favour, that the American tongues are of a somewhat evanescent nature, in an unstable condition, often changing their form and structure within a few generations. But, says Prof. Powell, "this widely spread opinion does not find warrant in the facts discovered in the course of this research. The author has everywhere been impressed with the fact that savage tongues are singularly persistent, and that a language which is dependent for its existence upon oral tradition is not easily modified[1]." A test case is the Delaware (Leni Lenapé), an Algonquian tongue which, judging from the specimens collected by the Rev. Th. Campanius about 1645, has undergone but slight modification during the last 250 years.

In this connection the important point to be noticed is the fact that some of the stock languages have an immense range, while others are crowded together in indescribable confusion in rugged upland valleys, or about river estuaries, or in the recesses of trackless woodlands, and this strangely irregular distribution prevails in all the main divisions of the continent. Thus of Prof. Powell's 58 linguistic families in North America as many as forty are restricted to the relatively narrow strip of coast-land between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, ten are dotted round the Gulf of Mexico from Florida to the Rio Grande, and two disposed round the Gulf of California, while nearly all the rest of the land—some six million square miles—is occupied by the six widely diffused Eskimauan, Athapascan, Algonquian, Iroquoian, Siouan, and Shoshonean families. The same phenomenon is presented by Central and South America, where less than a dozen stock languages—Opatan, Nahuatlan, Huastecan, Chorotegan, Quechuan, Arawakan, Gesan (Tapuyan), Tupi-Guaranian, Cariban, Tacanan—are spread over millions of square miles, while many scores of others are restricted to extremely narrow areas. Here the crowding is largely determined, as in Caucasia, by the altitude (Andes in Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia; Sierras in Mexico). But in the United States the chief resort of the "feeble folk" have been the fjord-like formations and estuaries with their rich fishing-

[1] *Indian Linguistic Families*, p. 141.

grounds along the Pacific seaboard. The theory advanced by some leading American anthropologists that these fishing-grounds were first occupied by primitive man, who thence radiated along the lines of least resistance over the continent, has not been generally accepted. However plausible in itself, it seemed difficult to harmonise it with some of the ascertained data, not the least important of which was the discovery that the great Siouan family had their original seats not on the Pacific but on the Atlantic slope (Virginia, the Carolinas). Hence in this instance at least the early migrations were not from the west to the Missouri, but from the east apparently to and up the Mississippi to their later prairie homes. The extraordinary abundance of nutritious and easily captured food yielded by the Pacific estuaries need not be overlooked as a determining cause. But a more potent one was probably the scouring action of fierce predatory steppe nomads, so that here, as in Central Asia, most of the heterogeneous groups huddled together in contracted areas may still be regarded as the "sweepings of the plains."

Distribution of the Original Ethnical Elements.

It was inevitable that such dislocations, which have occurred everywhere in the New as well as in the Old World, should give rise to endless interminglings of the two primary elements, causing that great variability within certain narrow limits which justifies Dr Hamy's view regarding the diversity of the present American ethnical groups[1]. First comes the distinctly round-headed type, which comprises the mound-builders, the cliff-dwellers, and the "pueblo Indians" who belong to one and the same race. Systematic research in the old graves and ruins invariably brings to light the remains of a short, stout, round-headed people with strong jaws, thin nose, and large cheek-bones, resembling the Attacapans, the Uchies, and other survivors of several tribes in the south-east. True brachycephaly increases southwards, as amongst the Mayas, Mixtecs, Zapotecs, and others of Central America, perhaps also the old Chiriquis of Costa Rica, and

[1] "Ces divers groupes se comportent à peu près de la même manière que les Malaïques, et l'on trouve, en Amérique comme en Océanie, des types humains bien divers" (*Les Races Malaïques et Américaines*, in *L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 140).

beyond doubt the Chimus, Quechuas, and Aymaras of Peru and Bolivia. Still farther south it recurs in the Rio Negro valley, where d'Orbigny's Puelches are as round-headed as the Mayas of Yucatan (84°), with equally short but narrower face and moderate prognathism. These Puelches form with the Araucanians of Chili a separate group, perhaps to some extent connected with the Yuncas of the Pacific Coast.

On the other hand the Tehuelches, whose cradle appears to have been the Sumadouro district in Central Brazil, are characterised by long heads of archaic type. It was in the Lagôa Santa caves of this district that Lund found the very old, long, high and prognathous skulls, which best represent the primitive long-headed race in South America. From this region it radiated in all directions, north to Guiana, east to the San Francisco basin, west to Ancon, south to the Pampas. Its living representatives are the Botocudos, many Guarani, the Paraguayos, and probably the long-headed Fuegians. The long-heads appear to have arrived first, and to have been followed much later and partly submerged by the round-heads.

But in North America the round-headed mound-builders and others were encroached upon by populations of increasingly dolichocephalic type—Redskins and Cherokis, Chichimecs, Tepanecs, Acolhuas. Even still dolichocephaly is characteristic of Iroquois, Coahuilas, Sonorans, while the intermediate indices met with on the prairies and plateaux undoubtedly indicate the mixture between the long-headed invaders and the round-heads whom they swept aside as they advanced southwards. Thus the Minnetaris are highly dolicho; the Ponkas and Osages sub-brachy; the Algonquians variable, while the Siouans oscillate widely round a mesaticephalous mean.

Cranial Deformation.

The Athapascans alone are homogeneous, and their sub-brachycephaly recurs amongst the Apaches and their other southern kindred, who have given it an exaggerated form by the widespread practice of artificial deformation, which dates from remote times. The most typical cases both of brachy and dolicho deformation are from the Cerro de las Palmas graves in south-west Mexico. Deformation prevails also in Peru and Bolivia, as well as in Ceara and

the Rio Negro on the Atlantic side. The flat-head form, so common from the Columbia estuary to Peru, is found amongst the broad-faced Huaxtecs, their near relations the Maya-Quichés, and the Nahuatlans. It was also in use amongst the extinct Cebunys of Cuba, Hayti, and Jamaica, and the so-called "Toltecs," that is, the people of Tollan (Tula), who first founded a civilised state on the Mexican table-land (6th and 7th centuries A.D.), and whose name afterwards became associated with every ancient monument throughout Central America. On this "Toltec question" the most contradictory theories are current, and while some hold that the Toltecs were a great and powerful nation, who after the overthrow of their empire migrated southwards, everywhere spreading their culture throughout Central America, others regard their empire as "fabulous," and the Toltecs themselves as a myth, or at all events "nothing more than a sept of the Nahuas themselves, the ancestors of those Mexicans who built Tenochtitlan," *i.e.* the present city of Mexico. A third view, that of Dr Valentini, that the Toltecs were not Nahuas but Mayas, is now supported both by E. P. Dieseldorf[1] and by Dr Förstermann[2]. It is argued that the Mayas formerly ranged north to lat. 23° N., but that all were driven south by Aztec tribes from the north and west, the Huaxtecs of Vera Cruz alone excepted. Tula and Cholula were Maya settlements, and their culture generally was adopted by the Aztecs, whence the similarity between the two in many points.

The "Toltecs."

On the North-west Pacific Coast the same ethnical interminglings recur, and Dr Franz Boas[3] here distinguishes as many as four types, the Northern (Tsimshian and others), the Kwakiutl, the Harrison Lake, and the inland Salishan (Flat-heads, Shuswaps, &c.). All are round-headed, but while the Tsimshians are of medium height, with low, concave nose, very large head, and enormously broad face, exceeding the average for North America by 6 mm.,

Type of North-west Coast Indians Variable.

[1] *Bastian-Festschrift*, 1896 (*Who were the Toltecs?*).

[2] *Globus*, LXX. No. 3.

[3] *The Social Organization etc. of the Kwakiutl Indians*, Washington, 1897, p. 321 sq.

the Kwakiutls are shorter, with very high and relatively narrow hooked nose, and quite exceptionally high face; the Harrison Lake very short, with exceedingly short and broad head, "surpassing in this respect all other forms known to exist in North America"; lastly, the inland Salish rather tall (5 ft. 8 in.), with high and wide nose of the characteristic Indian form.

It would be difficult to find anywhere a greater contrast than that which is presented by some of these British Columbian natives, those, for instance, of Harrison Lake with almost circular heads (88·8), and some of the Labrador Eskimos with a degree of dolichocephaly not exceeded even by the Fijian Kai-Colos (65)[1]. But this violent contrast is somewhat toned by the intermediate forms, such as those of the Thlinkits, the Aleutian islanders, and the western (Alaskan) Eskimo, by which the transition is effected between the Arctic and the more southern populations. It is also to be noticed that the skulls brought in 1869 from North-east Greenland by A. Pansch, of the 2nd German North Polar Expedition, and studied by Sören Hansen, show a medium cephalic index as high as 75, with an extreme range from 71·3 to 81·1[2].

Eskimo Origins and Migrations.

Assuming that the *Skrällinger* of the early Norse records were ancestors of the present Greenland Eskimo, about which there is not much room for doubt, the eastern and many think purest section of this race has been in touch with Europeans ever since the discovery of the New World by Eric the Red about 980 A.D. They appear to have formerly ranged as far south as Massachusetts, where they were again met in 1004 by Thorvald about Kjalarnes (Keel-ness), which has been identified with the present Cape Cod. The Norse account applies badly or not at all to the Algonquians or any other Indians, but quite well to the Eskimos, described as of small size, dark colour, and broad features, using skin canoes

[1] W. L. H. Duckworth, *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* August, 1895.

[2] *Centralblatt f. Anthropologie*, etc., 1896, pp. 137–8. Amongst these skulls, which despite considerable variations present all the recognised features of the Eskimo type and especially the characteristic high pyramidal form, Mr Hansen found one, "an welchem die Schläfenlinien beiderseits sehr hoch lagen, und nur durch einen etwa 2 cm. breiten aufgetriebenen Scheitelkamm getrennt waren, *ganz wie bei den menschenähnlichen Affen.*" Another (from North-west Greenland) presented the lowest nasal index yet measured (33·9).

(*húdh-keipr*) and harpoons unknown to the other natives, and eating a mixture of marrow and blood, and what looked like raw-meat, whence the name *Eskimantsic*, "raw-flesh eaters" given them by the Abenaki Algonquians, and corrupted by the French to *Esquimaux*[1]. The most general national name is *Innuit*, "Men," in the west (Alaska); *Yuit*, of same meaning, on the Asiatic side of Bering Strait; and in the east (Greenland) *Karalit*, which Cranz thinks may be a native form of *Skrälling*[2]. It is important to notice, in connection with their costume, some usages, implements, myths, and even physical traits, that the two peoples dwelt side by side for several hundred years till the 15th century, when the Norsemen withdrew, and that contact was resumed and continued down to the present time early in the 18th century, when the Danes reoccupied Greenland. To these protracted relations Prof. Tylor attributes the many striking coincidences between the two cultures, mentioning especially the dress, the curious habit of rival parties reciting satirical verses against each other, stone lamps and kettles. "It is thus likely that the Greenlanders may have learnt from the Scandinavians the art of working potstone both into kettles and lamps. If so, the use of these would spread from Greenland over the whole Esquimaux district[3]."

But against this view has to be put the theory strenuously advocated by Dr H. Rink[4], that the Eskimo cradle was in the

[1] The Abbé E. Petitot, who takes *Eskimo* from the Kree dialect, gives the form *Wiyas-ki-mowok*="Mangeurs de chair crue" (wiyas=chair, arki=cru, mowew=manger). He adds that the collective Mackenzie name is *Chiglerk*, pl. *Chiglit*; and the Hudson Bay *Aggut* or *Axut*, pl. *Agutit*, while the western tribes call themselves *Tachut* or *Tagut*, pl. *Chukchit*, all these terms meaning "Man," "Men" (*Bul. Soc. Geogr.* x. 1875, p. 256 sq.)

[2] Quoted by Prof. E. B. Tylor, *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* 1884, p. 349. Others suggest that *Skrälling* may be a Norse form of *Karalit*. The term *Orarian* introduced by W. H. Dall (*Alaska and its Resources*, Boston, 1870; *Distribution of the Native Tribes of Alaska*, etc., in *Proc. Amer. Ass.* 1870, vol. 18) as a collective designation of all the Eskimo, Aleutian, and Chukchi peoples has not met with general acceptance.

[3] *Old Scandinavian Civilization among the Modern Esquimaux*, *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1884, p. 353.

[4] *The Eskimo Tribes, their Distribution and Characteristics*, 2 vols., Copenhagen, 1887.

interior of the continent, whence they moved down the Yukon, and perhaps other rivers, to the coast. Here (in Alaska) they must have dwelt some considerable time about the lower fluvial reaches and estuaries, developing a "culture home," and gradually adapting themselves to an Arctic environment before a second dispersion took place along the lines of least resistance, over the 5000 miles of sea-board from Bering Strait to Greenland and Labrador. All the conditions accord with the view that the original stock inhabited the interior of Alaska; that, apart from the true Eskimo, a side branch in the earliest period peopled the Aleutian Islands, while the main stream settled later at the river-mouths, spreading north along Bering Strait, hiving off some colonies to the Asiatic side, passing round to the Mackenzie river, then over the Arctic archipelago to Labrador and Greenland. This dispersion may have taken thousands of years, as they can have advanced only in small bands, very much as to this day they are wont to move about during certain seasons.

Eskimo and Aleut Cradle-land.

This view is supported by many facts drawn from social usages and speech, but not from their physique. Thus "the kayak does not attain its highest perfection except in Greenland." Again the labret or lip ornament, obviously adopted from the Thlinkits in a reduced form due to climatic influence, ranges only to the Mackenzie. Here two smaller labrets under the corners of the mouth replace the large Thlinkit and Aleutian disk, which, as remarked by Dall, "no hunter exposed to the icy blasts and cold waters could have worn"; it would have exposed "the extended strip of flesh to freezing and been an insufferable annoyance otherwise." Reference is also made to the ruins on the banks of the Yukon, where Lieut. Ray of the Point Barrow Expedition brought to light "a pair of wooden goggles" from a depth of 26 feet below the surface. It has also been remarked that the Eskimo could only have followed this line of migration by the help of their stone lamps, without whose light and heat life would be impossible in those high latitudes. "Since it is true that the Eskimo is dependent upon his lamp for his very existence, it seems safe to bring forward as a corollary that his migration into his present home was subsequent to the invention of the

lamp. Further, the lamp seems to have determined the distribution of the Eskimo race[1]."

Tribal Organization.

Although there are no "gentes" in the strict sense, as amongst the Indians, the social organization being on the whole but feebly developed, and although the existence of a tribal system has been denied because the final syllable *mut* (*miut*, *mute*) of the group-names means "inhabitants" of such districts or stations, nevertheless "the term tribe is undoubtedly the most correct in this case." Recent investigation shows that "each larger household comprising several families has a chief as conscientiously venerated and obeyed as heads of communities or magistrates elsewhere[2]."

Variable Type.

It is also a mistake to suppose that all the Eskimos dwell on or near the coast, within 50 miles of the shore, and are seafarers. There are several inland tribes who live by hunting, and have largely intermingled with the Indians, the fusion with the Thlinkits and Athapascans being complete in some districts. The Nushegagmuts of the Nushegak basin "are hunters of considerable skill on both land and water. The natives inhabiting the head-waters of the river and the lake region of the interior are in constant communication with the Athapascan tribes," while others "have been strangely mixed by immigration from the westward and the northward[3]." To this intermingling must partly be attributed the physical variability in Alaska, where Rink recognises three distinct types:—(1) the tall, cadaverous natives of Kotzebue Sound, who live on fish, ptarmigan and marmots, and always have a hungry look; (2) the tall, strongly-knit, gigantic Nualoks of splendid physique, who occupy the inland uplands, and feed on the reindeer, mountain sheep, birds and fish; (3) the short, stumpy people, who probably represent the old Eskimos before contact with southern

[1] Walter Hough, *The Origin and Range of the Eskimo Lamp*, in *Amer. Anthropology*, April, 1898, p. 118.

[2] Rink, I. p. 24. Hence we cannot accept as applicable to the whole nation Ivan Petroff's statement that "there seems to be no recognised chieftainship, each isolated settlement generally containing one man who makes himself prominent by superintending all intercourse and traffic with visitors" (*Report on the Population etc. of Alaska*, Washington, 1884, p. 125).

[3] Petroff, p. 135.

tribes, and are now found chiefly on the Arctic coast, where whale, seal, and reindeer are the staple food[1].

Reference has already been made to the variable character of the people of East Greenland, where the only known group at present are the Anmagsaliks. These derelicts, who have their stations on the coast district over against Iceland, were visited for the first time by the Danish expedition of 1884–5, and at that date comprised 413 souls distributed in eleven stations over a tract of about 80 miles. Each station had but one house, and one of these was as large as the *Kashga*, or "Council-house," which is found in every Alaskan village. It accommodated 58 inmates, being 28 feet long, 15 wide, and 6½ high, and was divided off into eight "stalls," varying in size with the number of persons in each family. And here they lived all together during the long Arctic winters, cooking, sleeping, working, merrymaking, dancing, singing, perhaps gorging now and then, but never wrangling. "No quarrel disturbs the peace, there is no dispute about the use of the narrow space; scolding, or even unkind words are considered a misdemeanour[2]," as indeed amongst most Eskimo peoples.

Uniform Character of Eskimo Speech.

A marvellous linguistic phenomenon is presented by the Eskimo language, which, despite its exceedingly involved structure (see above), is spoken with surprising uniformity from Bering Strait to East Greenland. It is as if the Aryan mother tongue were still current in all its fulness, with but slight dialectic variation, from Ceylon to Iceland. This persistence for thousands of years in such an exceedingly extenuated domain is partly due to the migrations ranging everywhere over previously uninhabited regions, so that no disintegrating effects were produced by contact with other tongues. The dialectic differences, which Rink calls "comparatively insignificant," are no greater than between English and broad Scotch. On several grounds Rink argues that the language was fully developed, as we now know it, before the first dispersion from the culture home. Thus the names of nearly all

[1] *Op. cit.* II. p. 116.

[2] Rink, I. p. 26. The language itself is said to contain not a single abusive term, so that it is impossible to swear in Eskimo.

the Arctic marine fauna—bearded seal, walrus, Greenland whale, narwhal, swordfish, polar bear, are everywhere the same. So also the kayak and all its belongings are identically named in the eastern and western dialects, showing that not only the language, but the industries, usages, and it may be added many myths and beliefs, were much the same as at present[1]. Yet, according to Fru Signe Rink, some of the national folklore would carry us back to an immensely remote epoch, when the Eskimo people, already fully specialised, were still in direct relation not only with the Siberian aborigines, but even with the "Hairy Ainu" themselves[2].

Cultural Systems.

Here is again raised the whole question of racial affinities, or at least close contact and direct intercourse, based on the evidence of like usages, arts, religious notions, traditions, legendary matter and everything comprised under the expression folklore. That great similarities, and even identities, do exist in all these respects between the North American, the Siberian, and other aborigines is undeniable. Cases in point are the vapour-baths produced by red-hot stones, which follow the Arctic circle with much southing from Lapland round to Alaska and down the north-west coast; several creation and procreation myths; a common belief in good and bad spirits, with a vague conception, and that borrowed, of a really Supreme being; religion mostly at the shamanistic stage, though with considerable differences; magic practices and jugglery associated with sickness and witchcraft.

But when all this, and much more of a like order, is carefully analysed, it is found to establish little beyond the psychic unity of man, with the accepted fact that America received some of its primitive inhabitants from Asia during the New Stone Age, that is, when the migrating peoples had already reached a certain degree of mental culture. It will never prove, for instance, that the Aleuts are Japanese, the Thlinkits Yakuts, the Eskimauans Tunguses, the Kwakiutls Gilyaks, or that there has been any direct contact between these several groups since the New Stone Age. It is a

1 *Op. cit.* II. p. 10.

2 *The Girl and the Dogs*, an Eskimo Folk-tale, *Amer. Anthropologist*, June and July, 1898.

vast subject, and can here be merely touched upon, especially with a view to the removal of some current misconceptions and exaggerations, and thus reduce the question to its due proportions.

We are assured by the editor of Rufinesque's *Walam Olum* that "the notion of a bad spirit, a 'Devil,' was wholly unknown to the aborigines, and entirely borrowed from the whites[1]," and authorities are quoted. Nevertheless the evidence of a general belief in evil spirits is overwhelming[2], and even in this book itself reference is made to the "Evil Manito[3]," who "made evil beings only[4]," and again to "an evil being, a mighty magician," who "came on earth, and with him brought badness...sickness... death[5]." Here is the Evil One playing an important part in the legend itself, the text of which the editor thinks "is a genuine native production[6]."

So far then the American and Siberian beliefs are in accord. But such notions are well-nigh universal, and would therefore supply no argument for common origin or contact, but for the shamanistic element more or less common to both. The term "shaman," which of course nowhere occurs in America, is so freely used by writers on the native religions, that the identity of these and the Asiatic primitive systems is tacitly assumed, with all the above indicated corollaries. But the American *tungaks*, as the Alaskan Eskimos call them[7], stand for the most part at a much lower level than the true Siberian shamans. They are little more than conjurers, or medicine-men, like those who in Africa "smell out" the witches and other evil-doers. Although sometimes looked upon as mediators

Shamanism.

[1] *The Lenâpé and their Legends*, etc., Philadelphia, 1885, p. 68.

[2] Thus the Eskimo say there is a good spirit who taught them to use kayaks, and *a bad spirit* how to spoil and destroy them (Shelikhof, quoted by Petroff, p. 137). Cf. also Niblack's statement that amongst the North-west Coast Indians the sway of the shamans "depends largely upon the fear and respect excited by belief in their influence and power over *good and evil spirits*" (*The Coast Indians*, p. 348).

[3] p. 166. [4] p. 173. [5] pp. 175-7. [6] p. 158.

[7] To the western *tungak* corresponds the Greenland *angakok*, who is now little heard of, but figures largely in the records of the early missionaries, Hans Egede and others.

with the invisible world, it is impossible to say whether or not the natives "believe in the actual control of spirits by the conjurers[1]," about which the Siberians have no doubt. Among the North-west Coast natives they are credited with "the power of charming away life by incantations and the use of certain charms," although one of their duties is also "to drive out the evil spirit which haunts the sick man[2]." They are also expected to perform other duties, such as removing the scalps of the slain in battle, or even carrying out the death-sentence, when "the shaman bewitches the condemned person by throwing disease into him, or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way[3]."

Most of the *tungaks* are clever conjurers, yet "do not seem to enjoy much respect, unless they combine with the business of conjuring the qualities of an expert trader and skilled hunter[4]." In a few districts the office appears to be inherited[5], and cases are reported of shamans so thoroughly ashamed of their equivocal position as to warn their sons from accepting the *damnosa hereditas*. On the other hand observers are unanimous in declaring that they never take part in, conduct, or preside at sacrificial rites to gods or ancestors, or venture to propitiate evil spirits, whereas this, as we have seen, is one of the most important functions of the Siberian shaman.

Perhaps the ground on which both agree best are the conjuring tricks, which are often of a strikingly similar character. With those of the Samoyads witnessed by the old traveller Richard Johnson[6] may be compared the scene described by Franz Boas, in which a female performer (a shamanka?) invites the people

[1] Petroff, p. 130.

[2] Niblack, *The Coast Indians*, etc., p. 349.

[3] Boas, *Social Organization*, etc., p. 650.

[4] Petroff, p. 130.

[5] Thus a chief of the Niska tribe, Naas River, told Franz Boas that "only a man whose father was a *halait* (shaman) can become a shaman." He added that "many who pretend to be shamans have no supernatural helpers at all," but that when he himself was called to cure disease, "four supernatural men appeared to him and helped him. They pointed out witches to him, and enabled him to see ghosts, etc." (*Tenth Report of the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, 1895, pp. 59–60.)

[6] p. 289.

to kill her, when "she is placed on a seat behind the fire, and one of her attendants complies with her request. He will appear to drive a wedge through her head from one temple to the other. The wedge is first shown to the people, and then secretly exchanged for another, which consists of two parts attached to a wooden band that is slipped over her head and covered with hair. Thus it seems that the butt is standing out on one side, the point having passed through her skull. At the same time bladders containing blood, which are attached to the band, are burst, and the blood is seen to flow down her face[1]" and so on.

Many of these pretended supernatural performances were associated with the "medical profession," as almost everywhere amongst primitive peoples. But the American medicine-man resembled the African witch-doctor far more than the Siberian shaman, because amongst the Americans sickness was as universally attributed to sorcery and other malign influences as amongst the Bantu Negroes themselves. "The Indians had no reasonable or efficacious system of medicine. They believed that diseases were caused by unseen evil beings and by witchcraft, and every cough, every toothache, every headache, every chill, every fever, every boil, and every wound, in fact, all their ailments, were attributed to such cause. Their so-called medical practice was a horrible system of sorcery, and to such superstition human life was sacrificed on an enormous scale. The sufferers were given over to priest doctors to be tormented, bedeviled, and destroyed; and a universal and profound belief in witchcraft made them suspicious, and led to the killing of all suspected and obnoxious people, and engendered blood feuds on a gigantic scale.... In fact, a natural death in a savage tent is a comparatively rare phenomenon; but death by sorcery, medicine, and blood feud arising from a belief in witchcraft is exceedingly common[2]."

In the treatment of ailments the medicine-men were left very much to their own devices; nor were the shamanistic functions anywhere very clearly defined. On the whole the American tungak, to generalise the word, may be regarded as a sort of

[1] *Social Organization*, etc., p. 489.

[2] Powell, *Indian Linguistic Families*, p. 39.

Asiatic shaman in embryo, arriving in the late Stone Age, and afterwards diverging in various directions from his Siberian prototype.

Haida Totem Posts and Maori Tiki.

More striking perhaps than these resemblances are those of an æsthetic order, which are found to prevail between the British Columbian Indians and the South Sea Islanders, and which are well illustrated by the rich symbolic carvings of the Haida totem or heraldic posts, and the *tiki*, or carved pillars, often set up at the tombs of the Maori chiefs and others in New Zealand. The best reply to the still current daring speculations based on the similarity in form and design presented by some of these objects will be found in the remarks of Mr Niblack, who has made a special study of the subject, and contrasts the famous *tiki* near the grave of Te Whero-Whero's daughter with several sculptured columns of the Thlinkits and Haidas: "Many resemblances of the Haida to widely remote stocks have been pointed out by writers; but to illustrate how futile such clues are in tracing the origin and relationship of the tribes of the world, a parallel is here briefly drawn between the Maori of New Zealand and the Haida. The political organization of the tribe, their ownership of land, and their laws of blood-revenge are similar. The men tattoo with designs intended to identify them with their sub-tribe or household, and they ornament their canoes, paddles, house-fronts, etc., in somewhat the same manner.... The carved wooden mortuary columns erected in front of the Maori houses are also suggestive; but it is safe to say that while all this is not in one sense accidental, yet the resemblances and similarities are as likely to have arisen from the like tendencies of the human mind under the same external conditions, or environment, to develop along parallel lines as through contact of these tribes or through a common origin." Here it may be added that if the Thlinkits and Maori are one in virtue of their common door-posts, the Thlinkits and Yakuts must also be one in virtue of their common shamanism, and as things equal to the same are equal to one another, we arrive at the conclusion that the Turki Yakuts and the Polynesian Maori are also one, which nobody has yet ventured to assert.

Folklore.

Mr Niblack's reasoning applies with equal force to common popular beliefs and practices, a notable instance of which is the wide-spread *couvade*, and generally to myths and folklore in the strict sense of the word. Thus the European were-wolf and Malayan were-tiger[1] are matched by the South-American were-jaguar, as amongst the Minuana Indians, who speak of a good man formerly dwelling on the Rio Gualeguay who was one night murdered by a gang of brigands. Soon after some men, including one of the murderers, were passing along the sedgy river-bank when a black jaguar sprang out and struck down the assassin. This jaguar was often seen afterwards, but never hurt anybody unless he happened to be one of the gang, and when all were killed he was seen no more. A story, which despite its Christian colouring is undoubtedly of native origin, is current in Paraguay about Yaguareté-Aba, a baptized Indian, who changes at night to a jaguar in order to feed on human flesh. Withdrawing to a thicket, he falls prone on the ground and is thus transformed. Then to become man again he repeats the process in reverse order. He differs from a real jaguar by his very short tail (a mere stump) and hairless forehead. At last he is wounded by a daring youth and vanishes, but the hunter following up the trail of blood comes to a cave strewn with human bones, renews the fight, and slays the ghoul[2].

More striking still is the story current in the province of Tucuman about two brothers, who formerly lived in a hut in a wood infested by a man-eating jaguar. All attempts to hunt him down had failed, as at every shot his hair merely bristled up, causing the bullet to rebound. Now one of the men, noticing that whenever the jaguar appeared his brother was never at home, sat a-watching, and one day followed stealthily after him into the woods, till they reached a tree on which hung a flask of coarse salt and a jaguar skin rolled up in a bundle. Here the suspected brother, taking three grains of salt and spreading the skin on the ground, danced round and round until he became a jaguar. Horrified at the sight, the watcher went home, and presently

[1] See p. 239.

[2] J. B. Ambrosetti, *La Legenda del Yaguareté-Aba*, in *Anales de la Sociedad Cientifica Argentina*, 1896, vol. 41, p. 321.

stealing back to the tree, kindled a fire into which he threw the charmed bundle. On his return to the hut, there was his dying brother, who knew what had happened, and said he must die unless there was time to get him a bit of the skin. So his pitying companion was off and back in all haste with an unburnt scrap snatched from the embers, which the moribund eagerly seizing threw over his shoulders and was in a flash again a jaguar, which with a mighty bound sprang from the hut and was seen no more[1].

Returning to the north, Franz Boas[2] shows that the folklore of the North-west Indians has spread over wide spaces by borrowings and migrations. Thus a group of myths, in which the raven plays the chief part as creator, etc., was originally confined to the Thlinkits and neighbouring Haidas and Tsimshians, but spread later to the Columbia river peoples, though picking up foreign elements on the way. By following the track of such myths, light may often be thrown on the migrations of the tribes themselves, as in the case of the Tsimshians, who have so little influenced their present neighbours that their arrival on the coast must be regarded as of relatively recent date.

On the Atlantic side of the continent we seem to enter a different mythological world, and here it may be readily admitted that Mr Charles G. Leland has shown direct contact between the Norse legends and those of the East Algonquian tribes (Micmacs, Penobscots, Passamaquoddies)[3]. "Lox," the wolverine, may not be an Indian word, but his misdeeds bear too great a resemblance to those of Loki to be explained away as mere coincidences. To account, however, for these and many other identities of thought and sentiment we need but recall what has been stated of the long sojourn of the Norsemen in Greenland, of their southern expeditions to Hvitramannaland, and of the former range of the Eskimos as far as New England, overlapping and undoubtedly intermingling

[1] J. B. Ambrosetti, *La Legenda del Yaguareté-Aba*, in *Anales de la Sociedad Cientifica Argentina*, 1896, vol. 41, p. 321.

[2] *Verhandl. Berlin. Ges. f. Anthrop.* etc. 1895, p. 487 sq.; also *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerika's*, Berlin, 1895, p. 329 sq.; and *Social Organization*, etc., p. 660 sq.

[3] *The Algonquian Legends of New England*, etc. 1884.

with the Eastern Algonquians, as they now do with the North-western Athapascans.

These two great families of *Athapascans* and *Algonquians*, with their endless ramifications, jointly occupy, or rather occupied in pre-Columbian times, considerably more than half of the northern Continent. The Athapascans, so named from the Athapascan waters in their domain, but also collectively called *Tinneh*, "Men," occupy a divided territory, compact in the north from the Eskimo fringe in Alaska nearly to Port Nelson on Hudson Bay, and from this point west to the Rocky Mountains along a curved line, mostly conterminous with the Algonquians, rising midway to 60° N., and dipping westwards nearly to 50° N. Then follow at intervals along the west coast a few small *enclaves*, which seem to indicate the track taken during their southern migrations to the North Mexican borderlands, where they roamed till lately over another wide tract comprising portions of Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and the Rio Grande basin.

Range of Athapascans.

So marked is the contrast between the northern groups, mostly peaceful and even timid hunters or trappers long in the service of the Hudson Bay Company, and the southern tribes—fierce predatory Apache, Lipan, and Navajo hordes—that their kinship might have perhaps escaped detection but for their common Athapascan speech. The northern, Pacific Coast, and southern sections have a joint population of scarcely 33,000, the southern being by far the most numerous (23,000), but now mostly reduced and settled in various reservations, while the northerners (Ah-tenas, Kuchins, Chippewyans, *i.e.* "Yellow Knives," Dog Ribs, Hares, Slaves, Nahanies, etc.) still enjoy the free life of hunters and traders under the protection of the Dominion Government.

Despite several centuries of a lawless existence as plundering steppe tribes, the Navajos have preserved careful and apparently correct oral traditions of their first arrival in the San Juan valley before the end of the 14th century, where they were probably cliff-dwellers. According to Mr F. W. Hodge the Apaches—who are not the parent stem of the Navajos, as commonly supposed—were at that time already

Navajos and Apaches.

settled in the north-western and south-western parts of New Mexico. Before the 18th century the Navajos had been joined by various fragments of Athapascans, Tanoas, Tauras, Keresas, Zuñi, Shoshons, Yumas and others, and by the acquisition of domestic animals soon after the first Spanish expedition (1542) their social state underwent a complete change. Before the 17th century none of these marauders were strong enough to molest the Pueblo communities, which afterwards suffered so much from their depredations[1].

But these faint reminiscences of the past are the mere echoes of history compared with those of the eastern families—Algonquians, Iroquoians, Muskhogeans—all of whom have been in the closest contact with the European settlers for about 300 years, while some had probably come under Norse influences as early as the 11th century. Originally the Algonquian domain was even more extensive than the Athapascan, forming a vast but irregular triangular space, whose northern base, indented by Hudson Bay, stretched from Labrador to the Rockies, so that they were almost everywhere conterminous on the north with the Athapascans, and round the Labrador seaboard with the Eskimos. Southwards the two sides were roughly enclosed by the Mississippi valley and the Atlantic shore line, reaching on the one hand as far as central Tennessee, on the other to and perhaps a little beyond Pamlico Sound, North Carolina[2]. Between these two points, that is, towards its apex, the triangle was truncated, and the Algonquian territory arrested and even encroached upon by the Muskhogean domain in the west, by a detached southern section of the Iroquoians in the centre, and by Siouan and other Iroquoian *enclaves* towards the Atlantic.

In the Laurentian basin the northern and chief section of the

[1] *The Early Navajo and Apache* in *Amer. Anthropologist*, 1895, p. 233 sq. It should be stated, however, that Mr Hodge's views are questioned by Capt. J. Bourke.

[2] Some of the Shawnees had even penetrated from Tennessee into South Carolina, where they were known as Savannahs—a name still surviving in the river so called. Others (Cheyennes and Arapahoes) had pushed westwards beyond the Missouri to South Dakota, Wyoming, and Colorado, here forming the extreme westerly range of the Algonquian peoples.

Iroquoian family was completely enclosed by Algonquian tribes, so that it formed a great ethnical island, which itself completely enclosed Lakes Erie and Ontario, extended along both banks of the St Lawrence nearly to the head of the estuary[1], and also comprised the whole of the present State of New York, with a great part of Pennsylvania and Maryland, here terminating at the head of Chesapeake Bay. These limits, which scarcely anywhere coincided with the geographical features of the land, were subject to continual fluctuations, first during the inter-tribal wars of these two rival nations, and then during the protracted struggles of the French and English for supremacy, in which struggles the Algonquians generally sided with the former, the Iroquoians with the latter.

Although greatly reduced, broken up, dispersed or brought into reservations chiefly about the United States and Dominion borderlands, the Algonquians still greatly outnumber all other North American family groups. In fact over one-fourth of all the aborigines belong to this division, which has a total population of at least 95,000 (60,000 in Canada, 35,000 in the States). Of the particular Algonquian tribe, whence the family takes its name, less than 5000 still survive, all located in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. But of the Ojibwas (Chippewas) there remain as many as 32,000 round about all the Great Lakes, while of the Crees, the next most numerous, there are reckoned over 17,000, all in Manitoba and the region between Lake Winnipeg and Hudson Bay. The Cree language is a typical Algonquian idiom, perhaps approaching nearer to the original mother tongue than any other, whence it has been inferred that the cradle of the race lay north of the Laurentian basin, probably round about the shores of Lake Winnipeg. Against this assumption, however,

[1] The estuary, the islands of the Gulf, and surrounding land all formed part of the Algonquian area, except the Labrador coast and the northern extremity of Newfoundland, which were still occupied by the Eskimos, and a considerable district in central Newfoundland, which was originally held by the long-extinct Beothukans. These are shown by A. S. Gatschet to have been a people of unknown origin, but of non-Algonquian speech. (*The Beothuk Indians*, *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* June 19, 1885, and May 7, 1886.) All the rest of the island belonged to, or was constantly visited by the Algonquian Micmacs of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

has to be weighed the fact that the central tribes—Abenaki, Mohigan, Delaware and Naticoke—whose territory lay between the St Lawrence and Chesapeake Bay, regarded themselves as one people, and were conceded by the others to be the "grandfathers," that is, the progenitors of the whole stock. From this region, "as their numbers increased, they sent colonies northward along the coast, driving back the Eskimo, and probably the Beothuk, westward and north-westward up the valley of the St Lawrence and the lakes, and southward to occupy the coast of Virginia and a part of Carolina, where, in conjunction with the Iroquoian tribes, they expelled the Cherokies from the upper waters of the Ohio, and compelled them to take refuge in the mountain fastnesses to the south. Most of these movements, although the subject of well-supported tradition, belong to prehistoric times, but the advance of the Algonquian tribes into the north-west is comparatively modern[1]."

Nor are the renowned Delawares (Leni Lenapé), Sac and Foxes and Shawnees yet extinct, although jointly numbering little over 4000, all collected in agencies and reservations in Indian territory, New York and other places. Of the Massachusetts, for whom Eliot translated the first Bible in any native tongue, the Narragansets, the Long Island Montauks[2], the Manhattans, the Powhatans[3], the Panticos, and other Atlantic coast

[1] James Mooney, *The Siouan Tribes of the East*, Washington, 1894, p. 12.

[2] A last echo of the Montauk Indians was heard in the Civil Courts of Long Island in 1896, when documents of the 17th century signed by their chiefs were produced and accepted as valid title-deeds to certain lands and fishing rights about East Island, Glen Cove. The Montauks proper, a few of whom are said still to survive about Montauk Point, only held the section of the island north from East Hampton; but the authority of their Sachem (Grand Chief) appears to have been acknowledged by the Rockaways, the Matinecocks and the numerous other tribal groups in the southern section, all of whom will be found in B. F. Thompson's *History of Long Island*, New York, 1843, pp. 93—96.

[3] There still survives, however, a group of about 100 half-breeds, descendants of the Pamunkeys, who were members of the Algonquian Confederacy founded by the renowned chief Powhatan, and associated with the romantic adventures of Capt. John Smith and Pocahontas. They are settled in the district of Indiantown on the Pamunkey River (so named from them) some 20 miles east of Richmond, and are now of English speech, though still proud of their descent

tribes, with whom the English settlers had first to do, none have survived the "wreck of nations."

Chicago, which has a white population probably four times as numerous as all the North American aborigines, occupies the site of Fort Dearborn, which was founded in 1804 to overawe the turbulent prairie Indians, and was in 1833 the scene of a memorable gathering of the Pottawatomis, a numerous branch of the formerly wide-spread Algonquian Miamis. At this gathering they ceded to the United States Government, for very much less than "prairie value," a vast domain of some 20 million acres constituting the present States of Illinois and Wisconsin. Over this tract are now thickly strewn thriving agricultural and industrial settlements of the white intruders, while the original owners of the land are reduced to about 1500 souls, distributed in small groups among the Indian Territory, Kansas, and other Agencies.

The Indian Reservations.

But even the most maudlin of sentimental philanthropists will scarcely venture to affirm that from the humanitarian point of view there is any serious ground for regretting the transformation. In these Reservations, when honestly administered, as always in the Dominion and now also for the most part in the States, there is little cause to regret an inevitable change, by which the aborigines may possibly be doomed to ultimate extinction or absorption in the higher race, but by which they are in the meantime afforded every opportunity of becoming peaceful and even useful citizens. Many, such as the Chikasaws and Cherokis in Indian Territory, the Six Nations in New York, the Ojibwas and others in Canada, and these Pottawatomis themselves, have accepted their new destinies with a sort of philosophic resignation, and have already made considerable progress in the arts and industries of civilised man. Even letters have not been neglected, and a pleasant surprise was afforded to thoughtful observers by a well-considered paper on Indian legends and superstitions contributed to the *Forum* for July 1898, by the Pottawatomi chief, Simon Pokagon.

and of being the only Virginia tribe still occupying a corner of "the original hunting ground" (J. Garland Pollard, *The Pamunkey Indians of Virginia*, Washington, 1894).

There is a good deal of what may be called mysticism in the article, which contains a curious account of certain processes by which the natives communicate with the spiritual world, as witnessed by the writer himself: "Poles 10 to 12 feet high are set in the ground in the form of a circle from 6 to 8 feet in diameter. The top of the lodge is left open; the sides are tightly covered with birch-bark or the skins of animals. A fire is built close to the lodge, for the purpose of enabling the spectators to light their pipes, as they generally smoke during the strange performance. All being ready, a low, tinkling sound is heard, like several small bells at a distance. With a rush, on comes the leading performer, carrying a magician's little flat rattle-box like a tambourine. He sits down by the fire, and begins by telling his audience how he can call up spirits of the dead, as well as of those yet living in the world, and that any present can ask them questions and receive true answers thereto. He next sings a true song which can scarcely be understood. He then either goes into the lodge by crawling under, or sits outside with the audience; throwing his blanket or some other clothing over the top of it. Immediately the lodge begins to shake, like a creature of life with an ague chill. Then is heard in the lodge a sound, like that of a distant strong wind sweeping through leafless trees, and intermingled with strange noises. When questions are asked by anyone present they are always answered in an unknown tongue; but, luckily, among the spirits there is always a special interpreter to explain what the spirits say."

This, at all events, is as good as the *séances* of our modern theosophists with their paid mediums, mahatmas and other extravagances, and a great deal better than the scalpings, lingering tortures, and other nameless horrors of Indian warfare.

The Mound-Builders.

What are the relations of these Algonquian tribes to those strange monuments of an unknown past, the earthworks and sepulchral mounds which are strewn over the Mississippi basin and some adjacent lands, but thickly crowded especially in the Ohio valley, which at all times formed part of the Algonquian domain? Few now believe that their builders were a different race from the present Indians, and the majority of antiquaries agree with Dr Cyrus Thomas, who

has dealt exhaustively with the subject[1], that there is nothing in these monuments that the Indians could not have done, that many have been erected or continued in post-Columbian times, consequently by the present aborigines, and that there is therefore no reason for ascribing them to any other race of which we have no knowledge.

This general conclusion is in no way opposed to M. de Nadaillac's suggestion that the mounds were certainly the work of Indians, but of more civilised tribes than the present Algonquians, by whom they were driven south to Florida, and there found with their towns, council-houses, and other structures by the first white settlers[2]. It would appear, however, from Mr F. H. Cushing's investigations, that these tribal council-houses of the Seminole Indians were a local development, growing up on the spot under conditions quite different from those prevailing in the north. Many of the vast shell-mounds, especially between Tampa and Cape Sable, are clearly of artificial structure, that is, made with definite purpose, and carried up symmetrically into large mounds comparable in dimensions with the Indian mounds of the interior. They originated with pile dwellings in shallow water, where the kitchen refuse, chiefly shells, accumulates and rises above the surface, when the building appears to stand on posts in a low mound. Then this type of structure comes to be regarded as the normal for house-building everywhere. "Through this natural series of changes in type there is a tendency to the development of mounds as sites for habitations and for the council-house of the clan or tribe, the sites being either separate mounds or single large mounds, according to circumstances. Thus the study of the living Seminole Indians and of the shell-mounds in the same vicinity...suggests a possible origin for a custom of mound-building at one time so prevalent among the North American Indians[3]." But if this be the genesis of such structures, the custom must have spread from the shores of the Gulf inland, and not from the Ohio valley southwards to Florida.

[1] *Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, 1894.

[2] *L'Anthropologie*, 1897, p. 702 sq.

[3] *Sixteenth An. Report Bur. Ethnology*, Washington, 1897, p. lvi sq.

Problems of a different order are presented by the Algonquians' great rivals, the Iroquoians, whose social and political organization has been made the subject of profound studies by several eminent American and European ethnologists. Noted at all times for their proud bearing, warlike spirit, and highly developed military system, they have been called the "Romans of the New World," and despite their limited numbers and long-standing inter-tribal feuds, such was their superiority over the surrounding populations that a great Iroquoian empire might have been established between the Atlantic and the Mississippi had the advent of the Whites been delayed a few generations longer. In the Laurentian region, probably their cradle[1], they formed originally two hostile sections, the *Huron-Eries* (*Wyandots*) and the *Iroquois*[2], that is, the historical "Five Nations"—Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas, Onondagoes, and Senecas—who became the "Six Nations" when joined by the kindred Tuscaroras from North Carolina in 1712. After the destruction or dispersion of the Eries by the Iroquois in 1656, all the Wyandots disappear from history, and survive now only in the names of the two great lakes Huron and Erie, so called from these aborigines.

The Iroquoians.

In the south the chief member of the family are the Cherokis, whose connection with the Iroquois, first suggested by Barton (1798), has now been placed beyond doubt by Horatio Hale and Gatschet. Much interest attaches also to this southern branch, for the Cherokis, although they have made no name in history, are recognised as amongst the most intelligent of all the North American Indians. It was a Cheroki, Segwoya, better known as George Guest, who in 1824 performed the remarkable intellectual feat of analysing the sounds of his intricate polysynthetic tongue, and providing

The Cheroki Script.

[1] "A tradition of the Iroquois points to the St Lawrence region as the early home of the Iroquoian tribes, whence they gradually moved down to the southwest along the shores of the Great Lakes" (Powell, *Indian Linguistic Families*, p. 77).

[2] *Iroquois*, for which strained etymologies have been proposed, was the common French name of the famous league known to the English as that of the "Five," later "Six Nations," while they called themselves "*Ongwehonwe*," or "Superior Men."

symbols for a complete syllabic system by various ingenious modifications of the letters in an English book. He could himself neither read nor write, nor speak any language but his own, his only notion of writing being derived from hearsay and printed books. The syllabary, which is still in use and serves its purpose well, comprises 85 signs, of which one only, *s*, is a true letter, all the rest being full syllables made up of 15 consonants generally in combination with six vowels, as, *ka*, *ke*, *ki*, *ko*, *ku*, *kĕ*. The Cherokis, who have not met with over-generous treatment at the hands of the authorities, have all been removed from their original homes in Virginia and the Carolinas to Indian Territory, where they hold the most important of all the Reservations with a present population, including the Choktaws, of a little over 27,000. All the rest of the once powerful Iroquoians number probably less than 20,000, distributed in about equal parts between United States and Dominion Agencies.

The Mus-khogeans.

The just mentioned Choktaws were at one time a leading branch of the *Muskhogean* family, the other chief members of which were the Muskhogis (Maskoki) proper, generally known as "Creeks" from the numerous inlets or coast streams in their territory on the Gulf of Mexico; the Seminoles of Florida; the Chicasaws, Alibamus, Apalachi, and a few others, whose collective domain comprised nearly the whole region between Tennessee and the Gulf, and between the Lower Mississippi and the Atlantic. Florida, later occupied by the Seminoles, did not originally belong to this family, but to the now extinct *Timuquanans*, who spoke a distinct, though not necessarily a stock, language. In fact Gatschet has suggested Carib affinities, and although the Caribs are now believed to have had their cradle, not in North America but in Central Brazil, it is likely enough that these rovers may in prehistoric times have passed from the Antilles to Florida, whence they were later driven out by the Seminoles. Pourtalés, and later Heilprin, have shown that Florida has been inhabited from remote times, and it appears from Mr C. B. Moore's researches[1] that the skulls from the old burial-mounds and earthworks are

[1] *Certain Sand-Mounds of Duval Country, Florida*, &c., *Jour. Acad. Nat. Sc.* Philadelphia, x. 1895.

round like those of Ehrenreich's Bakairi and other Brazilian Caribs (Index 79° to 80°)[1].

But the Timuquanans themselves, if they were round-heads of Carib stock, must have been preceded by a still more ancient long-headed race possibly dating from the Stone Ages. "The oldest perfect skull known from Florida is extremely dolichocephalic and entirely different from the mound type; it was found by Wyman at the bottom of the great shell-heap near Hawkingsville on the St Johns. This heap was so old that its lower layers of the shells had become decomposed and transformed into a limestone in which this skull and other bones of the skeleton are firmly imbedded. We naturally question if this skeleton is not that of a survivor of the earlier people who were on the peninsula before the short-heads came[2]."

Primitive Man in Florida.

Next to the Athapascans and Algonquians, the most wide-spread North American nation were the Siouans[3], whose territory is now known to have been even more extensive than it was lately supposed to be. So far from being confined to the plains west of the Mississippi, which they were supposed to have reached from the Pacific seaboard, they ranged south to the Gulf of Mexico and east to the Atlantic, and occupied wide tracts in Virginia and the Carolinas, where in fact is now sought their primeval home. When the English began the settlement of Virginia, a term at that time of much wider meaning than now, the whole region between the Appalachians and the coast was occupied by a large number of heterogeneous groups in a state of extreme instability, and so great was the ethnical confusion that their descendants have only now succeeded in clearing it up.

The Siouans.

Besides the Powhatan (Algonquian) confederates, there were numerous Iroquoian and Muskhogean tribes, together with the

[1] *Urbewohner Brasiliens*, pp. 120–27.

[2] F. W. Putnam, *Science*, Feb. 7, 1896 (Reprint, p. 4).

[3] *Siouan* is the form adopted by Mr Powell for the whole family, of which the *Dakotas* ("Allies") are the chief division. It is an extension of *Sioux*, a French corruption of "Nadowe-ssi-wag" (Snakes or Enemies), an abusive term applied by the Algonquins to some of the northern members of the family.

independent *Ucheans* (*Yuchi*) of distinct speech, and several other groups whose hitherto unsuspected Siouan affinities have now been placed beyond reasonable doubt on linguistic and historic evidence. These were the Monacan confederates, with the Saponi, Tutelo[1], Catawba, Woccon and some other tribes, who were centred chiefly on the James River above the falls at Richmond, and were at constant war with the neighbouring Powhatans, while hard pressed by the surrounding Iroquoians, by whom most of them appear to have been eventually exterminated or driven with the Algonquians beyond the Appalachians to the plains of the Mississippi basin. The survivors may thus have again been united with the kindred Dakotans and other western Siouans after a separation which Mr Dorsey has estimated at about 1500 years, basing his calculation on the highly archaic character of the Siouan tongues spoken by the Appalachian tribes. "All the statements and traditions concerning the eastern Siouan tribes, taken in connection with what we know of the history and traditions of the western tribes of the same stock, seem to indicate the upper region of the Ohio—the Alleghany, Monongahela and Kanawha country—as their original home, from which one branch crossed the mountains to the waters of Virginia and Carolina, while the other followed along the Ohio and the lakes toward the west. Linguistic evidence indicates that the eastern tribes of the Siouan family were established upon the Atlantic slope long before the western tribes of that stock had reached the plains[2]."

That the Siouan family ranged also in former times to the Gulf of Mexico is shown by the late survival in Louisiana of the *Biloxi* (*B'luksi*), *i.e.* "trifling or worthless," as they were called by the Choktaws, though they called themselves Taneks-haya. Their original home was in the present State of Mississippi about Biloxi Bay, named from them, where they were first met by Iberville in 1699, but whence they migrated about 1760 across the great river to Louisiana. From the specimens of their language collected

[1] It was from the last full-blood Tutelo (Totero) chief that Horatio Hale obtained the linguistic materials which enabled him to make the important announcement that the Tutelo must have been a Siouan tongue. (*Proc. Amer. Philosoph. Soc.* 1883.)

[2] Mooney, *The Siouan Tribes*, etc. p. 29.

by Gatschet and Dorsey it is clearly shown that "the Biloxi are the remnant of an isolated Siouan tribe[1]." It may be conjectured that the whole seaboard from the Mississippi delta to the Carolinas and Virginia was at one time continuously occupied by tribes of Siouan stock, of whom the Biloxi are a fragment separated from their Atlantic kinsmen by the irruption of the Muskhogeans from the west into the south-eastern States of Alabama and Georgia. "The Muskhogean tribes all claim to have come into the Gulf States from beyond the Mississippi, and the tradition is clearest among those of them—the Choktaw and Chikasaw—who may be supposed to have crossed last. As they advanced they came at last into collision with the Timuquanan and Uchean tribes of Florida and Georgia, and then began the long struggle which ended only with the destruction of the Timukua and the incorporation by the Creek, within the historic period, of the last of the Uchi, leaving the Muskhogean race supreme from Florida Cape to the Combahee River in South Carolina. This wave of invasion must necessarily have had its effect on the Carolina tribes towards the north[2]," and, it may be added, on the Siouan (Biloxi) tribes of the Gulf Coast.

Migrations and Displacements.

In some of their customs and religious ideas, though not in their speech, the eastern Siouans must have differed considerably from their Missouri kinsmen. A Saponi chief told W. Byrd that "he believ'd there was one supreme God, who had several subaltern deities under him. And that this master-God made the world a long time ago. That he told the sun, the moon, and stars their business in the beginning, which they, with good looking after, have faithfully perform'd ever since.... After death both good and bad people are conducted by a strong guard into a great road, in which departed souls travel together for some time, till at a certain distance this road forks into two paths, the one extremely level, and the other stony and mountainous. Here the good are parted from the bad by a flash of lightning, the first being hurry'd away to the right, the other to the left. The right-hand road leads to a charming

Cosmogonies.

[1] Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

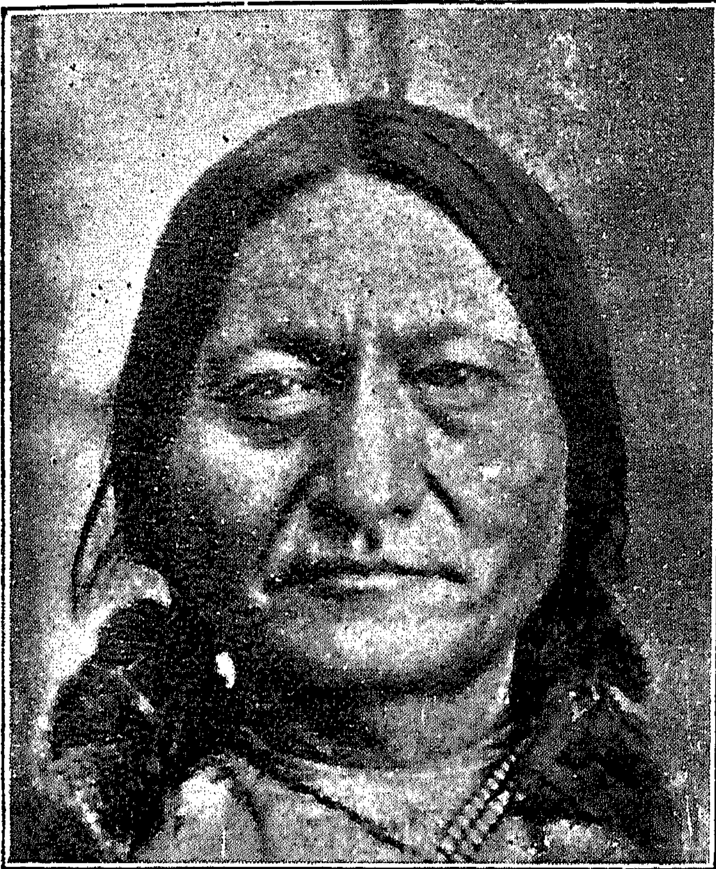
[2] *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

warm country, where the spring is everlasting, and every month is May; and as the year is always in its youth, so are the people, and particularly the women are bright as stars, and never scold. That in this happy climate there are deer, turkeys, elks, and buffaloes innumerable, perpetually fat and gentle, while the trees are loaded with delicious fruit quite throughout the four seasons.... The left-hand path is very rugged and uneven, leading to a dark and barren country, where it is always winter. The ground is the whole year round cover'd with snow, and nothing is to be seen upon the trees but icicles.... Here, after they [the wicked] have been tormented a certain number of years, according to their several degrees of guilt, they are again driven back into this world, to try if they will mend their manners, and merit a place the next time in the regions of bliss[1]."

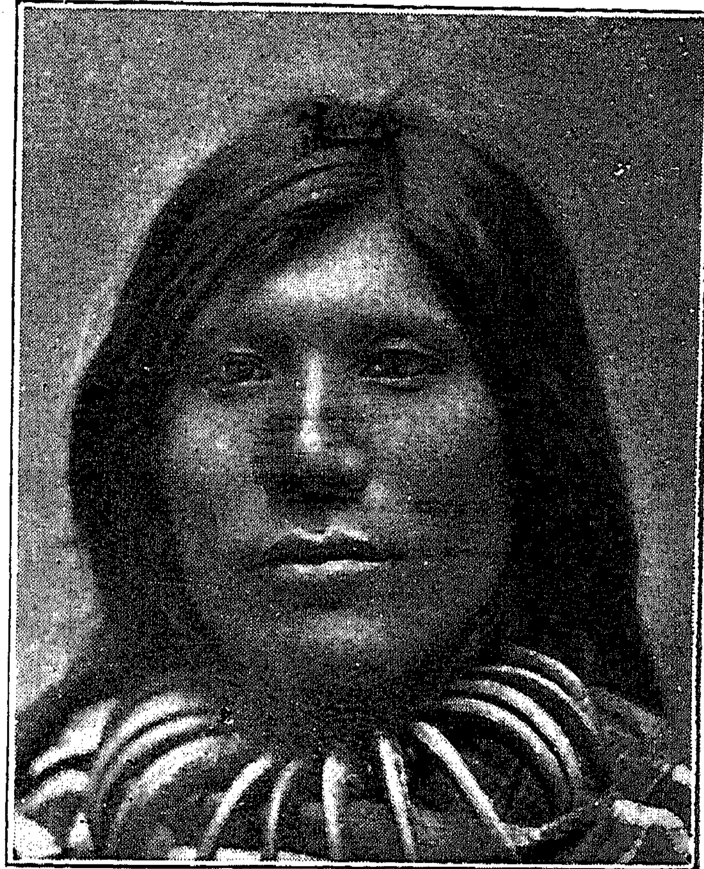
A curious illustration of the universality of certain practices, which from their very nature might be supposed restricted in time and place, is afforded by the "fire dance" found flourishing in an aggravated form amongst the Catawbas, as amongst the ancient Sabines, the Fijians, and so many other peoples: "These miserable wretches are strangely infatuated with illness of the devil; it caused no small horror in me to see one of them wrythe his neck all on one side, foam at the mouth, stand barefoot upon burning coal for near one hour, and then, recovering his senses, leap out of the fire without hurt or sign of any[2]."

Although shorn of their Gulf and Atlantic territories, the Siouans still occupied till lately a vast if somewhat fluctuating domain in the heart of the continent, where the Dakota division thought themselves strong enough to raise the standard of revolt against the United States Government more than once in the second half of the 19th century. Before their final reduction, followed by the usual distribution amongst the Indian Territory, Dakota, Montana, Nebraska, and other Agencies, these typical prairie nomads roamed from the Saskatchewan basin south to Arkansas, and from the Mississippi west to Montana and Wyoming. A distinction, however, should be drawn between the true predatory hordes banded together in the famous "Seven

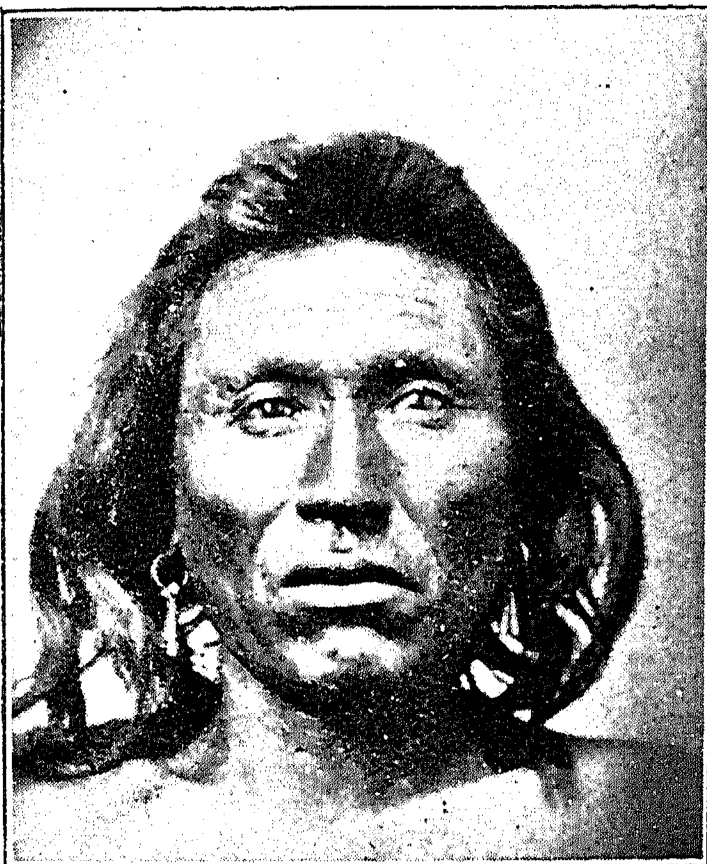
[1] Quoted by Mooney, p. 48.
[2] Lederer, *ib.* p. 71.



1. "SITTING BULL."
(Dakotan Type.)



2. "SCORCHED LIGHTNING."
(Dakotan Type.)



3. YANKTON CHIEF.
(Dakotan Type.)



4. ELIZABETH WYNAN.
(Dakotan Type.)

To face page 394]

Council Fires," and constituting the formidable confederacy of the Dakotas, "Friendlies," *i.e.* "Allies" (of which the chief members were the Santees, Sissetons, Wahpetons, Yanktons, Yanktonnais and Tetons), and the other branches of the Siouan family—Assinaboins, Omahas, Ponkas, Kaws, Osages, Quapaws, Iowas, Otoes, Missouris, Winnebagos, Mandans, Minnetaris, Crows (Absarokas)—who formed independent national groups often hostile to the Dakotas, and presenting many distinct features in their speech, tribal organisation, religious beliefs, social usages, and even in their physical appearance. So marked are some of these characters, as amongst the Assinaboins, Omahas, Osages, and Mandans, that the Siouan family may be regarded as a wide-spread people who, in pre-Columbian times, were already undergoing a process of disintegration which, if left to themselves, must in course of time have resulted in the development of several distinct nationalities.

The Dakotas.

But exceptional interest attaches to all the Siouan peoples, thanks to the light which their social systems throw upon the origin of the family, clan and tribe, the totem, early religious conceptions, and the other primitive elements of human society. Hence the importance of the bulky memoirs devoted to the Siouan Indians by Mr W. J. McGee and the late Rev. James Owen Dorsey in the fifteenth *Annual Report* (1893–4) *of the Washington Bureau of Ethnology* (1897). Thus Mr McGee clearly shows that the current conception of the Dakotan *Wakanda*, as well as that of the Algonquian *Manito* ("Manito the Mighty" of *Hiawatha*), as the Supreme or Great Spirit, Creator and so on, is a delusion, Wakanda being rather a quality than an entity, and in any case only a material substance or being, and in no sense a spirit, much less "Great Spirit." Thus among many tribes "the sun is wakanda—not *the* wakanda or *a* wakanda, but simply wakanda; and among the same tribes the moon is wakanda, and so are thunder, lightning, the stars, the winds, the cedar; even a man, especially a shaman, might be wakanda or a wakanda. In addition the term was applied to mythic monsters of the earth, air, and waters. So, too, the fetishes and the ceremonial objects and decorations...various animals, the horse among the prairie

tribes, many natural objects and places of striking character... though it is easy to understand how the superficial inquirer, dominated by definite spiritual concepts, perhaps deceived by crafty native informants, came to adopt and perpetuate the erroneous interpretation. The term may be translated into 'mystery' perhaps more satisfactorily than into any other single English word, yet this rendering is at the same time too limited, as wakanda vaguely connotes also power, sacred, ancient, grandeur, animate, immortal, etc.[1]"

Dakota Social System.

A closer study of the tribal system has also dissipated another widespread fallacy, that of the cattle horde theory,—universal chaos and promiscuity as the starting point of all human society: "The social organizations of the lower grade are no less definite, perhaps more definite, than those pertaining to the higher grade; so that when the history of demotic growth among the American Indians is traced backward, the organizations are found on the whole to grow more definite, albeit more simple. When the lines of development revealed through research are projected still farther toward their origin, they indicate an initial condition, directly antithetic to the postulated horde, in which the scant population was segregated in small discrete bodies, probably family groups; and that in each of these bodies there was a definite organization, while each group was practically independent of, and probably inimical to, all other groups[2]."

And thus the family, the initial unit, segments into a number of clans, each distinguished by its totem, its name, its heraldic badge, which badge, becoming more and more venerated from age to age, acquires inherited privileges, becomes the object of endless superstitious practices and is ultimately almost deified.

The Totem.

Miss Fletcher, who has made a special study of the totemic concept as prevalent amongst some of the Siouan tribes, may be right in regarding the totem as the personal fetish grown hereditary. But it is difficult to follow her when she speaks of the origin of this personal totem through a puberty rite involving a trance or vision. "Those who had seen the Bear

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 182–3.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

made up the Bear society; those to whom the Thunder or Water beings had come formed the Thunder or the Pebble society. The membership came from every kinship group in the tribe, blood relationship was ignored, the bond of union being a common right in a common vision[1]." The system may have been later influenced and modified by visions and other shamanistic practices; but its origin lies behind all such developments, behind all strictly religious notions, and it was at first a mere device for distinguishing one individual from another, one family or clan group from another. Thus amongst the Piaroas of the Orinoco below San Fernando de Atabapo, the belief holds that the tapir, originally the totem of the clan, has become their ancestor, and that after death the spirit of every Piaroa passes into a tapir; hence they never hunt or eat this animal, and they also think all the surrounding tribes are in the same way each provided with their special animal forefather[2]. It is easy to see how such ideas tend to cluster round the clan or family totem, at first a distinguishing badge, later a protecting or tutelar deity of Protean form. It should be remembered that the personal or family name precedes the totem, which grows out of it, as seen by the conditions still prevailing amongst the very lowest peoples (Fuegians, Papuans of Torres Strait[3]).

Clan, Gens and Phratry.

Students of the Siouan social system distinguish carefully between the clan, the gens, and the phratry, and base their theories of the matriarchate and patriarchate (descent through the female and the male line) on this distinction, the assumption being that in all cases the former preceded the latter. "The difference between the clan of savagery and the gens of barbarism is important and fundamental. The clan is a group of people reckoning kinship in the female line, while the gens is a group of people reckoning kinship in the male line. In barbarism patriarchies are found as concomitant with nomadic tribes, but in savagery the patriarchy does not exist. Hence the first great revolution in tribal society is the transition from the clan to the gens, the consolidation of

[1] *The Import of the Totem. Amer. Ass.* Detroit, 1897.

[2] M. Chaffanjon, *Tour du Monde*, 1888, LVI. p. 348.

[3] *Ethnology*, pp. 9, 11.

power in the hands of the few, and the organization of the gentile family[1]." Then the phratry is described as a system of groups sometimes found in savagery (a group of clans), and always in barbarism (a group of gentes). "There may be many clans or many gentes in a tribe, and two or more clans or gentes may constitute an intervening unit which we call the phratry." With the Muskhogean there are four phratries, one each for the east, west, north and south; with the Zuñis there are six, that is, besides the above, one for the zenith and nadir. "Thus the phratries are organized by mythologic regions; and this method of regimentation finds expression in the construction of the Council Chamber, in the plaza, and in the plan of the village. Here in the phratry we have the beginning of district regimentation, which ultimately prevails in civilization[2]."

Such are the now current views resulting from almost exhaustive studies of the tribal systems prevalent amongst the North American Indians. As the views of serious and perfectly competent observers, they are entitled to every consideration, and to adequate presentation in all ethnological treatises. They may even be accepted as perhaps approximately correct for the ethnical groups in question; but they cannot be taken as of universal application, and we have already seen[3] that matriarchal have not necessarily preceded patriarchal institutions everywhere. Consequently the distinction here insisted upon between the clan and the gens is purely local, while for practical purposes the phratry may for the most part be taken as identical with the tribe or group of clans. Even in North America there would seem to be some hesitation about clan and gens, and Mr McGee writes that "at the time of the discovery most of the Siouan tribes had apparently passed into gentile organization, though vestiges of clan organization were found[4]"; and again:—"Like the other aborigines north of Mexico, the Siouan Indians were organized on the basis of kinship, and were thus in the stage of tribal society. All of the best known tribes had reached that

[1] *Fifteenth An. Report*, Introduction.
[2] *Ibid.* Introduction, *passim*.
[3] p. 180, *supra*.
[4] *Fifteenth An. Report*, p. 177.

plane of organization characterized by descent in the male line, though many vestiges and some relatively unimportant examples of descent in the female line have been discovered. Thus the clan system was obsolescent, and the gentile system fairly developed; *i.e.* the people were practically out of the stage of savagery and well advanced in the stage of barbarism[1]." So Dorsey:—"Among the Dakota...and other groups the man is the head of the family[2]." It is too soon to criticise further, but enough has been said to show that the clan as here defined is still on its defence even in North America, while in most other regions matriarchal institutions, except as purely local phenomena, have already shared the fate of the group-marriage and promiscuity theories of Australian ethnologists.

The Pueblo Indians and Cliff Dwellers.

From the Spanish word *Pueblo*, "town," "village," are named and partly characterised a considerable group of natives, who from remote times have dwelt and continue to dwell in fixed settlements of a peculiar type scattered over the *mesas* ("tables" or flat rocky heights), of the present states of New Mexico and Arizona. They do not form a single ethnical or linguistic family, but rather a number of heterogeneous communities speaking several stock languages, and in one instance (Moqui) a dialect of the widely-diffused Shoshonean (Snake) family. A certain uniformity is, however, imparted to the whole group by their common usages, traditions, religious rites, habitations, and general culture. In this respect they stand on a much higher level than any of the other North American aborigines, whence the theory often advanced that the Pueblos represent an intermediate stage in a continuously progressive cultural zone beginning with the northern mound-builders and culminating with the Aztec, Maya, and Peruvian civilizations of Central and South America.

That there is a steady rise of the culture-grades in the direction from north to south is undoubted, and it may not be without significance that the round-headed mound-builders, Pueblos, and neighbouring Cliff-dwellers are now commonly regarded as all originally of one stock. "There is no warrant whatever for the

[1] *Fifteenth An. Report*, p. 187. [2] *Ibid.* p. 213.

old assumption that the Cliff-dwellers were a separate race, and the cliff dwellings must be regarded as only a phase of Pueblo architecture[1]." But the connection is not at all obvious either between the mounds and the Pueblo structures, or between these and the Maya-Aztec monuments, while there are good reasons for regarding all alike as independent local developments. That this was the case with the mounds Mr Cushing has shown to be more than probable (see above), and Mr Mindeleff now proves convincingly that the Pueblo *casas grandes*—huge stone buildings or fortresses large enough to accommodate the whole community—grew out of the local conditions, and had no prototypes elsewhere. On this question of the close relation of primitive man to his physical environment Mr Mindeleff's remarks are highly instructive. "The complete adaptation of Pueblo architecture to the country in which it is found has been commented on. If the architecture did not originate in the country where it is found, it would almost certainly bear traces of former conditions. Such survivals are common in all arts, and instances of it are so common in architecture that no examples need be cited. Only one of these survivals has been found in Pueblo architecture, but that one is very instructive; it is the presence of circular chambers in groups of rectangular rooms, which occur in certain regions. These chambers are called *estufas* or *kivas*, and are the council houses and temples of the people [the medicine lodges] in which the government and religious affairs of the tribe are transacted. It is owing to their religious connection that the form has been preserved to the present day, carrying with it the record of the time when the people lived in round chambers or huts.... The whole Pueblo country is covered with the remains in single rooms and groups of rooms, put up to meet some immediate necessity. Some of these may have been built centuries ago, some are only a few years or a few months old, yet the structures do not differ

Their Culture a Local Development.

[1] Cosmos Mindeleff, *The Cliff Ruins of Canyon de Chelly*, in 16th An. Report, Bureau of Ethnology, Washington 1897, p. 191. And Dr Hamy is inclined to regard the old quaternary skull from Calaveras as perhaps the prototype of the mound-builders, cliff-dwellers and Pueblos, who "appartenaient à une seule et même race" (*L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 140)

from one another; nor, on the other hand, does the similarity imply that the builder of the oldest example knew less or more than his descendant to-day—both utilized the material at hand and each accomplished his purpose in the easiest way. In both cases the result is so rude that no sound inference of sequence can be drawn from the study of individual examples, but in the study of large aggregations of rooms we find some clues. It must not be forgotten that the unit of Pueblo construction is the single room, even in the large many-storied villages. This unit is often quite as rude in modern as in ancient work, and both are very close to the result which would be produced by any Indian tribe who came into the country and were left free to work out their own ideas. Starting with this unit the whole system of Pueblo architecture is a natural product of the country and of the conditions of life known to have affected the people by whom it was practised[1]."

In a word it is not necessary to invent a new race different from the present aborigines to account for the Pueblo structures any more than it is to account for the mounds. This inference becomes self-evident when we find that one of the Pueblo divisions—the *Moqui* or *Hopi*[2]—are actually a branch of the nomad Shoshonean family, who differ in no essential respect from the Siouans and all the prairie Indians.

Besides these Moqui, who occupy seven pueblos in North-east Arizona, there are three other nations, as they may be called—*Tanoan*, *Keresan* and *Zuñian*—each speaking a stock language of the usual polysynthetic type, and occupying collectively nearly 30 pueblos with a total population of about 10,300. Each nation, except the Zuñi who hold a solitary pueblo in New Mexico, comprises a number of tribal or dialectic divisions, and it is now known from the researches of Cushing, Bandelier, Hodge and

[1] pp. 192–3.

[2] Hopi, "People," is the proper tribal name; *Moqui* (pronounced *Moki*) is a vile abusive term imposed on them by their neighbours, and ought to be repressed. They occupy the seven pueblos of the Tusayan district, Arizona, towards the Utah frontier, "each built upon the crest of a precipice of sandstone, impregnable to any assault to be expected from aboriginal foes" (J. G. Bourke, *The Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, 1884, p. 226).

others, that the clanship system prevails everywhere. So numerous are these groups that in some divisions they include not more than 20, 10, or even 5 members, and Mr F. W. Hodge[1] gives a table of the 80 clans in the Tanoan, Keresan, and Zuñian nations, showing in a collective population of 8,666 an average membership of about 108 for each clan. The clan names, of which translations are here given, comprise such things as the calabash, various kinds of maize, the dance-kilt, grass, salt, the swallow, ant, humming-bird, etc., from which it may again be inferred that such totems were originally merely distinctive badges which only later acquired genealogical or religious significance. It seems impossible to suppose that any aborigines could at any time be at once so intelligent as to group themselves in a really intricate system of clanship, and so stupid as to think themselves of grass, calabash, or salt lineage. These ideas obviously came afterwards by the usual processes of analogy and germinal growth.

The Pueblo Clan System.

But, we are told, these Pueblo Indians are specially noted for a highly elaborate symbolism, manifested in their recurrent seasonal festivities, snake dances and other religious ceremonies, so elaborate indeed that some of this symbolism is said to throw light on the intricate carvings of the Aztec and Maya monuments[2]. All this may be so, but if anybody fancies that such ceremonial forms were an initial condition of Pueblo society, let him study the "social systems" still prevalent amongst the Mexican Seres, the Fuegians, Bushmen, Australians or New Guinea Papuans; and let him remember that even these are later developments compared with the crude beginnings of all human society.

Symbolism.

[1] *American Anthropologist*, Oct. 1896, p. 345 sq.

[2] "The revolting ceremonials of Tusayan [Hopi] fall into position in a series of observances and ceremonials connected with the serpent extending from the plains of the Mississippi to the ancient cities of Mexico, Central America, and even unto Peru, and some of the most puzzling sculptures, paintings and inscriptions of the ancient cities, as well as the curious regard for snakes among our north-eastern Indians can be interpreted fully only in the light of the Tusayan researches" (*16th Ann. Report* (1894–5) *Bur. Ethnology*, Washington, 1897, p. xcviii).

In reference to Dr J. Walter Fewkes' account of the "Tusayan Snake Ceremonies," it is pointed out that "the Pueblo Indians adore a plurality of deities, to which various potencies are ascribed. These zoic deities, or beast gods, are worshipped by means of ceremonies which are sometimes highly elaborate; and, so far as practicable, the mystic zoic potency is represented in the ceremony by a living animal of similar species or by an artificial symbol. Prominent among the animate representatives of the zoic pantheon throughout the arid region is the serpent, especially the venomous and hence mysteriously potent rattlesnake. To the primitive mind there is intimate association, too, between the swift-striking and deadly viper and the lightning, with its attendant rain and thunder; there is intimate association, too, between the moisture-loving reptile of the subdeserts and the life-giving storms and freshets; and so the native rattlesnake plays an important rôle in the ceremonies, especially in the invocations for rain, which characterize the entire arid region[1]."

Snake Dances.

Mr Fewkes pursues the same fruitful line of thought in his monograph on *The Feather Symbol in Ancient Hopi Designs*[2], showing how amongst the Tusayan Pueblos, although they have left no written records, there survives an elaborate paleography, the feather *motif* in the pottery found in the old ruins, which is in fact "a picture writing often highly symbolic and complicated," revealing certain phases of Hopi thought in remote times. "Thus we come back to a belief, taught by other reasoning, that ornamentation of ancient pottery was something higher than simple effort to beautify ceramic wares. The ruling motive was a religious one, for in their system everything was under the same sway. Esthetic and religious feelings were not differentiated, the one implied the other, and to elaborately decorate a vessel without introducing a religious symbol was to the ancient potter an impossibility[3]." So it was with the Van Eycks, the Giottos and others before pictorial art became divorced from religion in Italy and the Low Countries.

[1] p. xcvii.
[2] *Amer. Anthropologist*, Jan. 1898.
[3] p. 13.

With regard to the cliff dwellings, it is explained that the district is one of arid plateaus, separated and dissected by deep cañons, frequently composed of flat-lying rock strata forming ledge-marked cliffs by the erosive action of the rare storms. "Only along the few streams heading in the mountains does permanent water exist, and along the cliff lines slabs of rock suitable for building abound; and the primitive ancients, dependent as they were on environment, naturally produced the cliff dwellings. The tendency toward this type was strengthened by intertribal relations; the cliff dwellers were probably descended from agricultural or semi-agricultural villagers who sought protection against enemies, and the control of land and water through aggregation in communities.... Locally the ancient villages of Canyon de Chelly are known as Aztec ruins, and this designation is just so far as it implies relationship with the aborigines of moderately advanced culture in Mexico and Central America, though it would be misleading if regarded as indicating essential difference between the ancient villagers and their modern descendants and neighbours still occupying the pueblos[1]."

[1] *16th Ann. Report*, p. xciv.

CHAPTER XI.

THE AMERICAN ABORIGINES (*continued*).

The Central American Civilized Peoples: *Nahuatlans* and *Huaxtecans*; *Maya-Aztec* Origins and Relations—Aztec and Maya Scripts and Calendars—Nahuas and Shoshones—Chichimec and Aztec Empires—*Miztecs* and *Zapotecs*—Ruins of Mitla—Uncultured Mexican Peoples: *Otomi; Seri*—Cavemen in Yucatan—The *Maya-Quichés*—Transitions from North to South America—The *Cebunys*—Early Man in the Bahamas—The *Lucayans*—*Chontals*, *Chocos*, and *Cunas*—The South American Aborigines—The *Catio* Savages—The Cultural Zone in S. America—The Columbian *Chibchas*—Peruvian Culture—Empire of the Incas—*Quechua* Race and Language—Quechua-Aymara Origins and Cultural Relations—The Tiahuanaco Monuments—*Chimu* Culture—Huacas and Pyramids—Peruvian Politico-Social System—The *Araucanians*—The *Pampas Indians*—The *Gauchos*—*Patagonians* and *Fuegians*—Patagonians and *Bororos*: Migrations—Linguistic Relations South of the Plate River—The *Yahgans*—Brazilian Aborigines—The *Cashibos*—The *Pano Family*—Ethnical Relations in Amazonia—The *Cariban Family*—Carib Cradle—*Arawakan Family*—Migrations—The *Ges* (*Tapuyan*) *Family*—The *Botocudos*—The *Tupi-Guaranian Family*—*Tacunas* and *Tacanas*—The *Chiquitos*—*Matacos* and *Tobas*—Caucasic Type in S. America.

Mexican and Central American Cultures.

In Mexico and Central America interest is centred chiefly in two great ethnical groups—the *Nahuatlan* and *Huaxtecan*—whose cultural, historical, and even geographical relations are so intimately interwoven that they can scarcely be treated apart. Thus, although their civilizations are concentrated respectively in the Anahuac (Mexican) plateau and Yucatan and Guatemala, the two domains overlap completely at both ends, so that there are isolated branches of the Huaxtecan family in Mexico (the Huaxtecs (Totonacs) of Vera Cruz, from whom the whole group

is named), and of the Nahuatlan in Nicaragua (Pipils, Niquirans, and others)[1].

This very circumstance has no doubt tended to increase the difficulties connected with the questions of their origins, migrations, and mutual cultural influences. Some of these difficulties have disappeared by the removal of the "Toltecs" (see above), who had hitherto been a great disturbing element in this connection, and all the rest have in my opinion been satisfactorily disposed of by E. Förstermann, a leading authority on all Aztec-Maya questions[2]. This eminent archæologist refers first to the views of Dr Seler[3], who assumes a southern movement of Maya tribes from Yucatan, and a like movement of Aztecs from Tabasco to Nicaragua, and even to Yucatan. On the other hand Dieseldorff holds that Maya art was independently developed, while the links between it and the Aztec show that an interchange took place, in which process the Maya was the giver, the Aztec the recipient. He further attributes the overthrow of the Maya power 100 or 200 years before the discovery to the Aztecs, and thinks the Aztecs or Nahuas took their god Quetzalcoatl from the "Toltecs," who were a Maya people. Ph. J. Valentini also infers that the Mayas were the original people, the Aztecs "mere parasites[4]."

Now Förstermann lays down the principle that any theory, to be satisfactory, should fit in with such facts as:—(1) the agreement and diversity of both cultures; (2) the antiquity and disappearance of the mysterious Toltecs; (3) the complete isolation of the Huaxtecs from the other Maya tribes, and their difference from them; (4) the equally complete isolation of the Guatemalan Pipils, and of the other southern (Nicaraguan) Aztec groups from the rest of the Nahua peoples; (5) the remarkable absence of Aztec local names in Yucatan, while they occur in hundreds in

[1] Some Nahuas, whom the Spaniards called "Mexicans" or "Chichimecs," were met by Vasquez de Coronado even as far south as the Chiriqui lagoon, Panama. These Seguas, as they called themselves, have since disappeared, and it is no longer possible to say how they strayed so far from their northern homes.

[2] *Neue Mayaforschungen*, in *Globus* LXX. p. 37 sq.

[3] *Alterthümer aus Guatemala*, p. 24.

[4] *Analysis of the Pictorial Text inscribed on two Palenque Tablets*, N. York, 1896.

Chiapas, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, where scarcely any trace is met of Maya names.

To account for these facts he assumes that in the earliest known times Central America from about 23° to 10° N. was mainly inhabited by Maya tribes, who had even reached Cuba. These Mayas, while still at a somewhat low stage of culture, were invaded by the Aztecs advancing from as far north as at least 26° N. but only on the Pacific side, thus leaving the eastern Huaxtecs untouched. The Mayas, coming thus in contact with the Nahuas first in the north naturally called them "Toltecs" from the settlers in the northern district of Tola. But when all the relations became clearer, the Toltecs fell gradually into the background, and at last entered the domain of the fabulous.

Now the Aztecs borrowed much from the Mayas, especially gods, whose names they simply translated. A typical case is that of Cuculan, which becomes Quetzalcoatl, where *cuc* = *quezal* = the bird *Trogon resplendens*, and *can* = *coatl* = snake[1]. That the Mayas had already developed their writing system is unthinkable; this took place first amongst the Quichés of Guatemala, the central point of their domain. With the higher culture here developed the Aztecs came first in contact after passing through Mixtec and Zapotec territory, not long before Columbian times, so that they had no time here to consolidate their empire and assimilate the Mayas. On the contrary the Aztecs were themselves merged in these, all but the Pipils and the settlements on Lake Nicaragua, which retained their national peculiarities.

But whence came the hundreds of Aztec names in the lands between Chiapas and Nicaragua? Here it should be noted that these names are almost exclusively confined to the more important stations, while the less prominent places have everywhere names taken from the tongues of the local tribes. But even the Aztec names themselves occur properly only in official use, hence also on the charts, and are not current to-day amongst the natives who have kept aloof from the Spanish-speaking populations.

[1] Quetzalcoatl, the "Bright-feathered Snake," was the supreme god of the Nahuan pantheon, the incarnation of Tonacateatl, the "Serpent-Sun," creator of all things, round whom clusters most of the mythology, and of the pictorial and plastic art of the Mexicans.

Hence the inference that such names were mainly introduced by the Spaniards and their Mexican troops during the conquest of those lands, say, up to about 1535, and do not appear in Yucatan which was not conquered from Mexico. Förstermann reluctantly accepts this view, advanced by Sapper, having nothing better to suggest.

The higher Maya culture had not fully spread from Guatemala to Yucatan, when its further development was arrested in the south by the Spaniards; nor had it lasted very long if the hypothesis that the memorial columns of Copan were not erected before the 15th century be right.

On this theory, which certainly harmonises best with most of the conditions, the Mayas would appear to have stood on a higher plane of culture than their Aztec rivals, and the same conclusion may be drawn from their respective writing systems. Of all the aborigines these two alone had developed what may fairly be called a script in the strict sense of the term, although neither of them had reached the same level of efficiency as the Babylonian cuneiforms, the Chinese or the Egyptian hieroglyphs, not to speak of the syllabic and alphabetic systems of the Old World. Some even of the barbaric peoples, such as most of the prairie Indians, had reached the stage of graphic symbolism, and were thus on the threshold of writing at the discovery. "The art was rudimentary and limited to crude pictography. The pictographs were painted or sculptured on cliff-faces, boulders, the walls of caverns, and even on trees, as well as on skins, bark, and various artificial objects. Among certain Mexican tribes, also, autographic records were in use, and some of them were much better differentiated than any within the present area of the United States. The records were not only painted and sculptured on stone and moulded in stucco, but were inscribed in books or codices of native parchment and paper; while the characters were measurably arbitrary, *i.e.* ideographic rather than pictographic[1]."

Aztec and Maya Scripts,

Perhaps the difference between the Aztec and Maya methods is best defined by stating that the former is more purely pictorial

[1] *16th Ann. Report*, p. xcv.

and ideographic, the latter more ideographic and phonetic, and consequently approximates nearer to a true phonetic system. No doubt much diversity of opinion prevails regarding the real nature of the Maya symbols, and it is a fact that no single text, however short, has yet been satisfactorily deciphered. Nevertheless Dr Cyrus Thomas, than whom no greater authority can be quoted, does not hesitate to say that many of the symbols possessed true phonetic value and were used to express sounds and syllables. "He does not claim that the Maya scribes had reached that advanced stage where they could indicate each letter sound by a glyph or symbol. On the contrary, he thinks a symbol was selected because the name or word it represented had as its chief phonetic element a certain consonant sound or syllable. If this were *b* the symbol would be used where *b* was the prominent element of the word to be indicated, no reference, however, to its original signification being necessarily retained. Thus the symbol for *cab*, "earth," might be used in writing *caban*, a day name, or *cabil*, "honey," because *cab* is their chief phonetic element.... One reason why attempts at decipherment have failed is a misconception of the peculiar character of the writing, which is in a transition stage from the purely ideographic to the phonetic[1]." From the example here given, the Maya script would appear to have in fact reached the rebus stage, which also plays so large a part in the Egyptian hieroglyphic system. *Cab* is obviously a rebus, and the transition from the rebus to true syllabic and alphabetic systems has already been explained[2].

and Calendars.

But not only were the Maya day characters phonetic; the Maya calendar itself, afterwards borrowed by the Aztecs, has been described as even more accurate than the Julian itself. "Among the plains Indians the calendars are simple, consisting commonly of a record of winters ('winter counts,') and of notable events occurring either during the winter or during some other season; while the shorter time divisions are reckoned by 'nights' (days), 'dead moons' (lunations), and seasons of leafing, flowering, or fruiting of plants, migrating of animals, etc., and there is no definite system of reducing days

[1] *Day Symbols of the Maya Year* in 16*th Ann. Report*, p. 205.

[2] p. 27.

to lunations or lunations to years. Among the Pueblo Indians calendric records are inconspicuous or absent, though there is a much more definite calendric system which is fixed and perpetuated by religious ceremonies; while among some of the Mexican tribes there are elaborate calendric systems combined with complete calendric records. The perfection of the calendar among the Maya and Nahua Indians is indicated by the fact that not only were 365 days reckoned as a year, but the bissextile was recognized[1]."

Nahuas and Shoshones.

In another important respect the superiority of the Maya-Quiché peoples over the northern Nahuans is incontestable. When their religious systems are compared, it is at once seen that at the time of the discovery the Mexican Aztecs were little better than ruthless barbarians newly clothed in the borrowed robes of an advanced culture, to which they had not time to properly adapt themselves,

[1] *16th Ann. Report*, p. xcvi. In "The Maya Year" (1894) Dr Cyrus Thomas shows that "the year recorded in the Dresden codex consisted of 18 months of 20 days each, with 5 supplemental days, or of 365 days" (*ib.*). Those who have persistently appealed to these Maya-Aztec calendric systems as convincing proofs of Asiatic influences in the evolution of American cultures will now have to show where these influences come in. As a matter of fact the systems are fundamentally distinct, the American showing the clearest indications of local development, as seen in the mere fact, proved by Dr Thomas, that the day characters of the Maya codices were phonetic, *i.e.* largely rebuses explicable only in the Maya language, which has no affinities out of America. The Aztec month of 20 days is also clearly indicated by the 20 corresponding signs on the great Calendar Stone made by king Axayacatl in 1479 and now fixed in the wall of the Cathedral tower of Mexico. The best account of this basalt stone, which weighs 25 tons and has a diameter of 11 feet, is that given in the *Anales del Museo Nacional de Mexico* by Señor Alfredo Chavero, who ascribes the astronomic system here perpetuated to the unaided efforts of the American aborigines, so profoundly does it differ from the Babylonian, Egyptian, and all other Old World systems. Or, he says, if indeed derived from an Asiatic source, then only from such data as might have been brought over by rude tribes from lands or islands now covered by the Pacific Ocean. See an excellent reproduction of the Calendar Stone in T. U. Brocklehurst's *Mexico To-Day*, 1883, p. 186; also Zelia Nutall's study of the "Mexican Calendar System," Tenth Internat. Congress of Americanists, Stockholm, 1894. "The regular rotation of market-days and the day of enforced rest every 20 days were the prominent and permanent features of the civil solar year" (*ib.*).

and in which they could but masquerade after their own savage fashion.

It has to be remembered that the Aztecs were but one branch of the Nahuatlan family, whose affinities Buschmann[1] has traced northwards to the rude Shoshonean aborigines who roamed from the present States of Montana, Idaho, and Oregon down into Utah, Texas, and California. Possibly to this Shoshonean stock belonged the barbaric hordes who overthrew the civilization which flourished on the Anahuac (Mexican) tableland about the 6th century A.D. and is associated with the ruins of Tula and Cholula. In any case it seems now clear that the so-called "Toltecs," the "Pyramid-builders," founders of this earliest Central American culture, were not Nahuatlans but Huaxtecans, who thence migrated southwards and formed fresh settlements in Guatemala and Yucatan.

Chichimec and Aztec Empires.

After their withdrawal barbarism would appear to have resumed its sway in Anahuac, where it was later represented by the rude Chichimec tribes merged in a loose political system which was dignified in the local traditions by the name of the "Chichimec Empire." In all probability these Chichimecs were true Nahuas[2], whose

[1] *Spuren der Aztek. Sprache*, 1859, *passim*.

[2] "Chiefly of the Nahuatl race" (De Nadaillac, p. 279). It should, however, be noted that under this general and abusive name of "Dogs" (*Chichi*, dog) were comprised a large number of savage tribes—Otomis, Pames, Pintos, etc.—who are described as wandering about naked or wearing only the skins of beasts, living in caves or rock-shelters, armed with bows, slings, and clubs, constantly at war amongst themselves or with the surrounding peoples, eating raw flesh, drinking the blood of their captives or treating them with unheard-of cruelty, altogether a horror and terror to all the more civilised communities. "Chichimec Empire" may therefore be taken merely as a euphemistic expression for the reign of barbarism raised up on the ruins of the early Toltec (Totonac or Huaxtecan) civilization. Yet it has its dynasties and dates and legendary sequence of events, and we are told by the veracious native historian, Ixtlilxochitl, himself of royal lineage, that Xolotl, founder of the empire, had under orders 3,202,000 men and women, that his decisive victory over the Toltecs took place in 1015, that he assumed the title of "Chichimecatl Tecuhti," Great Chief of the Chichimecs, and that after a succession of revolts, wars, conspiracies, and revolutions, Maxtla, last of the dynasty, was overthrown in 1431 by the Aztecs and their allies.

ascendancy lasted from about the 11th to the 15th century, when they were in their turn overthrown and absorbed by the historical Nahuan confederacy of the *Aztecs*[1] whose capital was Tenochtitlan (the present city of Mexico), the *Acolhuas* (capital Tezcuco), and the *Tepanecs* (capital Tlacopan).

Thus the Aztec Empire reduced by the Conquistadores in 1520 had but a brief record, although the Aztecs themselves as well as many other tribes of Nahuatl speech, must have been in contact with the more civilised Huaxtecan peoples for centuries before the appearance of the Spaniards on the scene. It was during these ages that the Nahuas "borrowed much from the Mayas," as Förstermann puts it, without greatly benefiting by the process. Thus the Maya gods, for the most part of a relatively mild type like the Mayas themselves, become in the hideous Aztec pantheon ferocious demons with an insatiable thirst for blood, so that the teocalli, "gods' houses," were transformed to human shambles, where on solemn occasions the victims were said to have numbered tens of thousands[2].

Uncultured Mexican Peoples.

Besides the Aztecs and their allies, the elevated Mexican plateaux were occupied by several other relatively civilized nations, such as the *Miztecs* and *Zapotecs* of Oajaca, the *Tarascos* and neighbouring *Matlaltzincas* of Michoacan, all of whom spoke independent stock languages, and the *Totonacs* of Vera Cruz, who were of Huaxtecan speech, and were probably the earliest representatives of the

[1] Named from the shadowy land of Aztlan away to the north, where they long dwelt in the seven legendary caves of Chicomoztoc, whence they migrated at some unknown period to the lacustrine region, where they founded Tenochtitlan, seat of their empire.

[2] "The gods of the Mayas appear to have been less sanguinary than those of the Nahuas. The immolation of a dog was with them enough for an occasion that would have been celebrated by the Nahuas with hecatombs of victims. Human sacrifices did however take place" (De Nadaillac, p. 266), though they were as nothing compared with the countless victims demanded by the Aztec gods. "The dedication by Ahuizotl of the great temple of Huitzilopochtli in 1487 is alleged to have been celebrated by the butchery of 72,344 victims," and "under Montezuma II. 12,000 captives are said to have perished" on one occasion (*ib.* p. 297); all no doubt gross exaggerations, but leaving a large margin for perhaps the most terrrible chapter of horrors in the records of natural religions.

Maya-Quiché race and culture. The high degree of civilization attained by some of these nations before their reduction by the Aztecs is attested by the magnificent ruins of Mitla, capital of the Zapotecs, which was captured and destroyed by the Mexicans in 1494. Of the royal palace Viollet-le-Duc speaks in enthusiastic terms, declaring that "the monuments of the golden age of Greece and Rome alone equal the beauty of the masonry of this great building[1]." In general their usages and religious rites resembled those of the Aztecs, although the Zapotecs, besides the civil ruler, had a High Priest who took part in the government. "His feet were never allowed to touch the ground; he was carried on the shoulders of his attendants; and when he appeared all, even the chiefs themselves, had to fall prostrate before him, and none dared to raise their eyes in his presence[2]." The Zapotec language is still spoken by about 260 natives in the State of Oajaca.

Farther north the plains and uplands continued to be inhabited by a multitude of wild tribes speaking an unknown number of stock languages, and thus presenting a chaos of ethnical and linguistic elements comparable to that which prevails along the north-west coast. Of these rude populations one of the most widespread are the Otomi of the central region, noted for the monosyllabic tendencies of their language, which Najera, a native grammarian, has on this ground compared with Chinese, from which, however, it is fundamentally distinct. Still more primitive are the Seri Indians of Sonora, who were visited in 1895 by Mr McGee, and found to be "probably more savage than any other tribe remaining on the North American Continent. Most of their food is eaten raw, they have no domestic animals save dogs, they are totally without agriculture, and their industrial arts are few and rude[3]."

Otomi—Seri.

It is noteworthy that but few traces of such savagery have yet been discovered in Yucatan. The investigations of Mr Henry Mercer[4] in this region lend strong support to Förstermann's views regarding the early Huaxtecan migrations and the general

[1] Quoted by De Nadaillac, p. 365. [2] p. 363.

[3] *16th Ann. Report*, p. lxiii.

[4] *The Hill Caves of Yucatan*, Philadelphia, 1896.

southward spread of Maya culture from the Mexican tableland.

Early Man in Yucatan.

Nearly thirty caves examined by this explorer failed to yield any remains either of the mastodon, mammoth, or horse, or of early man, elsewhere so often associated with these animals. Hence Mr Mercer infers that the Mayas reached Yucatan already in an advanced state of culture, which consequently was not developed on the spot, but remained unchanged till the conquest. In the caves were found great quantities of good pottery, generally well baked and of symmetrical form, the oldest quite as good as the latest where they occur in stratified beds, showing no progress anywhere. Yet the first arrivals had no metals or domestic animals, not even the dog, while the fractured bones occurring at Loltun, Sabaka and some other places, raise suspicions of cannibalism.

Mr Edward H. Thompson, however, who has also examined some of these caves, declares that "none of the human bones showed any trace of being charred by fire, or any other evidence of cannibalism." In other respects he agrees with Mr Mercer, and expresses his conviction that "no people or race of so-called cave-people ever existed in Yucatan, and that while these caves of the Loltun type were undoubtedly inhabited, it was by the same race that built the great stone structures now in ruins. And I furthermore believe that the caves were only temporary places of refuge and not permanent habitations[1]."

Since the conquest the Aztecs, as well as the other cultured nations of Anahuac, have yielded to European influences to a far greater extent than the Maya-Quichés of Yucatan and Guatemala. In the city of Mexico the last echoes of the rich Nahuatl tongue have almost died out, and this place, although formerly the chief seat of Aztec culture, has long been one of the leading centres of Spanish arts and letters in the New World[2]. But Merida, standing on the site of the ancient Ti-hoó, has almost again become a Maya town, where the white settlers themselves have been largely

[1] *Cave of Loltun, Yucatan, Report of Explorations by the Peabody Museum*, Cambridge, Mass. 1897.

[2] "In the city of Mexico everything has a Spanish look" (Brocklehurst, p. 15). The Aztec language however is still current in the surrounding districts and generally in the provinces forming part of the former Aztec empire.

assimilated in speech and usages to the natives. The very streets are still indicated by the carved images of the hawk, flamingo, or other tutelar deities, while the houses of the suburbs continue to be built in the old Maya style, two or three feet above the street level, with a walled porch and stone bench running round the enclosure.

The Mayas to-day.

One reason for this remarkable contrast may be that the Nahua culture, as above seen, was to a great extent borrowed in relatively recent times, whereas the Maya civilization is now shown to date from the epoch of the Tolan and Cholulan pyramid-builders. Hence the former yielded to the first shock, while the latter persists to such an extent that Yucatan, from the ethnical standpoint, may still be called Mayapan, as in the days of the great Xibalba confederacy, whose splendour is attested by the astonishing monuments of Palenque, Copan, Chichen-Itza, Uxmal, and the not yet fully described ruins of Quiriqua, Lake Itzal, and other places in Guatemala, Honduras, and Salvador. Despite their more gentle disposition, as expressed in the softer and almost feminine lines of their features, the Mayas held out more valiantly than the Aztecs against the Spaniards, and a section of the nation occupying a strip of territory between Yucatan and British Honduras, still maintains its independence. The "barbarians," as the inhabitants of this district are called, would appear to be scarcely less civilised than their neighbours, although they have forgotten the teachings of the padres, and transformed the Catholic churches to wayside inns. Were Yucatan by any political convulsion detached from the central government, all its inhabitants, together with most of those south of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, would probably in a few generations revert under modified conditions to the old Maya culture. Even as it is the descendants of the Spaniards have to a great extent forgotten their mother-tongue, and Maya-Quiché dialects are almost everywhere current except in the Campeachy district. Those also who call themselves Catholics preserve and practise many of the old rites. After burial the track from the grave to the house is carefully chalked, so that the soul of the departed may know the way back when the time comes to enter the body of some new-born babe. The descendants of the national astrologers everywhere pursue their

arts, determining events, forecasting the harvests and so on by the conjunctions of the stars, and every village has its native "Zadkiel" who reads the future in the ubiquitous crystal globe. Even certain priests continue to celebrate the "Field Mass," at which a cock is sacrificed to the Mayan Aesculapius, with invocations to the Trinity and their associates, the four genii of the rain and crops. "These tutelar deities, however, have taken Christian names, the Red, or God of the East, having become St Domenic; the White, or God of the North, St Gabriel; the Black, or God of the West, St James; and the Yellow Goddess of the South, Mary Magdalene[1]."

Transitions from North to South America.

To the observer passing from the northern to the southern division of the New World no marked contrasts are at first perceptible, either in the physical appearance, or in the social condition of the aborigines. The substantial uniformity, which in these respects prevails from the Arctic to the Austral waters, is in fact well illustrated by the comparatively slight differences presented by the primitive populations dwelling north and south of the Isthmus of Panama.

Cebunys and Lucayans.

Most of the insular connecting links, such as those offered by the Cebunys of Cuba[2], the nearly extinct Caribs of the West Indies, and the entirely extinct Lucayans of the Bahamas, have no doubt disappeared with all the other aborigines of the Antilles. But the chain of native populations would appear to have been formerly continuous from the Timuquanans of Florida through the Windward and Leeward

[1] Reclus, Vol. XIX. p. 156.

[2] The rapid disappearance of these Cuban aborigines has been the subject of much comment. Between the years 1512-32 all but some 4000 had perished, although they are supposed to have originally numbered about a million, distributed in 30 tribal groups, whose names and territories have all been carefully preserved. But they practically offered no resistance to the ruthless Conquistadores, and it was a Cuban chief who even under torture refused to be baptised, declaring that he would never enter the same heaven as the Spaniard. One is reminded of the analogous cases of Jarl Hakon, the Norseman, and the Saxon Witikind, who rejected Christianity, preferring to share the lot of their pagan forefathers in the next world.



1. CREE OF HUDSON BAY.
(North Algonquian Type.)



2. SPOKAN WARRIOR.
(Selishan Type.)



3. GUATUSO.
(Costa Rican Type.)

To face page 416]

Islands to the Caribs of the Guianas, and similarly from the Bahamas and the Greater Antilles to the Arawakan groups of Venezuela and surrounding lands. The statement of Columbus that the Lucayans were "of good size, with large eyes and broader foreheads than he had ever seen in any other race of men" is fully borne out by the character of some old skulls from the Bahamas measured by Mr W. K. Brooks, who unhesitatingly declares that "they are the remains of the people who inhabited the islands at the time of their discovery, and that these people were a well-marked type of the North American Indian race which was at that time distributed over the Bahama Islands, Hayti, and the greater part of Cuba. As these islands are only a few miles from the peninsula of Florida, this race must at some time have inhabited at least the south-eastern extremity of the continent, and it is therefore extremely interesting to note that the North American crania which exhibit the closest resemblance to those from the Bahama Islands have been obtained from Florida[1]." This observer dwells on the solidity and massiveness of the Lucayan skulls, which brings them into direct relation with the races both of the Mississippi plains and of the Brazilian and Venezuelan coast-lands.

Chontals, Chocos and Cunas.

Equally close is the connection established between the surviving Isthmian and Colombian peoples of the Atrato and Magdalena basins. The Chontals of Nicaragua are scarcely to be distinguished from some of the Santa Marta hillmen, while the Chocos and perhaps the Cunas of Panama have been affiliated to the Chocos of the Atrato and San Juan rivers. Attempts, which however can hardly be regarded as successful, have even been made to establish linguistic relations between the Costa Rican Guatusos and the Timotes of the Merida uplands of Venezuela, who are themselves a branch of the formerly wide-spread Muyscan family.

But with these Muyscans we at once enter a new ethnical and cultural domain, in which may be studied the resemblances due to the common origin of all the American aborigines, and the divergences due obviously to long isolation and independent

[1] Paper read before the *National Academy of Sciences*, America, 1890.

local developments in the two continental divisions. In general the southern populations present more violent contrasts than the northern in their social and intellectual developments, so that while the wild tribes touch a lower depth of savagery, some at least of the civilised peoples rise to a higher degree of excellence, if not in letters—where the inferiority is manifest—certainly in the arts of engineering, architecture, agriculture, and political organization. Thus we need not travel many miles inland from the Isthmus without meeting the Catios, a wild tribe between the Atrato and the Cauca, far more degraded even than the Seri of Sonora, most debased of all North American hordes. These Catios, a now nearly extinct branch of the Choco stock, were said to dwell like the anthropoid apes, in the branches of trees; they mostly went naked, and were reported, like the Mangbattus and other Congo negroes, to "fatten their captives for the table." Their Darien neighbours of the Nore valley, who gave an alternative name to the Panama peninsula, were accustomed to steal the women of hostile tribes, cohabit with them, and carefully bring up the children till their fourteenth year, when they were eaten with much rejoicing, the mothers ultimately sharing the same fate[1]; and the Cocomas of the Marañon "were in the habit of eating their own dead relations, and grinding their bones to drink in their fermented liquor. They said it was better to be inside a friend than to be swallowed up by the cold earth[2]." In fact of the Colombian aborigines Herrera tells us that "the living are the grave of the dead; for the husband has been seen to eat his wife, the brother his brother or sister, the son his father; captives also are eaten roasted[3]."

The Catios.

Thus is raised the question of cannibalism in the New World, where at the discovery it was incomparably more prevalent south than north of the equator. Compare the Eskimo and the Fuegians at the two extremes, the former practically exonerated of the

[1] *The Travels of P. de Cieza de Leon* (Hakluyt Soc. 1864, p. 50 sq.).

[2] Sir C. R. Markham, *List of Tribes*, &c. *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1895, p. 253. "This idea was widespread, and many Amazonian peoples declared they preferred to be eaten by their friends than by worms."

[3] Quoted by Steinmetz, *Endokannibalismus*, p. 19.

charge, and in distress sparing wives and children, and eating their dogs; the latter sparing their dogs because useful for catching otters, and smoking and eating their old women because useless for further purposes[1]. In the north the taste for human flesh had declined, and the practice survived only as a ceremonial rite, chiefly amongst the British Columbians and the Aztecs, except of course in case of famine, when even the highest races are capable of devouring their fellows. But in the south cannibalism in some of its most repulsive forms was common enough almost everywhere. Killing and eating feeble and aged members of the tribe in kindness is still general; but the Mayorunas of the Upper Amazon waters do not wait till they have grown lean with years or wasted with disease[2]; and it was a baptized member of the same tribe who complained on his death-bed that he would not now provide a meal for his Christian friends, but must be devoured by worms[3]. But the lowest depths of the horrible are perhaps reached by what J. Nieuwhof relates of the Tapuyas, a wide-spread family which includes the Botocudos, and is the same as that to which Von Martius has given the collective name of *Ges*[4].

The Cultural Zone.

In the southern continent the social conditions illustrated by these practices prevailed everywhere, except on the elevated plateaux of the western Cordilleras, which for many ages before the discovery had been the seats of several successive cultures, in some respects rivalling, but in others much inferior to those of Central America. When the Conquistadores reached this part of the New World, to which

[1] C. Darwin, *Journal of Researches*, 1889, p. 155. Thanks to their frequent contact with Europeans since the expeditions of Fitzroy and Darwin, the Fuegians have given up the practice, hence the doubts or denials of Brydges, Hyades, and other later observers.

[2] V. Martius, *Zur Ethnographie Brasiliens*, 1867, p. 430.

[3] Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Ethics*, 1892, I. p. 330.

[4] "Von den Tapuyas sagt er dass die todte Frucht sogleich von der Mutter verschlungen wird, da sie nicht besser bewahrt werden könne, als in den Eingeweiden der Gebärerin; auch der Nabelstrang und die Nachgeburt (sic) werden gleich gekocht von der Mutter in ihrer Waldeinsamkeit gegessen" (Steinmetz, p. 17). Something similar is related by Dobrizhoffer even of the Guarani, who were not usually regarded as bestial savages (*ib.* p. 18).

they were attracted by the not altogether groundless reports of fabulous wealth embodied in the legend of *El Dorado*, the "Man of Gold," they found it occupied by a cultural zone which extended almost continuously from the present republic of Colombia through Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia right into Chili. In the north the dominant people were the semi-civilised Chibchas, already mentioned under the name of Muyscas[1], who had developed an organized system of government on the Bogota tableland, and had succeeded in extending their somewhat more refined social institutions to some of the other aborigines of Colombia, though not to many of the outlying members of their own race. As in Mexico many of the Nahuatlan tribes remained little better than savages to the last, so in Colombia the civilised Muyscans were surrounded by numerous kindred tribes—Coyaima, Natagaima, Tocaima and others, collectively known as Panches—who were real savages with scarcely any tribal organisation, wearing no clothes, and according to the early accounts still addicted to cannibalism.

The Chibchas.

The Muyscas proper had a tradition that they owed their superiority to a certain Bochica, half human, half divine, who came from the east a long time ago, taught them everything, and then became the head of their pantheon, worshipped with solemn rites and even human sacrifices. Amongst the arts thus acquired was that of the goldsmith, in which they surpassed all other peoples of the New World. The precious metal was even said to be minted in the shape of discs, which formed an almost solitary instance of a true metal currency amongst the American aborigines[2]. Many of the European cabinets are enriched with these and other gold objects—brooches, pendants, and especially grotesque little figures of men and animals—which have been

1 The national name was *Muysca*, "Men," "Human Body," and the number twenty (in reference to the ten fingers and ten toes making up that score). *Chibcha* was a mimetic name having allusion to the sound *ch* (as in Charles), which is of frequent recurrence in the Muysca language. With man = 20, cf. the Ballacula (British Columbia) 19 = 1 man - 1; 20 = 1 man, etc.; and this again with Lat. *undeviginti*.

2 W. Bollaert, *Antiquarian, Ethnological, and other Researches in New Granada*, etc. 1860, *passim*.

found in great numbers and still occasionally turn up on the plateau. These finds are partly accounted for by the practice of offering such objects at the altars erected everywhere in the open air to the personified constellations and forces of nature, which were constantly increasing in number according to the whim or fancy of their votaries. Any mysterious sound emanating from a forest, a rock, a mountain pass, or gloomy gorge, was accepted as a manifestation of some divine presence; a shrine was raised to the embodied spirit, and so the whole land became literally crowded with local deities, all subservient to Bochica, sovereign lord of the Muysca world. This world itself was upborne on the shoulders of Chibchicum, a national Atlas, who now and then eased himself by shifting the burden, and thus caused earthquakes. In most lands subject to underground disturbances analogous ideas prevail, and when their source is so obvious, it seems unreasonable to seek for explanations in racial affinities, contacts, foreign influences, and so forth.

It has often been remarked that at the advent of the whites the native civilisations seemed generally stricken as if by the hand of death, so that even if not suddenly arrested by the intruders they must sooner or later have perished of themselves. Such speculations are seldom convincing, because we never know what recuperative forces may be at work to ward off the evil day. But so much may be admitted, that the symptoms of decay were everywhere more in evidence than the prospects of stability. Such was certainly the case in Muyscaland, where the national life and all hopes of healthy development had been stifled by an oppressive system of exclusive social castes headed, as in India, and with like baneful results, by the priestly class. Although the High Priest—who like the Tibetan Dalai Lama, dwelt in some sanctuary inaccessible to the public—was chosen by election, the sacerdotal hierarchy inherited their offices through the female line, doubtless a reminiscence of matriarchal customs. These *xeques*, as they were called, obtruded themselves everywhere, and exercised such diverse functions as those of the shaman, the medicine man, judge, and executioner.

Then followed, in exactly the same order as in India, the warrior caste, utilised also as police and tax-gatherers, the traders,

craftsmen, and peasants, beyond whom were the tributary populations, nomads and others hovering on the skirts of this feebly organized political system. It broke to pieces at the first shock from without, and so disheartened had the people become under their half theocratic rulers, that they scarcely raised a hand in defence of a government which in their minds was associated only with tyranny and oppression. The conquest was in any case facilitated by the civil war at the time raging between the northern and southern kingdoms which with several other semi-independent states constituted the Muyscan empire. This empire was almost conterminous southwards with that of the Incas. At least the numerous terms occurring in the dialects of the Paes, Coconucos, and other South Colombian tribes, show that Peruvian influences had spread beyond the political frontiers far to the north, without, however, quite reaching the confines of the Muyscan domain.

Empire of the Incas.

But, for an unknown period prior to the discovery, the sway of the Peruvian Incas had been established throughout nearly the whole of the Andean lands, and the territory directly ruled by them extended from the Quito district about the equator for some 2500 miles southwards to the Rio Maule in Chili, with an average breadth of 400 miles between the Pacific and the eastern slopes of the Cordilleras. Their dominion thus comprised a considerable part of the present republics of Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chili, and Argentina, with a roughly estimated area of 1,000,000 square miles, and a population of over 10,000,000. Here the ruling race were the Quechuas (Quichuas), whose speech, the "Language of the Incas," is still current in several well-marked dialectic varieties throughout all the provinces of the old empire. In Lima and all the seaports and inland towns Spanish prevails, but in the rural districts Quechuan remains the mother-tongue of over 2,000,000 natives, and has even become the *lingua franca* of the western regions, just as Tupi-Guarani is the *lingoa geral*, "general language," of the eastern section of South America. The attempts to find affinities with Aryan (especially Sanskrit), and other linguistic families of the Eastern Hemisphere, have broken down before the application of sound philological principles

Quechua Race and Speech.

to these studies, and Quechuan is now recognised as a stock language of the usual American type, unconnected with any other except that of the Bolivian Aymaras. Even this connection is regarded by some students as verbal rather than structural, an interchange of a considerable number of terms being easily explained by the close contact in which the two peoples have dwelt since prehistoric times. But on the other hand one of the national traditions of the Quechuas themselves traces their cradle to the southern shores and islands of Lake Titicaca, that is, the hallowed region which is intimately associated with the earliest reminiscences of both races. The very island which gives its name to the lake is the "Tiger Rock[1]," the former abode of a huge jaguar who, like the dragon of the Pamir, wore in his head a great jewel which illumined the whole lake. Later, when the tiger had disappeared from the sacred islet, there emerged from its cavernous recesses the sun-born Manco-Capac, first of the Incas, bearing a golden bough which he had received from the divine orb, with the injunction to walk on and on till he reached a spot where the emblem of the Incas' future glories would take root in the ground. Here was founded the renowned city of Cuzco, first seat of the dynasty and capital of the Tavantisuyan (Peruvian)[2] monarchy.

Quechua-Aymara Origins.

Apart from the supernatural elements, what weight can be attached to these traditions on the Titicaca origin of the Incas and their people? On the authority of Garcilaso de la Vega, himself of Inca lineage, they are accepted by most inquirers into Peruvian origins, who fail to perceive that, if true, then the Quechuas must be of Aymara stock, the Titicaca lands being beyond all question within the domain of the Aymara race. But the general assumption is that the Quechuas are and always have been the dominant people, and that they were the builders of the stupendous Tiahuanaco monuments on the southern shores of the lake, and not far from the holy island in the very heart of Aymaraland. Now it is this very assumption, involving the transfer of a whole culture

Tiahuanaco Monuments.

[1] *Titi*, "tiger," *i.e.* jaguar; *caca*, "rock."

[2] *Peru*, a term introduced by the Spaniards, is unknown to the natives, who call the land *Tavantisuyu*, *i.e.* "The Four Quarters" (of the world).

with its myths, monuments, and traditions from one nation to another, that has obscured the relations of both, and surrounded the inquiry into Peruvian origins with endless difficulties and contradictions. The credit of having cleared up most of these obscurities, and placed the whole question on a satisfactory footing, is due to the patient researches of Herren A. Stübel and M. Uhle[1], who make it evident that the megalithic structures of Tiahuanaco, including the wonderful doorway of Akkapana[2], perhaps the greatest architectural triumph of the New World, were the work neither of "Toltecs" from Central America, nor of Quechuas from Peru, nor of any other people but the Aymaras, in whose territory they were raised. It should be remembered that this territory was not even included in the Incas' empire till the reign of Yupanqui, scarcely 130 years before the arrival of the Spaniards, that is, at a time when the very builders themselves had already passed into the world of legend, and become divine beings associated with the pre-Inca cult of Viracocha, "creator of all things." Garcilaso himself tells us that when the fourth Inca, Mayta-Capac, first penetrated to the lake district, the sight of these structures struck his Quechuan followers with such amaze-

1 *Die Ruinenstätte von Tiahuanaco im Hochlande des alten Peru*, Breslau, 1893. Since the appearance of this monumental work E. W. Middendorf has returned to the subject, and in his *Peru: Beobachtungen u. Studien* &c. 1895, vol. III. denies that the Tiahuanaco monuments were associated with the cult of Viracocha, while admitting with our authors that they are not Quechuan, and in fact differ fundamentally from all others in South America. The founders of this civilization were connected with the now degraded Aymaras, and came from some foreign land, as indicated by their name, *Tiahuanaco-haque*, which he interprets "Wanderers from Foreign Lands." This, however, was not a national name, and whatever its meaning, appears to be of Quechuan origin. For our purpose it is enough that Middendorf now recognises the non-Inca character of the monuments and their connection with the Aymara race.

2 The still standing monolithic uprights in this district are specially interesting to English archæologists, owing to their likeness to Stonehenge: "Akkapana macht durch seine Aenlichkeit mit den Stonehenges Englands im Aeusseren allerdings einen besonders alterthümlichen Eindruck. Allein diese Aenlichkeit betrifft nur seinen gegenwärtigen Zustand, und es erscheint sehr fraglich, ob das unverletzte Werk die gleiche Uebereinstimmung im Aeusseren mit den alten megalitischen Steinbauten Englands hätte erkennen lassen" (*Ruinenstätte*, p. 46).

ment that they were unable to understand by what processes such buildings had been erected, proof enough that they were not the builders.

It is here made abundantly evident that the great temple and surrounding edifices, which were never completed, date from pre-Inca times, that they were dedicated to Viracocha, tutelar deity of the Aymaras, and that the building operations were arrested by the Incas, who regarded Tiahuanaco, seat of this cult, as the rival of Paccaritambo, near Cuzco, centre of the Quechua sun-worship. But after the complete conquest of Aymaraland the original hostility between the two religious centres disappeared, international jealousies, based more on political than religious grounds, died out, and Viracocha himself was adopted into the Quechuan pantheon. His name was even borne by one of the Incas (Viracocha, son of Yahuar-Huacac); in the esoteric teachings of the Peruvian priests he was identified with the "Unknown God," said to have been worshipped under the name of Pachacamac in Upper Peru and of Viracocha at Cuzco[1]; lastly this Aymara deity's name became in later times a general title of honour, and at present all Europeans are greeted by the natives as *Viracocha-tatai*, "Our father Viracocha." With the Aymara tutelar divinity were naturally appropriated the above described myths and traditions, until Titicaca, home of the Aymaras, became the mystic cradle of the sun-descended Incas, and thus in the early writers (Piedro de Cieza de Leon, Garcilaso, etc.) the Aymaras and all their works were merged in the dominant Peruvian nationality[2]. Such would appear to be the solution of perhaps the most interesting, certainly one of the most obscure ethnico-historical problems in the New World.

[1] Cieza, however, the "Herodotus of the New World," had his doubts, for he writes: "Y assi se tiene, que antes que los Ingas reynassen non muchos tiempos, estavan hechos algunos edificios destos: porque yo he oydo afirmar a Indios que los Ingas hizieron los edificios grandes del Cuzco, por la forma que vieron tener la muralla o pared que se vee en este Tiaguanaco" (*Chronica*, I. ch. 105).

[2] It is very significant in this connection that, as Garcilaso himself confesses (Bk. VI. ch. 21), the term *Viracocha* had no meaning at all in the Quechuan language of his Inca forefathers.

The Chimus.

Here is not the place to enter into the details of the astonishing architectural, engineering, and artistic remains, now generally assigned to the Incas, who have in this respect become the "Toltecs" of the Southern Continent, but were here preceded, not only by the Aymaras, but also by the *Chimus*, perhaps by the *Atacameños*, and other cultured peoples whose very names have perished. Doubts attach even to the name of the Chimus themselves, whose dominion before their overthrow by the Inca Yupanqui extended from their capital, Grand Chimu, where is now Truxillo, for 625 miles along the coast nearly to the Chilian frontier.

The ruins of Chimu cover a vast area, nearly 15 miles by 6, which is everywhere strewn with the remains of palaces, reservoirs, aqueducts, ramparts, and especially *huacas*, that is, truncated pyramids not unlike those of Mexico, whence the theory that the Chimus, of unknown origin, were "Toltecs" from Central America. One of these huacas is described by Squier as 150 feet high with a base 580 feet square, and an area of 8 acres, presenting from a distance the appearance of a huge crater[1]. Still larger is the so-called "Temple of the Sun," 800 by 470 feet, 200 feet high, and covering an area of 7 acres. An immense population of hundreds of thousands was assigned to this place in pre-Inca times; but from some rough surveys made in 1897 it would appear that much of the space within the enclosures consists of waste lands, which had never been built over, and it is calculated that at no time could the number of inhabitants have greatly exceeded 50,000.

Peruvian Political System.

We need not stop to describe the peculiar civil and social institutions of the Peruvians, which are of common knowledge. Enough to say that here everything was planned in the interests of the theocratic and all-powerful Incas, who were more than obeyed, almost honoured with divine worship by their much bethralled and priestridden subjects. "The despotic authority of the Incas was the basis of government; that authority was founded on the religious respect yielded to the descendant of the sun, and supported by

[1] *Peru*, p. 120.

a skilfully combined hierarchy. The population was divided into decuries, and amongst the ten individuals who formed each decury, the Inca or his representatives chose one, who became the chief over the nine others. Five decuries had at their head a decurion of superior rank; fifty decuries a chief, who thus commanded 500 men. Lastly, 100 decuries obeyed a supreme chief, who received orders direct from the Inca[1]." It was a kind of communism, half religious, half military, in which everything was artificial, nature stamped out, and the individual reduced to a cipher, a numbered member of a clan or group, to which he was tied for life, in which he could neither rise nor sink, hope nor fear. The system was outwardly perfect, but soulless, and so, like that of the Cundinamarcan Muyscas, collapsed at the first clash with a handful of mounted Spanish brigands.

The Araucanians.

Beyond the Maule, southernmost limits of all these effete civilisations, man reasserted himself in the "South American Iroquois," as those Chilian aborigines have been called who called themselves *Molu-che*, "Warriors," but are better known by their Quechuan designation of *Aucas*, "Rebels," whence the Spanish Aucans (Araucan, Araucanian). These "Rebels," who have never hitherto been overcome by the arms of any people, and whose heroic deeds in the long wars waged by the white intruders against their freedom form the topic of a noble Spanish epic poem[2], still maintain a measure of national autonomy, as the friends and faithful allies of the Chilian republic. Probably no people have ever carried the sense of personal independence to greater lengths, and the sentiment embodied with us in the half-jocular expression, "I'm as good as my neighbour," would seem to be taken quite seriously in Araucania. Here there never has been a central authority of any kind; not only are all the tribes absolutely free, but the same is true of every clan, sept, and family group, which recognise no masters, scarcely the *paterfamilias* himself, who does not even venture to chastise his children or control his household. Needless to say, there are no slaves or serfs, no tribal laws or penal

[1] De Nadaillac, p. 438.
[2] Alonzo de Ercilla's *Araucana*.

code, no hereditary chiefs, nothing but custom and a strong sense of duty, or national spirit, in virtue of which the tribal groups act voluntarily in concert, come together and elect their temporary *toqui* (dictator) in time of war, and the danger over, disperse again to their isolated homes and farmsteads, for they lack even sufficient cohesion to dwell together in small village communities.

There was, however, one controlling or binding force, a kind of ancestry worship, or at least a profound veneration for their forefathers, who after death went to people the Milky Way, and from that vantage-ground continued to watch over the conduct of their children. And this simple belief is almost the only substitute for the rewards and punishments which supply the motive for the observance of an artificial ethical code in so many more developed religious systems.

In the sonorous Araucanian language, which is still spoken by about 40,000 full-blood natives, the term *che*, meaning "people," occurs as the postfix of several ethnical groups, which, however, are not tribal but purely territorial divisions. Thus, while *Molu-che* is the collective name of the whole nation, the *Picun-che*, *Huilli-che*, and *Puel-che* are simply the North, South, and East men respectively. The Central and most numerous division are the *Pehuen-che*, that is, people of the Pehuen district, who are both the most typical and most intelligent of all the Araucanian family. Ehrenreich's remark that many of the American aborigines resemble Europeans as much as or even more than the Asiatic Mongols, is certainly borne out by the facial expression of these Pehuen-ches. The resemblance is even extended to the mental characters, as reflected in their oral literature. Amongst the specimens of the national folklore preserved in the Pehuen-che dialect and edited with Spanish translations by Dr Rodolfo Lenz[1], is the story of a departed lover, who returns from the other world to demand his betrothed and carries her off to his grave. Although this might seem an adaptation of Bürger's *Lenore*, Dr Lenz is of opinion that it is a genuine Araucanian legend.

Of the above-mentioned groups the Puel-ches are now included

[1] In the *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* for 1897.

politically in Argentina. They are, however, true Molu-ches, although sometimes confused with the neighbouring aborigines of Patagonia and the Pampas, to whom the Chilian postfix *che* has also been extended.

The Pampas Indians.

This very term Puel-che, meaning simply "Easterns," is applied not only to the Argentine Molu-ches, whose territory stretches east of the Cordilleras as far as Mendoza in Cuyo, but also to all the aborigines commonly called *Pampeans* (*Pampas Indians*) by the Europeans and *Penck* by the Patagonians. Under the designation of Puel-ches would therefore be comprised the now extinct *Ranqual-ches* (Ranqueles), who formerly raided up to Buenos-Ayres and the other Spanish settlements on the Plate River; the *Mapo-ches* of the Lower Salado, and generally all the nomads as far south as the Rio Negro.

These aborigines are now best represented by the *Gauchos*, who are mostly Spaniards on the father's side and Indians on the mother's, and reflect this double descent in their half-nomadic, half-civilised life. These Gauchos, who are now also disappearing before the encroachments of the "Gringos[1]," *i.e.* the white immigrants from almost every country in Europe, have been enveloped in an ill-deserved halo of romance, thanks mainly to their roving habits, splendid horsemanship, love of finery, and genial disposition combined with that innate grace and courtesy which belongs to all of Spanish blood. But those who knew them best described them as of sordid nature, cruel to their womenkind, reckless gamblers and libertines, ruthless political partisans, at times even religious fanatics without a spark of true religion, and at heart little better than bloodthirsty savages.

Gauchos.

Beyond the Rio Negro follow the gigantic Patagonians, that is, the *Tehuel-ches* or *Chuel-ches* of the Araucanians, who have no true collective name unless it be *Tsoneca*, a word of uncertain use and origin. Most of the tribal groups—Yacana, Pilma, Chao and others—are broken up, and the former division between the Northern Tehuelches (Tehuelhet), comprising the *Callilehet* (Serranos or Highlanders) of the Upper Chupat, with the Calilan between the

The Patagonians.

[1] Properly *Griegos*, "Greeks," so called because supposed to speak "Greek," *i.e.* any language other than Spanish.

Rios Chupat and Negro, and the Southern Tehuelches (Yacana, Sehuan, etc.), south to Fuegia, no longer holds good since the general displacement of all these fluctuating nomad hordes. A branch of the Tehuelches are unquestionably the *Onas* of the eastern parts of Fuegia, the true aborigines of which are the *Yahgans* of the central and the *Alakalufs* of the western islands.

Hitherto to the question whence came these tall Patagonians, no answer could be given beyond the suggestion that they may have been specialised in their present habitat, where nevertheless they seem to be obviously intruders. Now, however, one may perhaps venture to look for their original home amongst the *Bororos* of the region south of Goyaz, between the head-waters of the Rios Parana and Paraguay. These Bororos, who had been heard of by Martius, but whose very existence had been doubted, have long been known to the Portuguese settlers, and have also lately been interviewed by Ehrenreich, who found them to be a very numerous and powerful nation (as in fact already stated by Milliet de Saint-Adolphe[1]), ranging over a territory as large as Germany. Their physical characters, as described by this observer, correspond closely with those of the Patagonians: "An exceptionally tall race rivalling the Polynesians, Patagonians, and Redskins; by far the tallest Indians hitherto discovered within the tropics, some being 6 ft. 4 in. high, although the tallest were not measured; head very large and round (men 81·2; women 77·4)[2]." With this should be compared the very large round old Patagonian skull from the Rio Negro, measured by Rudolf Martin, as described in the Quarterly Journal of Swiss Naturalists[3]. The account reads like the description of some forerunner of a prehistoric Bororo irruption into the Patagonian steppe lands.

To the perplexing use of the term Puelche above referred to is perhaps due the difference of opinion still prevailing on the number of stock languages in this southern section of the Continent. D'Orbigny's emphatic statement[4] that the Puelches spoke

[1] "Nação de Indios poderosa...dominando sobre um vasto territorio etc.," (*Diccionario Geographico do Brazil*, 1863, I. p. 160).

[2] *Urbewohner Brasiliens*, 121, 125.

[3] Zurich, 1896, p. 496 sq.

[4] *L'Homme Américain*, II. p. 70.

a language fundamentally distinct both from the Araucanian and the Patagonian has been questioned on the strength of some Puelche words, which were collected by Hale at Carmen on the Rio Negro, and differ but slightly from Patagonian. But the Rio Negro lies on the ethnical divide between the two races, which sufficiently accounts for the resemblances, while the words are too few to prove anything. Hale calls them "Southern Puelche," but they were in fact Tehuelche (Patagonian), the true Pampean Puelches having disappeared from that region before Hale's time[1]. I have now the unimpeachable authority of the Rev. T. P. Schmid, for many years a missionary amongst these aborigines, for asserting that d'Orbigny's statement is absolutely correct. His Puelches were the Pampeans, because he locates them in the region between the Rios Negro and Colorado, that is, north of Patagonian and east of Araucanian territory, and Mr Schmid assures me that all three—Araucanian, Pampean, and Patagonian—are undoubtedly stock languages, distinct both in their vocabulary and structure, with nothing in common except their common polysynthetic form. In a list of 2000 Patagonian and Araucanian words he found only two alike, *patac* = 100, and *huarunc* = 1000, numerals obviously borrowed by the rude Tehuelches from the more cultured Moluches. In Fuegia there is at least one radically distinct tongue, the Yahgan, studied by the Rev. Mr Brydges. Here the Ona is probably a Patagonian dialect, and Alakaluf perhaps remotely allied to Araucanian. Thus in the whole region south of the Plate River the stock languages are not known to exceed four:—Araucanian; Pampean (Puelche); Patagonian (Tehuelche); and Yahgan.

Linguistic Relations.

Few aboriginal peoples have been the subject of more glaringly discrepant statements than the Yahgans, to whom several lengthy monographs have been devoted during the last few decades. How contradictory are the statements of intelligent and even trained observers,

The Yahgans.

[1] They were replaced or absorbed partly by the Patagonians, but chiefly by the Araucanian Puelches, who many years ago migrated down the Rio Negro as far as El Carmen and even to the coast at Bahia Blanca. Hence Hale's Puelches were in fact Araucanians with a Patagonian strain.

whose good faith is beyond suspicion and who have no cause to serve except the truth, will best be seen by placing in juxtaposition the accounts of the family relations by Lieut. Bove, a well-known Italian observer, and Dr P. Hyades of the French Cape Horn Expedition, both summarised[1] :—

Bove.	*Hyades.*
The women are treated as slaves. The greater the number of wives or slaves a man has the easier he finds a living; hence polygamy is deep-rooted and four wives common.	Both girls and married women expect to be treated with proper respect and deference. Some men have two or more wives, but monogamy is the rule.
Owing to the rigid climate and bad treatment the mortality of children under 10 years is excessive; the mother's love lasts till the child is weaned, after which it rapidly wanes, and is completely gone when the child attains the age of 7 or 8 years.	Children are tenderly cared for by their parents, who in return are treated by them with affection and deference.
The Fuegian's only lasting love is the love of self. As there are no family ties, the word 'authority' is devoid of meaning.	The Fuegians are of a generous disposition and like to share their pleasures with others. The husbands exercise due control, and punish severely any act of infidelity.

These seeming contradictions may be partly explained by the general improvement in manners due to the beneficent action of the English missionaries in recent years, and great progress has certainly been made since the expeditions of Fitzroy and Darwin. But it is to be feared that these influences are mainly confined to the vicinity of the stations, beyond which the darker pictures presented by the early observers and later by Bove, Lovisato and others, still hold good.

But even in the more favoured regions of the Parana and Amazon basins many tribes are met which yield little if at all to the Fuegians of the early writers in sheer savagery and debasement.

The Cashibos.

Thus the *Cashibos* or *Carapaches* of the Ucayali, who are described as resembling the Fuegians even in appearance[2], may be said to answer almost

[1] *Mission Scientifique de Cap Horn*, vol. VII., par P. Hyades et J. Deniker, 1891.

[2] "Les Kassivos cannibales du haut Ucayali qui ressemblent aux Fuégiens" (L. Rousselet, Art. *Amérique*, 1895). Others, however, tell us they are "white

better than any other human group to the old saying, *homo homini lupus*. They roam the forests like wild beasts, living almost entirely upon game, in which is included man himself. "When one of them is pursuing the chase in the woods and hears another hunter imitating the cry of an animal, he immediately makes the same cry to entice him nearer, and if he is of another tribe kills him if he can and (as is alleged) eats him." Hence they are naturally "in a state of hostility with all their neighbours[1]."

These Cashibos, *i.e.* "Bats," are members of a widespread linguistic family which in ethnological writings bears the name of *Pano*, from the Panos of the Huallaga and Marañon, who are now broken up or greatly reduced, but whose language is current amongst the Cashibos, the Conibos, the Karipunas, the Pacaouaras, the Setebos, the Sipivios (Shipibos) and others about the head-waters of the Amazons in Peru, Bolivia, and Brazil, as far east as the Madeira. Amongst these, as amongst the Moxos and so many other riverine tribes in Amazonia, a slow transformation is in progress. Some have been baptized, and while still occupying their old haunts and keeping up the tribal organization, have been induced to forego their savage ways and turn to peaceful pursuits. They are beginning to wear clothes, usually cotton robes of some vivid colour, to till the soil, take service with the white traders, or even trade themselves in their canoes up and down the tributaries of the Amazons.

The Pano Family.

In this boundless Amazonian region of moist sunless woodlands, fringed north and east by Atlantic coast ranges, diversified by the open Venezuelan llanos, and merging southwards in the vast alluvial plains of the Parana-Paraguay basin, much light has been brought to bear on the obscure ethnical relations by the recent explorations especially of Dr Paul Ehrenreich and Karl von den Steinen about the Xingu, Purus, Madeira and other southern affluents of the great artery. Excluding several isolated—that is, not yet

Ethnical Relations in Amazonia.

as Germans, with long beards," while "the missionary Girbal was astonished at the beauty of their women" (Markham, *List of Tribes* etc., p. 249).

[1] Markham, *ib.*

classified—groups such as the *Bororo* and *Caraya*, these observers comprise the countless Brazilian aborigines in four main divisions, which in conformity with Powell's terminology may here be named the CARIBAN, ARAWAKAN, GESAN and TUPI-GUARANIAN families.

The Caribs.

Hitherto the Caribs were commonly supposed to have had their original homes far to the north, possibly in the Alleghany uplands, or in Florida, where they have been doubtfully identified with the extinct Timuquanans, and whence they spread through the Antilles southwards to Venezuela, the Guianas, and north-east Brazil, beyond which they were not known to have ranged anywhere south of the Amazons. But this view is now shown to be untenable, and several Carib tribes, such as the Bakairi[1] and Nahuquas[1] of the Upper Xingu, all speaking archaic forms of the Carib stock language, have been met by the German explorers in the very heart of Brazil; whence the inference that the cradle of this race is to be sought rather in the centre of South America, perhaps on the Goyaz and Matto Grosso tablelands, from which region they moved northwards, if not to Florida, at least to the Caribbean Sea which is named from them[2].

A connecting link is formed by the Apiacas of the Lower Tocantins between the Amazonian section and that of the Guianas, where the chief groups are the Venezuelan Makirifares, the Macusi, Kalinas, and Galibi of British, Dutch, and French Guiana respectively. In general all the Caribs present much the same physical characters, although the southerners are rather taller (5ft. 4 in.) with less round heads (index 79°·6) than the Guiana Caribs (5 ft. 2 in., and 81°·5).

The Arawakan Family.

Perhaps even a greater extension has been given by the German explorers to the Arawakan family, which, like the Cariban, was hitherto supposed to be mainly confined to the region north of the Amazons, but is now known to range as far south as the Upper Paraguay, about

[1] Ehrenreich, *Urbewohner Brasiliens*, p. 45 sq.

[2] It should be stated that a like conclusion has been reached by M. Lucien Adam from the vocabularies brought by Crevaux from the Upper Yapura tribes—Witotos, Corequajes, Kariginas and others—all of Carib speech.



1. CARIB.
(Guiana Type.)



2. CARIB.
(Guiana Type.)



3. TEHUELCHE.
(Patagonian Type.)



4. TEHUELCHE.
(Patagonian Type.)

To face page 434]

20° S. lat. (*Layanas, Kwanas*, etc.), east to the Amazons estuary (*Aruan*), and north-west to the Goajira peninsula. To this great family—which von den Steinen proposes to call *Nu-Aruak* from the pronominal prefix *nu* = I, common to most of the tribes—belong also the *Maypures* of the Orinoco; the *Atarais* and *Vapisianas* of British Guiana; the *Manaos* of the Rio Negro; the *Yumanas*; the *Paumarys* and *Ipurinas* of the Ipuri basin, and the *Mokos* of the Upper Mamoré.

Physically the Arawaks differ from the Caribs scarcely, if at all more than their Amazonian and Guiana sections differ from each other. In fact, but for their radically distinct speech it would be impossible to constitute these two ethnical divisions, which are admittedly based on linguistic grounds. But while the Caribs had their cradle in Central Brazil and migrated northwards, the Arawaks would on the contrary now appear to have originated in the north (Guiana, Antilles), and spread thence southwards beyond the Amazons-Parana watershed into the Paraguay basin.

The Gesan Family.

Our third great Brazilian division, the Gesan family, takes its name from the syllable *ges*[1] which, like the Araucan *che*, forms the final element of several tribal names in East Brazil. Of these the most characteristic are the *Aimores* of the Serra dos Aimores coast-range, who are better known as Botocudos, and it was to the kindred tribes of the province of Goyaz that the arbitrary collective name of "Ges" was first applied by Martius. A better general designation would perhaps have been *Tapuya*, "Strangers," "Enemies," a term by which the Tupi people called all other natives of that region who were not of their race or speech, or rather who were not "Tupi," that is, "Allies" or "Associates." Tapuya had been adopted somewhat in this sense by the early Portuguese writers, who however applied it somewhat loosely not only to the Aimores, but also to a large number of kindred and other tribes as far north as the Amazons estuary[2].

[1] An alternative which met with little favour, was *cran*, "chief," also a tribal ending of frequent occurrence, as in *Macamecran*, of the Tocantins.

[2] "Tapuyas, nação d' Indios, tronco de numerosas tribus derramadas por varias provincias do Brazil, principalmente pelas do Maranhão e do Ceará.. Havia tambem algumas tribus d' esta nação no maritimo de Pernambuco...

To the same connection belong several groups in Goyaz already described by Milliet and Martius, and again lately visited by Ehrenreich and von den Steinen. Such are the Kayapos or Suyas, a large nation with several divisions between the Araguaya and Xingu rivers; and the Akuas, better known as Cherentes, about the upper course of the Tocantins. Isolated Tapuyan tribes, such as the Kamés or Kaingangs, wrongly called "Coroados," and the Choglengs of Santa Catharina and Rio Grand do Sul, are scattered over the southern provinces of Brazil.

The Tapuyas would thus appear to have formerly occupied the whole of East Brazil from the Amazons to the Plate River for an unknown distance inland. Here they must be regarded as the true aborigines, who were in remote times already encroached upon, and broken into isolated fragments, by tribes of the Tupi-Guarani stock spreading from the interior seawards[1].

Both in their physical characters and extremely low cultural state, or rather the almost total absence of anything that can be called "culture," the Tapuyas are the nearest representatives and probably the direct descendants of the primitive race, whose osseous remains have been found in the Lagôa Santa caves, and the Santa Catharina shell-mounds. On anatomic grounds the

The Botocudos.

Botocudos are allied both to the Lagôa Santa fossil man and to the Sambaqui race by J. R. Peixoto, who describes the skull as marked by prominent glabella and superciliary arches, keel or roof-shaped vault, vertical lateral walls, simple sutures, receding brow, deeply depressed nasal root, high prognathism, massive lower jaw, and long head (index 73°·30) with cranial capacity 1,480 cc. for men, and 1,212 for women[2]. It is also noteworthy that some of the Botocudos[3]

Trazião mettidas em buracos que fazião nas orelhas e no beiço inferior, rodellas de madeira (Milliet de Saint-Adolphe, vol. II. p. 689).

1 "D'après Gonçales Dias les tribus brésiliennes descendraient de deux races absolument distinctes: la race conquérante des Tupi, et la race vaincue, pourchassée, des Tapuya" (V. de Saint-Martin, VII. p. 517).

2 *Novos Estudios Craniologicos sobre os Botocudos*, *Rio Janeiro*, 1882, *passim*.

3 Possibly so called from the Portuguese *botoque*, a barrel plug, from the wooden plug or disc formerly worn by all the tribes both as a lip ornament and an ear-plug, distending the lobes like great leathern bat's-wings down to the shoulders. But this embellishment is called *tembeitera* by the Brazilians, and

call themselves *Nac-nanuk*, *Nac-poruc*, "Sons of the Soil," and they have no traditions of ever having migrated from any other land. All their implements—spears, bow and arrows, mortars, water-vessels, bags—are of wood or vegetable fibre, so that they may be said not to have yet reached even the stone age. They are not, however, in the promiscuous state, as has been asserted, for the unions, though temporary, are jealously guarded while they last, and, as amongst the Fuegians whom they resemble in so many respects, the women are constantly subject to the most barbarous treatment, beaten with clubs or hacked about with bamboo knives. One of those in Ribeiro's party, who visited London in 1883, had her arms, legs, and whole body covered with scars and gashes inflicted during momentary fits of brutal rage by her ephemeral partner. Their dwellings are mere branches stuck in the ground, bound together with bast, and though seldom over 4 ft. in height accommodating two or more families. The Botocudos are pure nomads, roaming naked in the woods in quest of the roots, berries, honey, frogs, snakes, grubs, man, and other larger game which form their diet, and are eaten raw or else cooked in huge bamboo canes. Formerly they had no hammocks, but slept without any covering, either on the ground strewn with bast, or in the ashes of the fire kindled for the evening meal. About their cannibalism, which has been doubted, there is really no question. They wore the teeth of those they had eaten strung together as necklaces, and ate not only the foe slain in battle, but members of kindred tribes, all but the heads, which were stuck as trophies on stakes and used as butts for the practice of archery.

At the graves of the dead fires are kept up for some time to scare away the bad spirits, from which custom the Botocudos might be credited with some notions of the supernatural. But perhaps it would be more correct to say that at this low stage of their evolution they have not yet realised the distinction between the natural and the supernatural. We are too apt to read such elevated ideas into the savage mind, which is essentially anthropomorphic, attributing all mysterious manifestations to perhaps invisible, but still human or quasi-human agencies. All good

Botocudo may perhaps be connected with *betó-apoc*, the native name of the ear-plug. Milliet gives quite a fantastic derivation (I. p. 162).

influences are attributed by the Botocudos to the "day-fire" (sun), all bad things to the "night-fire" (moon), which causes the thunderstorm, and is supposed itself at times to fall on the earth, crushing the hill-tops, flooding the plains and destroying multitudes of people. During storms and eclipses arrows are shot up to scare away the demons or devouring dragons, as amongst so many Indo-Chinese peoples. But beyond this there is no conception of a supreme being, or creative force, the terms *yanchong*, *tapan*, said to mean "God," standing merely for spirit, demon, thunder, or at most the thunder-god.

The Tupi-Guaranian Family.

Owing to the choice made by the missionaries of the Tupi language as the *lingoa geral*, or common medium of intercourse amongst the multitudinous populations of Brazil and Paraguay, a somewhat exaggerated idea has been formed of the range of the Tupi-Guarani family. Many of the tribes about the stations, after being induced by the padres to learn this convenient *lingua franca*, were apt in course of time to forget their own mother-tongue, and thus came to be accounted members of this family. But allowing for such a source of error, there can be no doubt that at the discovery the Tupi or Eastern, and the Guarani or Western, section occupied jointly an immense area, which may perhaps be estimated at about one-fourth of the southern continent. Tupi tribes were met all along the main stream as far as Peru, where they were represented by the Omaguas ("Flatheads[1]"), about whom so many fables were circulated. Formerly they roamed the left bank of the Upper Amazons for 200 leagues between the rivers Tamburagua and Putumayo, waging incessant war with the Curinas on the south and the Tacunas on the north side; and they are still numerous towards the sources of the Japura and Uaupés.

Tacunas and Tacanas.

These *Tacunas* (Ticunas, Jumanas) who, like the Araucanians and many other South American peoples, believe in a good and evil principle, one continually undoing the work of the other, and both contending

[1] They are the *Cambebus* of the Tupi, a term also meaning Flatheads, and they are so called because "apertão aos recemnacidos as cabeças entre duas taboas afim de achatál-as, costume que actualmente han perdido (Milliet, II. p. 174).

for the final possession of man, are not to be confounded with the *Tacanas* (*Araonas*) a widely ramifying nation about the Beni and Madre de Dios, head streams of the Madeira[1]. Some attention has been paid to their sonorous speech, which appears to be a stock language with strong Pano and weak Aymara[2] affinities. Although its numeral system stops at 2, it is still in advance of a neighbouring *Chiquito* tongue, which is said to have no numerals at all, *etama*, supposed to be 1, really meaning "alone."

The Chiquitos.

Yet it would be a mistake to infer that these Bolivian Chiquitos, who occupy the southernmost headstreams of the Madeira, are a particularly stupid people. On the contrary, the Naquiñoñeis, "Men," as they call themselves, are in some respects remarkably clever, and, strange to say, their otherwise rich and harmonious language (presumably the dominant *Moncoca* dialect is meant) has terms to express such various distinctions as the height of a tree, of a house, or a tower, and other subtle shades of difference disregarded in more cultured tongues[3]. But it is to be considered that, *pace* Prof. Max Müller, the range of thought and of speech is not the same, and all peoples have no doubt many notions for which they have no equivalents in their necessarily defective languages. The Chiquitos, *i.e.* "Little Folks," were so named because, "when the country was first invaded, the Indians fled to the forests; and the Spaniards came to their abandoned huts, where the doorways were so exceedingly

[1] D'Orbigny, III. p. 364 sq.

[2] Such "identities" as Tac. *drejà*=Aym. *chacha* (man); *etai*=*utax* (house) etc., are not convincing, especially in the absence of any scientific study of the laws of *Lautverschiebung*, if any exist between the Aymara-Tacana phonetic systems. And then the question of loan words has to be settled before any safe conclusions can be drawn from such assumed resemblances. The point is important in the present connection, because current statements regarding the supposed reduction of the number of stock languages in South America are largely based on the unscientific comparison of lists of words, which may have nothing in common except perhaps a letter or two like the *m* in Macedon and Monmouth. Two languages (cf. Turkish and Arabic) may have hundreds or thousands of words in common, and yet belong to fundamentally different linguistic families.

[3] A. Balbi, *Atlas Ethnographique du Globe*, XXVII. With regard to the numerals this authority tells us that "il a emprunté à l'espagnol ses noms de nombres" (*ib.*).

low that the Indians who had fled were supposed to be dwarfs[1]." They are a peaceful industrious nation, who ply several trades, manufacture their own copper boilers for making sugar, weave ponchos and straw hats, and when they want blue trousers they plant a row of indigo, and rows of white and yellow cotton when striped trousers are in fashion. Hence the question arises, whether these clever little people may not after all have originally possessed some defective numeral system, (such as that of their ruder *Mataco* neighbours who count up to 4), which was merely superseded by the Spanish numbers.

Matacos and Tobas.

These Matacos (Mataguayos) of the Bermejo, with the savage *Tobas* between that river and the Pilcomayo, were the only tribes of the Gran Chaco region visited by Ehrenreich, who notices their disproportionately short arms and legs, and excessive development of the thorax[2]. To judge from the photographs taken by this observer the expression especially of the Tobas is strikingly European, although crossings can hardly be suspected amongst a people who have hitherto maintained their independence, and kept aloof from the few white intruders in their secluded domain. They would thus seem to afford strong support to Ehrenreich's remarks on the general resemblance of so many South American aborigines to the Caucasic type (see above).

1 Markham, *List of the Tribes*, p. 251.

2 *Urbewohner Brasiliens*, p. 101.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CAUCASIC PEOPLES.

General Considerations—Constituent Elements of the Caucasic Division—Past and Present Range—Cradleland: Africa north of Sudan—The Quaternary "Sahara"—North Africa Home of the Mediterranean Races—Early Long-heads and Round-heads—The Migrations northwards from Africa—The Three Great European Ethnical Groups: Tall, blond Long-heads; Short, dark Long-heads; Brown Round-heads—*The Canary Islanders*—The MEDITERRANEANS: *Iberians; Ligurians; Pelasgians*—Type and Origins—Iberian and Hamitic Languages fundamentally one—*The Ligurians*—Former Range to Rhineland—and to Italy from Africa—*Sicilian* Origins—*Sicani; Siculi*—*Sard* and *Corsican* Origins—Ethnical Relations in Italy—Sergi's Mediterranean Domain—Range of the Mediterraneans in Africa—*The Eastern Hamites*—*The Western Hamites: Berbers* and "*Moors*"—General Hamitic Type—Berber and Arab Contrasts—*The Tibus*—*The Egyptian Hamites*—Origins—The Stone Ages in Egypt—The Egyptians indigenous in the Nile Valley—Neolithic and Bronze Culture—Egyptian Language and Type specialised in Remote Times—Physical Characters persistent—Social Condition of the Ancient and Later Egyptians—Other Eastern Hamites—*Hadendowas*—*Somals* and *Gallas*.

CONSPECTUS.

Distribution in Past and Present Times.

Primeval Home, *Africa north of Sudan.*

Present Range, *all the extra-tropical habitable lands, except Chinese empire, Japan, and the Arctic zone; inter-tropical America, Arabia, India, and Indonesia; sporadically everywhere.*

Physical Characters.

Three types:—1. **Homo europaeus** (*North European or Teutonic*); 2. **H. alpinus** (*Central and East European, Iranic, Oceanic*); 3. **H. mediterranensis** (*Afro-European*).

Hair, 1. *very light brown, flaxen or red, rather long,*

straight or wavy, smooth and glossy. 2. *light chestnut or reddish brown, wavy, rather short and dull.* 3. *very dark brown or black, wiry, curly or ringletty. All oval in section; beard of all full, bushy, straight, or wavy, often lighter than hair of head, sometimes very long.* **Colour:** 1. *florid.* 2. *pale white, swarthy or very light brown.* 3. *very variable—white, light olive, all shades of brown and even blackish (Eastern Hamites and others).* **Skull:** 1 *and* 3 *long* (69° *to* 75°); 2. *round* (87° *to* 90° *and upwards); all orthognathous* (76°). *Cheek-bone of all small, never projecting laterally, sometimes rather high (some Berbers and Scotch).* **Nose,** *mostly large, narrow, straight, arched or hooked* (46°), *sometimes rather broad, heavy, concave and short.* **Eyes,** 1. *mainly blue;* 2. *brown, hazel-grey and black;* 3. *black or deep brown, but also blue (many Hamites).*

Stature, 1. *tall (mean* 5 *ft.* 8 *or* 9 *in.);* 2. *medium (mean* 5 *ft.* 6 *in.), but also very tall (Indonesians* 5 *ft.* 9 *to* 6 *ft.).* 3. *under-sized (mean* 5 *ft.* 4 *in.), but variable (some Hamites, Hindus, and others medium or tall).* **Lips,** *mostly rather full and well-shaped, but sometimes thin, or upper lip very long (many Irish), and under lip pendulous (many Jews).* **Arms,** *rather short as compared with Negro.* **Legs,** *shapely, with calves usually well developed.* **Feet,** 1. *rather large;* 2 *and* 3, *small with high instep.*

Mental Characters.

Temperament, 1. *earnest, energetic, and enterprising; steadfast, solid, and stolid; outwardly reserved, thoughtful, and deeply religious; humane, firm, but not wantonly cruel.* 2 *and* 3, *brilliant, quick-witted, excitable and impulsive; sociable and courteous, but fickle, untrustworthy, and even treacherous (Iberian, South Italian); often atrociously cruel (many Slavs, Persians, Semites, Indonesians and even South Europeans); aesthetic sense highly, ethic slightly developed. All brave, imaginative, musical, and richly endowed intellectually.*

Speech, *mostly of the inflecting order with strong tendency towards analytical forms; very few stock lan-*

guages (Aryan, Ibero-Hamito-Semitic, Tibu? Masai?), except in the Caucasus, where stock languages of highly agglutinating types are numerous, and in Indonesia, where one agglutinating stock language prevails.

Religion, *mainly Monotheistic, with or without priesthood and sacrifice (Jewish, Christian, Muhammadan); polytheistic and animistic in parts of Caucasus, India, Indonesia, and Africa. Gross superstitions, and even fetish-worship, still prevalent in many places.*

Culture, *generally high—all arts, industries, science, philosophy and letters in a flourishing state now almost everywhere except in Africa and Indonesia, and still progressive. In some regions civilization dates from the remotest times (Egypt, South Arabia); in others from 2000 to 3000 years* B.C. *(pre-Mykaenean, Mykaenean, Hellenic, Hittite, and Italic cultures). Indonesians and many Hamites still rude, with primitive usages, few arts, no science or letters, and cannibalism prevalent in some places (Gallaland).*

Main Divisions.

Homo europaeus: *Scandinavians, North Germans, Dutch, Flemings, most English, Scotch and Irish, Anglo-Americans, Anglo-Australasians, English and Dutch of S. Africa; Thrako-Hellenes, some Kurds, most West Persians, Afghans, Dards and Siah-post Kafirs, many Hindus, some Indonesians.*

Homo alpinus: *most French and Welsh, South Germans, Swiss and Tyrolese; Russians, Poles, Chekhs, Yugo-Slavs; some Albanians and Rumanians; Armenians, many Kurds, Tajiks (East Persians), Galchas, some Indonesians.*

Homo mediterranensis: *most Iberians, Corsicans, Sards, Sicilians, Italians; Greeks; Berbers and other Hamites; Arabs and other Semites; some Hindus; Dravidas, Todas, Ainus.*

General considerations.

It is a remarkable fact that the Caucasic division of the human family, of which nearly all students of the subject are members, with which we are in any case, so to say, on the most intimate terms, and with the constituent elements of which we might consequently be supposed to be best acquainted, is in point of fact the most debatable field in the whole range of anthropological studies. Why this should be so is not at first sight quite apparent, though the phenomenon may perhaps be partly explained by the consideration that the component parts are really of a more complex character, and thus present more intricate problems for solution, than those of any other division. But to some extent this would also seem to be one of those cases in which we fail to see the wood for the trees. To put it plainly, few will venture to deny that the inherent difficulties of the subject have in recent times been rather increased than diminished by the bold and often mutually destructive theories, and, in some instances one might add, the really wild speculations put forward in the earnest desire to remove the endless obscurities in which the more fundamental questions are undoubtedly still involved. Controversial matter which seemed thrashed out has been reopened, several fresh factors have been brought into play, and the warfare connected with such burning topics as Aryan origins, Ibero-Pelasgic relations, European round-heads and long-heads, has acquired renewed intensity amid the rival theories of the Penkas, Schraders, de Lapouges, Sergis, and other eminent champions of the new ideas.

A return to chaos is even threatened by the needless attacks that have been directed from more than one quarter against the long-established Caucasic terminology, and the right of citizenship is to be withdrawn from such time-honoured names as "Hamitic," "Semitic," even "Caucasic" itself, in favour of "Mediterranean[1]," "Eurafrican[2]," and other upstarts, which while lacking the valuable

[1] That is, of course, when taken as the substitute for Caucasic. In the restricted geographical sense its use is not only legitimate but indispensable.

[2] *Eurafrican* seems specially objectionable, being in ethnology the analogue of *Eurasian*, and therefore meaning a *mulatto* or some such half-breed. In Geology it has a very definite sense, as in the expression "Eurafrican Miocene Continent" (*Eth.* p. 230). To indicate the common origin of the populations on

quality of prestige, offer no compensating advantages in respect of clearness and scientific accuracy. It would be well if innovators in these matters were to take to heart the sober language of Dr Ehrenreich, who reminds us that the accepted names are, what they ought to be, "purely conventional," and "historically justified," and "should be held as valid until something better can be found to take their place[1]." Meanwhile can anything more illogical be imagined than, for instance, the fierce objections to "Caucasic" by the very writers who meekly accept "Hamitic" and "Semitic"? Doubtless, as we all know, the multitudinous populations covered by the symbol "Caucasic" did not originate in the Caucasus; but, on the other hand are the objectors prepared to assert that "Shem" or "Ham" had ever any ethnic origin at all, were ever even so much as mythical eponymous heroes, such as "Hellen," "Italus," "Brutus" and the rest of them? It was considerations such as these, weighing so strongly in favour of current usage, that induced me *stare per vias antiquas* in the *Ethnology*, and consequently also in the present work. Hence, here as there, the Caucasic Division retains its title, together with those of its main subdivisions—Hamitic, Semitic, Keltic, Slavic, Hellenic, Teutonic, Iranic, Galchic and so on.

The chief exception is "Aryan," a linguistic expression forced by the philologists into the domain of Ethnology, where it has no place or meaning[2]. There was of course a time when a community, or group of communities, existed probably in the steppe region between the Carpathians and the Hindu-Kush, by whom the Aryan mother-tongue was evolved, and who still for a time presented a certain uniformity in their physical characters, were, in fact, of Aryan speech and type. But while their Aryan speech

both sides of the Mediterranean, I proposed the form "Afro-European" (*Eth.* p. 409). Hence it was with some surprise that I found myself charged with plagiarism by the originator of *Eurafrican* in its objectionable sense, a sense in which I have never used it, and which I hold in the strongest aversion. Nor is Eurafrican a proper substitute for Caucasic, because it leaves out the vast Asiatic and wide-spread Indonesian sections of this division.

[1] "Diese Namen sind natürlich rein conventionell. Sie sind historisch berechtigt...und mögen Geltung behalten, so lange wir keine zutrefferenden an ihre Stelle setzen können" (*Anthropologische Studien* etc., p. 15).

[2] *Eth.* p. 395 sq.

persists in endlessly modified forms, they have themselves long disappeared as a distinct race, merged in the countless other races on whom they, perhaps as conquerors, imposed their Aryan language. Hence we can and must speak of Aryan tongues, and of an Aryan linguistic family, which continues to flourish and spread over the globe. But of an Aryan race there can be no further question since the absorption of the original stock in a hundred other races in remote pre-historic times. Where comprehensive references have to be made, I therefore substitute for Aryans and Aryan race the expression peoples of Aryan speech, at least wherever the unqualified term Aryan might lead to misunderstandings.

This way of looking at the question, which has now become more thorny than ever, has the signal advantage of being indifferent to any preconceived theories regarding the physical characters of that long vanished proto-Aryan race. How great this advantage is may be judged from the mere statement that, while German anthropologists are still almost to a man loyal to the traditional view that the first Aryans were best represented by the tall, long-headed, tawny-haired, blue-eyed Teutonic barbarians of Tacitus—who, Virchow tells us, have completely disappeared from sight in the present population—the Italian school, or at least its chief exponent, Prof. Sergi, now assures us that the picture is a myth, that such Aryans never existed, that "the true primitive Aryans were not long, but round-headed, not fair but dark, not tall but short, and are in fact to-day best represented by the round-headed Kelts, Slavs, and South Germans[1].

The fact is that the Aryan prototype has vanished as completely as has the Aryan mother-tongue, and can be conjecturally restored only by processes analogous to those by which Schleicher and other philologists have endeavoured with dubious success to restore the organic Aryan speech as constituted before the dispersion. At the same time one may perhaps venture to say that the weight of evidence seems rather in favour of the German view that the first Aryans answered better than any other race to the

[1] "Io non dubito di denominare *aria* questa stirpe etc." (*Umbri*, *Italici*, *Arii*, Bologna, 1897, p. 14, and elsewhere).

general North European type, as described by Linné and Tacitus[1]. Hence M. G. de Lapouge, leader of the new French school of anthropologists, returns to Linné's terminology[2], and substitutes his *Homo Europæus* for "Aryan" as understood by Penka, that is, the northern of the three divisions into which he divides the present European peoples.

Referring to these divisions, which he adopts and brilliantly illustrates, Dr W. Z. Ripley remarks that "instead of a single European type, there is indubitable evidence of at least three distinct races, each possessed of a history of its own, and each contributing something to the common product, population as we see it to-day." Then he adds:—"If this be established, it does away at one fell swoop with most of the current mouthings about Aryans and pre-Aryans; and especially with such appellations as the 'Caucasian,' or the 'Indo-Germanic' race[3]."

Aryan, for the reasons stated, is to be deprecated. But Caucasic when properly understood—not as the equivalent of "Indo-Germanic," as here apparently suggested, but as the collective designation of one of the four main divisions of mankind—cannot be dispensed with until a more suitable general term be discovered. It need not interfere in the least with Dr Ripley's three races, or with any number of such sub-varieties, for it covers them all, just as analogous general terms cover any number of genera, species, and varieties in zoology or botany. Those who object to "Caucasic" are apt to forget the vast field that has to be embraced by this single collective term; a field comprising not peoples of Aryan speech alone, not the tribes of the Caucasus alone, but all these and many more—Semites, Hamites, Eastern Polynesians, all of whom belong anthropologically to the same division of mankind.

1 "*Homo Europæus*: Albus, sanguineus, torosus, pilis flavescentibus, prolixis; oculis cæruleis etc." (*Systema Naturæ*).

2 "Zoologiste avant tout, je m'en tiens à la terminologie linnéenne," giving as his reason that the confusion is thus avoided which arises from the use of national names to designate types often forming a minority in the nation itself (*Les Sélections Sociales*, Paris, 1896).

3 *The Racial Geography of Europe*, in *Popular Science Monthly*, June, 1897, p. 192.

Constituent Elements.

And here arises the more important question, by what right are so many and such diverse peoples grouped together and ticketed "Caucasians"? Are they to be really taken as objectively one, or are they merely artificial groupings, arbitrarily arranged abstractions? Certainly this Caucasic Division consists apparently of the most heterogeneous elements, more so than perhaps any other except the Ethiopic. Hence it seems to require a strong mental effort to sweep into a single category, however elastic, so many different peoples—Europeans, North Africans, West Asiatics, Iranians and others all the way to the Indo-Gangetic plains and uplands, whose complexion presents every shade of colour, except yellow, from white to the deepest brown or even black.

But they are grouped together in a single division, because their essential properties are one, and because, as pointed out by Ehrenreich, who himself emphasises these objections, their substantial uniformity speaks to the eye that sees below the surface. At the first glance, except perhaps in a few extreme cases for which it would be futile to create independent categories, we recognise a common racial stamp in the facial expression, the structure of the hair, partly also the bodily proportions, in all of which points they agree more with each other than with the other main divisions. Even in the case of certain black or very dark races, such as the Bejas, Somali, and a few other Eastern Hamites, we are reminded instinctively more of Europeans or Berbers than of negroes, thanks to their more regular features and brighter expression. "Those who will accept nothing unless it can be measured, weighed, and numbered, may think perhaps that according to modern notions this appeal to the outward expression is unscientific. Nevertheless nobody can deny the evidence of the obvious physical differences between Caucasians, African Negroes, Mongols, Australians and so on. After all, physical anthropology itself dates only from the moment when we became conscious of these differences, even before we were able to give them exact expression by measurements. It was precisely the general picture that spoke powerfully and directly to the eye[1]." The argument

[1] *Anthrop. Studien*, p. 15, "Deise Gemeinsamkeit der Charakteren beweist uns die Blutverwandtschaft" (*ib.*).

need not here be pursued farther, as it will receive abundant illustration in the details to follow.

Since the discovery of the New and the Austral Worlds, the Caucasic division as represented by the chief European nations has received an enormous expansion. Here of course it is necessary to distinguish between political and ethnical conquests, as, for instance, those of India, held by military tenure, and of Australia by actual settlement. Politically the whole world has become Caucasic with the exception of half-a-dozen states such as China, Turkey, Japan, Siam, Marocco, still enjoying a real or fictitious autonomy. But, from the ethnical standpoint, those regions in which the Caucasic peoples can establish themselves and perpetuate their race as colonists are alone to be regarded as fresh accessions to the original and later (historical) Caucasic domains. Such fresh accessions are however of vast extent, including the greater part of Siberia and much of Caucasia, where the Slav branch of the Aryan-speaking peoples are now founding permanent new homes; the whole of Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, which have become the inheritance of the Caucasic inhabitants of the British Isles; large tracts in South Africa, already occupied by settlers chiefly from Holland and Great Britain; lastly the New World, where most of the northern continent is settled by full-blood Europeans, mainly British, French and German, while in the rest (Central and South America) the Caucasic immigrants (chiefly from the Iberian peninsula) have formed new ethnical groups by fusion with the aborigines. These new accessions, all acquired within the last 400 years, may be roughly estimated at about 28 million square miles, which with some 12 millions held throughout the historic period (Africa north of Sudan, most of Europe, South-West and parts of Central and South Asia, Indonesia) gives an extent of 40 million square miles to the present Caucasic domain, either actually occupied or in process of settlement. As the whole of the dry land scarcely exceeds 52 millions, this leaves not more than about 12 millions for the now reduced domains of all the other divisions, and even of this a great part (*e.g.* Tibetan tableland, Gobi, tundras, Greenland) is barely or not at all inhabitable. This, it may be incidentally remarked, is

Past and Present Range.

perhaps the best reply to those who have in late years given expression to gloomy forebodings regarding the ultimate fate of the Caucasic races. The "yellow scare" may be dismissed with the reflection that the Caucasian populations, who have inherited or acquired nearly four-fifths of the earth's surface besides the absolute dominion of the high seas, is not destined to be submerged by any conceivable combination of all the other elements, still less by the Mongol alone[1].

Caucasic Cradle—North Africa.

Where have we to seek the primeval home of this most vigorous and dominant branch of the human family? On the assumption that all the primary divisions have been evolved independently in separate zoological zones, each from its own pleistocene precursor[2], the question may be thus formulated, in what zone was our generalised pleistocene ancestor specialised? Where was the Caucasic type constituted in all its essential features? No final answer can yet be given, but this much may be said, that Africa north of Sudan corresponds best with all the known conditions. Here were found in quaternary times all the physical elements which zoologists demand for great specialisations—ample space, a favourable climate and abundance of food, besides continuous land connection at two or three points across the Mediterranean, by which the pliocene and early pleistocene faunas moved freely between the two continents.

The "Quaternary Sahara."

Former speculations on the subject failed to convince, largely because the writers took, so to say, the ground from under their own feet, by submerging most of the land under a vast "Quaternary Sahara Sea," which had no existence, and which, moreover, reduced the whole of North Africa to a Mauritanian island, a mere "appendix of Europe," as it is in one place expressly called. Then this inconvenient inland basin was got rid of, not by an outflow—being on the same level as the Atlantic, of which it was, in fact figured as

[1] Sir W. Crooke's anticipation of a possible future failure of the wheat supply as affecting the destinies of the Caucasic peoples (*Presidential Address at Meeting Br. Assoc.* Bristol, 1898) is an economic question which cannot here be discussed.

[2] p. 2 sq.

an inlet—but by "evaporation," which process is however somehow confined to this inlet, and does not affect either the Mediterranean or the Atlantic itself. Nor is it explained how the oceanic waters were prevented from rushing in according "as the Sahara sea evaporated to become a desert." The attempt to evolve a "Eurafrican race" in such an impossible area necessarily broke down, other endless perplexities being involved in the initial geological misconception.

Not only was the Sahara dry land in pleistocene times, but it stood then at a considerably higher altitude than at present, although its mean elevation is still estimated by Chavanne at 1500 feet above sea-level. "Quaternary deposits cover wide areas, and were at one time supposed to be of marine origin. It was even held that the great sand dunes must have been formed under the sea; but at this date it is scarcely necessary to discuss such a view. The advocates of a Quaternary Sahara Sea argued chiefly from the discovery of marine shells at several points in the middle of the Sahara. But Tournouër has shown that to call in the aid of a great ocean in order to explain the presence of one or two shells is a needless expenditure of energy[1]."

At an altitude of probably over 2000 feet the Sahara must have enjoyed an almost ideal climate during late pliocene and pleistocene times, when Europe was exposed to more than one glacial invasion, and to a large extent covered at long intervals by a succession of solid ice-caps. We now know that these stony and sandy wastes were traversed in all directions by great rivers, such as the Massarawa trending south to the Niger, or the Igharghar[2] flowing north to the Mediterranean, and that these now dry beds may still be traced for hundreds of miles by chains

[1] Ph. Lake, *The Geology of the Sahara*, in *Science Progress*, July, 1895.

[2] This name, meaning in Berber "running water," has been handed down from a time when the Igharghar was still a mighty stream with a northerly course of some 800 miles, draining an area of many thousand square miles, in which there is not at present a single perennial brooklet. It would appear that even crocodiles still survive from those remote times in the so-called Lake Miharo of the Tassili district, where von Bary detected very distinct traces of their presence in 1876. Mr A. E. Pease also refers to a Frenchman "who had satisfied himself of the existence of crocodiles cut off in ages long ago from watercourses that have disappeared" (*Contemp. Review*, July, 1896).

of pools or lakelets, by long eroded valleys and by other indications of the action of running waters.

Nor could there be any lack of vegetable or animal life in a favoured region, which was thus abundantly supplied with natural irrigation arteries, while the tropical heats were tempered by great elevation and at times by the refreshing breezes from sub-arctic Europe.

From these well-watered and fertile lands, some of which continued even in Roman times to be the granary of the empire, came that succession of southern animals—hippopotamus, hyæna, rhinoceros, elephant, cave-lion—which made Europe seem like a "zoological appendix of Africa." In association with this fauna came primitive man himself, whose remains from the Neanderthal, Spy, La Naulette, La Denise, Brüx, Podbaba, Mentone, perhaps Galley Hill (Kent), show that the substratum of the European populations was of North African origin. So far, indeed, there is scarcely room for much discussion, especially since in recent years such abundant evidence has been brought to light of the presence of early man all over North Africa from the shores of the Mediterranean through Egypt to Somaliland. Thus one of M. J. de Morgan's momentous conclusions is that the existence of civilized men in Egypt may be reckoned by thousands, and of the aborigines by myriads of years. These aborigines are identified with the men of the Old Stone Age, of whom he believes four stations have been discovered—Dahshur, Abydos, Tukh, and Thebes[1].

Of Tunisia the same story is told by M. Arsène Dumont, who emphatically declares that "the immense period of time during which man made use of stone implements is nowhere so strikingly shown as in Tunisia." Here some of the flints were found in abundance under a thick bed of quaternary limestone deposited by the waters of a stream that has disappeared. Hence "the origin of man in Mauritania must be set back to a remote age which deranges all chronology and confounds the very fables of the mythologies[2]."

[1] *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Egypte: L'Age de la Pierre et des Métaux*, 1897.

[2] *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 394. This indefatigable explorer remarks,

Precursors of the European Aborigines.

Of course it is open to anyone to say with M. de Mortillet that the men of the later Palæolithic period represented in France by the Laugerie race, whose remains occur in the Madelenian deposits at Laugerie-Basse and at Chancellade, both in Dordogne, were developed *in situ* from the older race, and were not a foreign invading type[1]. But even so Mauritania would remain the *officina gentium* for the first arrivals in Europe, where they were thus afterwards specialised into men of the normal European (Caucasic) type. But no such specialisation on the spot was needed, for it was continually going on in North Africa, whence the stream of migration set steadily and uninterruptedly into Europe throughout both Stone Ages.

This doctrine of the specialisation of the fundamental European types in Africa, before their migrations northwards, lies at the base of Prof. Sergi's views regarding the African origin of those types. Arguing against the Asiatic origin of the Hamites, as held by Prichard, Virchow, Sayce and others, he points out that this race, scarcely if at all represented in Asia, has an immense range in Africa, where its several sub-varieties must have been evolved before their dispersion over a great part of that continent and of Europe. Then, regarding Hamites and Semites as essentially one, he concludes that Africa is the cradle whence this primitive stock "spread northwards to Europe, where it still persists, especially in the Mediterranean and its three principal peninsulas, and eastwards to West Asia[2]."

Here is proclaimed in unqualified language the essential unity of the three main divisions of the Caucasic family, and the North-African origin of the European branch. The evidence, anatomical, archæological, and linguistic, in support of this conclusion is rapidly accumulating, and daily making converts even amongst some of those anthropologists who are strongly opposed to Sergi's generali-

in reference to the continuity of human culture in Tunisia throughout the Old and New Stone Ages, that "ces populations fortement mélangées d'éléments néanderthaloïdes de la Kromirie fabriquent encore des vases de tous points analogues à la poterie néolithique" (*ib.*).

[1] *Formation de la Nation Française*, 1897.

[2] *Africa, Antropologia della Stirpe Camitica*, Turin, 1897, p. 404 sq.

sation in all its fulness and to many of his details. To constitute a distinct race, says M. Zaborowski, a wide geographical area is needed, such as is presented by both shores of the Mediterranean "with the whole of North Africa including the Sahara, which was till lately still thickly peopled"[1]. Then to the question by whom has this North African and Mediterranean region been inhabited since quaternary times, he answers "by the ancestors of our Libyans, Egyptians, Pelasgians, Iberians"; and after rejecting the Asiatic theory, he elsewhere arrives at "the grand generalisation that the whole of North Africa, connected by land with Europe in the Quaternary epoch, formed part of the geographical area of the ancient white race, of which the Egyptians, so far from being the parent stem, would appear to be merely a branch[2]."

Early European and Mauritanian types identical.

Coming to details, Dr Bertholon[3], from the human remains found by M. Carton at Bulla-Regia, determines for Tunisia and surrounding lands two main long-headed types, one like the Neanderthal (occurring both in Khumeria, and in the stations abounding in palæoliths), the other like the later Cro-Magnon dolmen-builders, whom De Quatrefages had already identified with the tall, long-headed, fair, and even blue-eyed Berbers still met in various parts of Mauritania, and formerly represented in the Canary Islands[4]. Bertholon agrees with Dr Collignon that the Mauritanian megalith-builders are of the same race as those of Europe, and besides the two long-headed races describes (1) a short round-headed type in Gerba Island and East Tunisia[5] representing the Libyans proper,

[1] "Le nord de l'Afrique entière, y compris le Sahara naguère encore fort peuplé," *i.e.* of course relatively speaking (*Du Dniester à la Caspienne*, in *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 81 sq.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 654 sq.

[3] *Résumé de l'Anthropologie de la Tunisie*, 1896, p. 4 sq.

[4] *Ethnology*, p. 376. This identity is confirmed by the characters of three skulls from the dolmens of Madracen near Batna, Algeria, now in the Constantine Museum, found by MM. Letourneau and Papillaut to present striking affinities with the long-headed Cro-Magnon race (Ceph. Index 70, 74, 78); leptoprosope with prominent glabella, notable alveolar prognathism, and sub-occipital bone projecting chignon-fashion at the back (*Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 347).

[5] He shows (*Exploration Anthropologique de l'Ile de Gerba*, in *L'Anthropo-*

and (2) a blond type of the Sahel, Khumeria, and other parts, whom he identifies with the Mazices of Herodotus, with the "Afri," whose name has been extended to the whole continent, and the blond Getulians of the Aures Mts.

Bertholon still holds to the old view that these may all have been immigrants from Europe during the Stone Ages. But at that time the stream of migration for all the fauna set the other way, and it is noteworthy that the horse which belongs to the Asiatic zoological world does not appear in Africa till quite recent (historic) times, although it had already ranged into Europe in the Old Stone (Solutrian) epoch. Such an animal could scarcely fail to have accompanied the men of the Stone Ages into North Africa had their movements been in that direction, and would thus have been known to those Libyans of the "New Race" who soon after the 6th dynasty formed permanent settlements in Upper Egypt, and also to the Egyptians themselves at the very dawn of their history. Yet M. Piètrement has conclusively shown that the horse is nowhere figured on any of the Egyptian monuments before the Hyksos irruption at the close of the Middle Empire[1]. Thus, the migrations were from Africa, and in this favourable environment, rather than in the periodically ice-clad Europe, took place those slow differentiations by which the pleistocene man of the Neanderthal type gradually became the Afro-European whom we now call Caucasian.

logie, 1897, p. 424 sq.) that the North African brown brachycephalics, forming the substratum in Mauritania, and very pure in Gerba, resemble the European populations the more they have avoided contact with foreign races. He quotes H. Martin: "Le type brun qui domine dans la Grande Kabylie du Jurjura ressemble singulièrement en majorité au type français brun. Si l'on habillait ces hommes de vêtements européens, vous ne les distingueriez pas de paysans ou de soldats français." He compares them especially to the Bretons, and agrees with Martin that "il y a parmi les Berbères bruns des brachycéphales; je croirais volontiers que les brachycéphales bruns sont des Ligures. Libyens et Ligures paraissent avoir été originairement de la même race." He thinks the very names are the same: "*Λιβύες* est exactement le même mot que *Λιγύες*; rien n'était plus fréquent dans les dialectes primitifs que la mutation du *b* en *g*."

[1] *Les Chevaux dans les Temps Préhistoriques*, etc. in *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 657 sq.

The Three Great European Ethnical Groups.

But it may be objected that, as established by de Lapouge and Ripley, there are three distinct ethnical zones in Europe:—(1) The tall, fair, long-headed northern type, commonly identified by the Germans with the race represented by the osseous remains from the "Reihengräber," *i.e.* the "Germanic," which the French call Kymric or Aryan, for which de Lapouge reserves Linné's *Homo Europæus*, and to which Ripley applies the term "Teutonic," because the whole combination of characters "accords exactly with the descriptions handed down to us by the ancients. Such were the Goths, Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Vandals, Lombards, together with the Danes, Norsemen, Saxons...History is thus corroborated by natural science." (2) The southern (Mediterranean) zone of short, dark long-heads, *i.e.* the primitive element in Iberia, Italy, South France, Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, and Greece, called Iberians by the English, and identified by many with the Ligurians, Pelasgians, and even Hittites, but grouped together by Ripley as Mediterraneans[1]. (3) The Central (Alpine) zone of short, medium-sized round-heads with light or chestnut hair, and gray or hazel eye, de Lapouge's and Ripley's *Homo alpinus*, the Kelts or Kelto-Slavs of the French, the Ligurians or Arvernians of Beddoe and other English writers.

The question is, Can all these have come from North Africa? We have seen that this region has yielded the remains of one round-headed and two long-headed prehistoric types. Dr Henri Malbot now points out that, as far back as we can go, we meet the two quite distinct long-headed Berber types, and that this racial duality is proved especially by the megalithic tombs (dolmens) of Roknia between Jemmapes and Guelma, which are some 4000 or 5000 years old. The remains here found by General Faidherbe belong to two different races, both dolichocephalic, but one tall, with prominent zygomatic arches and very strong nasal spine (it reads almost like the description of a brawny Caledonian), the other short, with well-balanced skull and small nasal spine[2]. When it is added that the earliest (Egyptian) records refer to brown and blond populations living in North Africa some 5000 years ago,

[1] *Racial Geography of Europe*, *passim*.

[2] *Les Chaouias*, etc. in *L'Anthropologie*, 1897, p. 1 sq.

it would almost seem as if the raw materials, so to say, were here to hand both of the fair northern and dark southern European long-heads. Then we have Bertholon's round-heads from East Tunisia (see above), who may similarly be taken as the prototypes of de Lapouge's much contested *Homo alpinus*.

The Guanches—Types and Affinities.

These different races were represented even amongst the extinct Guanches of the Canary Islands, as shown by a study of the 52 heads procured in 1894 by Dr H. Meyer from caves in the archipelago[1]. Three distinct types are determined: (1) Guanche, akin to the Cro-Magnon, tall (5 ft. 8 in. to 6 ft. 2 in.), robust, dolicho (78°), low, broad face; large eyes, rather short nose; fair, reddish or light chestnut hair; skin and eyes light; ranged throughout the islands, but centred chiefly in Tenerife; (2) "*Semitic*," short (5 ft. 4 or 5 in.), slim, narrow mesocephalic head (81°), narrow, long face, black hair, light brown skin, dark eyes; range, Grand Canary, Palma, and Hierro; (3) *Armenoid*, akin to von Luschan's pre-Semitic of Asia Minor; shorter than 1 and 2; very short, broad, and high skull (hyperbrachy, 84°), hair, skin and eyes very probably of the West Asiatic brunette type; range, mainly in Gomera, but met everywhere. Many of the skulls had been trepanned, and these are brought into direct association with the full-blood Berber, of the Aures Mts. in Algeria, who still practise trepanning for wounds, headaches, and other reasons. The Armenoid type is not to be distinguished from Lapouge's short brown *Homo alpinus*, which dates from the Stone Ages, and is found in densest masses in the Central Alpine regions, eastern plains of Europe, and, as we shall see, in Anatolia and Irania.

Here again we see how unnecessary it is to go to Asia for the early European round-heads, who are generally introduced from the

[1] *Ueber eine Schädelsammlung von den Kanarischen Inseln*, with Dr F. von Luschan's appendix; also *Ueber die Urbewohner der Kanarischen Inseln*, in *Bastian-Festschrift*, 1896, p. 63. The inferences here drawn are in substantial agreement with those of Mr Henry Wallack, in his paper on *The Guanches*, in *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* June, 1887, p. 158 sq.; and also with Mr J. C. Shrubsall, who, however, distinguishes four pre-Spanish types from a study of numerous skulls and other remains from Tenerife in *Proc. Cambridge Phil. Soc.* IX. 154–78.

east in the Bronze Age, although it is clear that large numbers had already established themselves in Central and West Europe during the New Stone Age. This point, although of extreme importance, has been strangely overlooked by Sergi and others, who have built up their theories without taking this factor into account. How numerous were the inhabitants of France at that time may be inferred from the long list of no less than 4000 Neolithic stations given for that region by M. Ph. Salmon. Of the 688 skulls from those stations measured by him, 57·7 per cent. are classed as dolicho, 21·2 as brachycephalic, and 21·1 as intermediate. This distinguished palethnologist regards the intermediates as the result of crossings between the two others, and of these he thinks the first arrivals were the roundheads, who ranged over a vast area between Brittany, the Channel, the Pyrenees, and the Mediterranean, 60 per cent. of the graves hitherto studied containing skulls of this type[1]. Belgium also, where a mixture of long- and round-heads is found amongst the men of Furfooz, must be included in this Neolithic brachy domain. But Sergi minimises this brachy element, which he identifies with the Aryan from Asia as represented by his round-headed Slavs, Teutons, and Kelts, and takes account only of Salmon's 21·2 per centage of brachycephalics, entirely overlooking the 21·1 of intermediates, and thereby greatly reducing the real proportion of Neolithic round-heads in West Europe. They are in fact merely "peaceful infiltrations in France," forerunners of the great invasions[2]. Such minimisings would not be necessary, had he looked to Africa instead of to Asia for the first roundheaded as well as for the first long-headed populations of Europe. No doubt these were later (during the Metal Ages) followed by the "great invasions" from Asia, in which were represented both tall, fair long-heads (Aryans from the steppe), and dark or brown round-heads of average size (probably from the Iranian uplands). But all of these had themselves first been specialised in North Africa, the true centre of evolution and of dispersion for all the main branches of the Caucasic family.

Two Round-head groups—1st from Africa; 2nd from Asia.

[1] *Dénombrement et Types des Crânes Néolithiques de la Gaule*, in *Rev. Mens. de l'École d'Anthrop.* 1896.

[2] "Infiltrazioni pacifiche." (*Arii e Italici*, p. 124).

With that part of Sergi's view which traces the first inhabitants of the northern shores of the Mediterranean (Iberians, Ligurians, Messapians, Siculi and other Itali, Pelasgians), to North Africa, I am in full accord. I agree also that all or most of these were primarily of a dark (brown), short, dolicho type, which still persists both in South Europe and North Africa, and in fact is the race which Ripley properly calls "Mediterranean," although in the west they almost certainly ranged into Brittany and the British Isles.

The Mediterraneans: Iberians, Ligurians; Pelasgians.

For the Basques and Iberians we have now the independent testimony of Dr R. Collignon[1], perhaps the first living authority on this race. "The physical traits characteristic of the Basques attach them unquestionably ('indiscutablement') to the great Hamitic branch of the white races, that is to say, to the ancient Egyptians and to the various groups commonly comprised under the collective name of Berbers. Their brachycephaly, slight as it is, cannot outweigh the aggregate of the other characters which they present.... It is therefore in this direction and not amongst Finns or Esthonians that is to be sought the parent stem of this paradoxical race. It is North African or European, assuredly not Asiatic."

To this and the archæological evidences of identity derived from their common megalithic monuments may now be added a linguistic proof, which seems all but conclusive. On the African side we have the Hamitic (Berber) language still in its full vigour; and apparently but little changed for thousands of years. But in Europe the corresponding primitive tongues have everywhere been swept away by the Aryan (Hellenic, Italic, Keltic) except in Italy and Iberia. Of Pelasgic, if a member of this family, nothing survives except the statement of Herodotus, a dangerous guide in this matter, that it was a barbaric tongue like the people themselves[2]. Of Messapian also there remain but a few fragments, just enough to show that it was not a member of the Italic branch of the Aryan family, if we even allow with Mommsen that it was Aryan at all.

[1] *La Race Basque*, *L'Anthropologie*, 1894, pp. 270–87.
[2] I. 57.

But in Iberia there fortunately survives the Basque of the western Pyrenees, which beyond question represents a form of speech which was current in the peninsula in pre-Aryan times, and on the assumption of a common origin of the populations on both sides of the Strait of Gibraltar might be expected to show traces of kinship with the Hamitic Berber. In a posthumous work on this subject[1], the eminent philologist G. von der Gabelenz goes much further than mere traces, and is able to establish not only phonetic and verbal resemblances, but structural correspondences, so that his editor Graf von der Schulenberg is satisfied that there is no longer any doubt as to the relationship of the two languages[2]. Great divergence, due to a separation of many thousand years, was of course inevitable, and is seen in the shifting of prefixes and postfixes while the form remains, and in the absence from Basque of nominal gender which is so characteristic of the Hamitic. Yet even here the Bas. verbal *k* masc., *n* fem. answer to Ham. *k*, *m*, where *n* = *m*, as in Bas. *izen* = Ham. *isem* (name). Subjoined are a few structural and other equations[3]:—

Basque and Berber Tongues of one Stock.

Basque	*Berber*	*English*
ak (pl. ending)	ak	all
Chikhiro	ikerri	wether
jarri	ers	to sit
ezarri	sers	to set
sortu	iseru	to beget
urten, irten	eru	to be born
estali	sentel	to cover
tik, dik	deg	(Abl. case)
n, en	n, en	(Gen. case)
z	s	(Instrumental case)
jargi	aruku	seat, saddle
ekarri } r=l	eglu } l=r	to bear
erruki }	lequ }	pity, to be sad
hamar, amar	merau	ten

[1] *Die Verwandschaft des Baskischen mit den Berbersprachen Nord-Afrikas nachgewiesen*, Brunswick, 1894.

[2] "Die Sprachen waren mit einander verwandt, das stand ausser Zweifel." (Pref. IV.)

[3] Of the doublets in the English column the 1st meaning refers to the Basque, the 2nd to the Berber.

Basque	*Berber*	*English*
il-gora (*il*=new)	aggur	moon
egun	agenna	day, sky
akarka	agahar	river
osto	ϑasta	leaf, twig
mirotza	imerzeγsen	hawk, vulture
(ond-)agora	agurez	heel
otar	atarrah	basket, net
eraso	ers	to fall
egosi	igas	to cook
zigor, zihor	azgar, asγar	rod, stick
malso, merzil	melelli	soft, to soften
vedats	tafsit, fetafet	spring (season)
azkon	aqzun	dog
urdiñ	idálen	blue
arkitu	egru	to find
saski	aseksad	basket, sieve
mende	ti-mindi / ti-midi	century, hundred
aketz	aqennaz	boar, pig
agereder	agerda	weasel, rat
andagatu	andigdig	to waste, ruin
ikartu	hakkir	to see
edeki	dekir	to take, steal

In general *auslaut* is better preserved in Berber than in Basque. Thus:—

Basque	*Berber*	*English*
ni	nek, neki	I
azaro	ageris	dew, hoarfrost
ego, egoi	agús	south wind, south
ori, hori	auray	yellow
zuri (for zurig, zulig)	tshulleg	white, to be pale

All these equations, which form a vocabulary of no less than 780 words, are much closer than they seem, because the differences are largely explained by constant or normal phonetic laws of change, such as those established by Rask and Grimm for the Aryan family, and by other considerations which are too technical to be here considered[1]. Let one example suffice. The Bas.

[1] Amongst these is the remarkable vocalic shifting in the tri-literal roots, which is fully developed in Semitic, less so in Hamitic, and incipient traces of which are evident in Basque. Such variants as Ham. abríd, azríb, azerg, azrug (way), are compared with Bas. eguzki, iduzki, iruzki, iluzki (sun) &c.

mende = a century, is *identical* with the Ber. *timidi* = hundred, where *ti* is merely a fem. prefix and *midi* is for *mindi* by normal loss of *n*. In this as in many other instances Basque preserves the archaic form, while in other respects Berber is more faithful to the original Hamito-Iberian mother-tongue. Altogether the undoubted resemblances are far too close and numerous to be explained away as coincidences or later borrowings[1]. No doubt many Berbers took part in the Moslem invasion of Iberia, but Arabic, the dominant speech, alone affected the current languages and the geographical nomenclature, as we see in *Gibraltar* = *Jebel-Tarik*, *i.e.* "Tarik's-Hill" although Tarik himself was a Nefusi Berber from Tripolitana; so also *Guadalquivir* = *Wad-el-Kebir*, the "Great River."

Besides, the invaders never penetrated to the western Pyrenees, to which the Basque language had already at that time been confined. But that it was not originally a local idiom, but generally diffused over the whole of Iberia and South Gaul, a point as often denied as asserted by the protagonists of the Basque question, is now convincingly proved by Father F. Fita, perhaps the first living authority on this subject. In a paper on the Iberian and Roman inscriptions of Fraga[2] he makes it evident that in pre-Roman times, that is, in the prehistoric age, a language of Basque type was current amongst the aborigines on both sides of the Pyrenees. When Hannibal crossed into Gallia Narbonensis on his march to Italy he came upon a flourishing city *Illiberis*, a name with which his Iberian allies were familiar, because they had left behind them in their own territory of Baetica (Andalusia) another place of the same name, meaning in their language "Newtown," as it still does in modern Basque[3]. Look at the

[1] See also M. Gèze, *De quelques rapports entre les langues berbère et basque* in *Mém. Soc. Archéol. du Midi de la France*, vol. XIII., where a great many words are compared, with the conclusion that in an exceedingly remote epoch a close connection existed for a long period of time between the ancestors of the Basques and Berbers. This memoir was unknown to von der Gabelenz.

[2] In *Bol. Real Acad. de la Historia*, October 1894.

[3] Other identities are:—*Tolosa*, twice in Spain and on the Garonne; *Calagurris* on Ebro and Garonne; *Elemberris*, *Aturris*, *Iluro* and *Andurensis* in Spain; *Elimberris*, *Adour*, *Iluzo* (Oloron) and *Aturenses* in south of France. Cf. also *Andere* (Matres Tolosanæ) and *andere* = woman (Bas.). "The evidence

map and see what a wide area is covered by these Iberian settlements, one in the south-west, not far from the shores of the Atlantic, the other looking out on the North Mediterranean waters. But it may be now shown that their range extended both in the west and east far beyond these limits. Cæsar's *Aquitani* were almost admittedly Iberians, as were beyond doubt their successors, the *Vascones*, whose name survives in the present *Basques* as well as in *Gascony*, from which most of them have disappeared[1]. This western branch of the Iberian family thus ranged north to the Garonne, beyond which were seated the *Pictones*, now also commonly regarded as Iberians, and most probably ancestors of the *Picts* who occupied Britain before the arrival of the *Kelts*[2].

The Ligurians.

Farther east, beyond "Newtown," the Iberians, as shown by Sergi, must now be grouped with the Ligurians, whose ethnical position has hitherto been strangely misunderstood. Sergi—and this is one of his great services to anthropological studies—makes it quite clear that the true Ligurians were not round-headed Kelts[3], but, like the Iberians,

seems to me conclusive that a people speaking the same language as that spoken in Baetica inhabited Southern Gaul in early times" (W. Webster in *Academy*, Sept. 26, 1891). This authority also recognises a distinct though more remote kinship between the Iberians south of and the Pictones north of the Garonne.

[1] J. F. Bladé (*Les Vascons avant leur établissement en Novempopulanie*, 1891), argues that there were no Basques in Gascony before the later migration from the Ebro in the 6th century. But the above-quoted place-names show that the country (Aquitania) had been settled in remote times by Iberian precursors of these Basques.

[2] "I believe Picts and Iberians to have belonged to one and the same family, which I have ventured to call Ibero-Pictish" (Prof. J. Rhys, *Academy*, Sept. 26, 1891).

[3] No one puts this point stronger than M. G. Hervé, who even goes beyond Broca, completely identifying the Kelts with the populations of Liguria, and proposing to remove the confusion caused by the term "Kelt" by striking out of scientific nomenclature "un terme aussi radicalement faussé et de le remplacer par le nom de Ligures" (*Rev. Mens. de l'École d'Anthrop.* IV. 1896). It should be stated that Hervé traces the Cro-Magnon race from the Quaternary through the whole of the Neolithic period, when it was identical with that of the dolicho Baumes-Chaudes, and when the Neolithic brachy race of Grenelle arrived. In the Bronze period this brachy element abounds, and to it he applies

a section of the long-headed Mediterranean (Afro-European) stock. From prehistoric stations in the valley of the Po he collected 59 skulls, all of this type, and all Ligurian; history and tradition being of accord that before the arrival of the Kelts this region belonged to the Ligurian domain. "If it be true that prehistoric Italy was occupied by the Mediterranean race and by two branches—Ligurian and Pelasgian—of that race, the ancient inhabitants of the Po valley, now exhumed in those 59 skulls, were Ligurian[1]."

Ligurians in Rhineland and Italy.

These Ligurians may now be traced from their homes on the Mediterranean into Central Europe. From a study of the Neolithic finds made in recent years in the district between Neustadt and Worms Dr C. Mehlis[2] infers that here the first settlers were Ligurians, who had penetrated up the Rhone and Saône into Rhineland. In the Kircherian Museum in Rome he was surprised to find a marked analogy between objects from the Riviera and from the Rhine; skulls (both dolicho), vases, stone implements, mill-stones, etc., all alike. Such Ligurian objects, found everywhere in North Italy, occur in the Rhine lands chiefly along the left bank of the main stream between Basel and Mainz, and farther north in the Rheingau at Wiesbaden, and in the Lahn valley. These Ligurian migrations so far north are confirmed not only by geographical, anthropological, and archæological data, but also by linguistic proofs, as shown by Prof. W. Deecke[3].

The Ligurians may of course have reached the Riviera round the coast from Illiberis and Iberia; but the same race is found as the aboriginal element also at the "heel of the boot," and in fact throughout the whole of Italy and all the adjacent islands. This

the name of "race des Ligures, ou, ce qui revient au même, celle des *Celtes*, au sens que les anthropologistes [français] ont accoutumé d'attacher depuis Broca à ce dernier terme" (*ib.*). The one reply to this and to many volumes written from the same standpoint is that the true Ligurians were not brachy- but dolichocephalic.

[1] *Arii e Italici*, p. 60.

[2] *Corresbl. d. d. Ges. f. Anthrop.* Feb. 1898, p. 12.

[3] This last statement I have to take on trust, not having seen the work referred to, vol. X. of the *Jahrbuch für Geschichte, Sprache u. Literatur Elsass-Lothringens.*

point is now firmly established, and not only Sergi, but several other leading Italian authorities hold that the early inhabitants of the peninsula and islands were Ligurians and Pelasgians, whom they look upon as of the same stock, all of whom came from North Africa, and that, despite subsequent invasions and crossings, this Mediterranean stock still persists, especially in the southern provinces and in the islands—Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. Hence it seems more reasonable to bring this aboriginal element straight from Africa by the stepping stones of Pantellaria, Malta, and Gozzo (formerly more extensive than at present, and still strewn with megalithic remains comparable to those of both continents), than by the roundabout route of Iberia and Southern Gaul[1].

Sicilian Origins—Sicani; Siculi.

For Sicily, with which may practically be included the south of Italy, we have the conclusions of Signor G. Patroni based on years of intelligent and patient labours[2]. To Africa this archæologist traces the palæolithic men of the west coast of Sicily and of the caves near Syracuse explored by Von Adrian[3]. "We are forced to conclude that man arrived in Sicily from Africa at a time when the isthmus connecting the island with that Continent still stood above sea-level. He made his appearance about the same time as the elephant, whose remains are associated with human bones especially in the west. He followed the sea coasts, the shells of which offered him sufficient food[4]." He was followed by the Neolithic man, whose presence has been revealed by the researches of Signor Orsi at the station of Stentinello on the coast north of Syracuse.

To Orsi is also due the discovery of what he calls the "Æneolithic Epoch[5]," represented by the bronzes of the Girgenti district. Orsi assigns this culture to the *Siculi*, and divides it into three periods, while regarding the Neolithic men of Stentinello as *pre-Siculi*. But Patroni holds that the Æneolithic peoples have a right to the historic name of *Sicani*, and that the true

[1] Yet Ligurians are actually planted on the North Atlantic coast of Spain by S. Sempere y Miguel (*Revista de Ciencias Historicas*, I. v. 1887).

[2] *La Civilisation Primitive dans la Sicilie Orientale*, in *L'Anthropologie*, 1897, p. 130 sq.; and 295 sq.

[3] *Præhistorische Studien aus Sicilien*, quoted by Patroni.

[4] p. 130. [5] See p. 17.

Siculi were those that arrived from Italy in Orsi's second period. It seems no longer possible to determine the true relations of these two peoples, who stand out as distinct throughout early historic times, and can in no way be regarded as of one race, although both (Σικανός, Σικελός) are already mentioned in the Odyssey. But all the evidence tends to show that the Sicani represent the oldest element which came direct from Africa in the Stone Age, while the Siculi were a branch of the Ligurians driven in the Metal Age from Italy to the island, which was already occupied by the Sicani[1], as related by Dionysius Halicarnassus[2]. In fact this migration of the Siculi may be regarded as almost an historical event, which according to Thucydides took place "about 300 years before the Hellenes came to Sicily[3]." The Siculi bore this national name on the mainland, so that the modern expression "Kingdom of the Two Sicilies" (the late Kingdom of Naples) has its justification in the earliest traditions of the people. Later, both races were merged in one, and the present Sicilian nation gradually constituted by further accessions of Phœnician (Carthaginian), Greek, Roman, Vandal, Arab, Norman, French and Spanish elements.

Sards and Corsicans.

Very remarkable is the contrast presented by the conditions prevailing in this ethnical microcosm and those of Sardinia, inhabited since the Stone Ages by one of the most homogeneous groups in the world. From the statistics embodied in Dr R. Livi's *Antropologia Militare*[4], the Sards would almost seem to be cast all in one mould, the great bulk of the natives having the shortest stature, the

[1] It may be mentioned that while Penka makes the Siculi Illyrians from Upper Italy (*Zur Paläoethnologie Mittel- u. Südeuropas*, in *Wiener Anthrop. Ges.* 1897, p. 18), E. A. Freeman holds that they were not only Aryans, but closely akin to the Romans, speaking "an undeveloped Latin," or "something which did not differ more widely from Latin than one dialect of Greek differed from another" (*The History of Sicily* etc., I. p. 488). But ethnology was not Freeman's strong point, and for this assumption there is no kind of proof. Besides names, such as Motyca, Acis, Hybla which are not Latin, there survive only two Sicul words which are also not Latin: *cottabos*, a game, and *zanclon*, a reaping-hook.

[2] I. 22. [3] VI. 2.

[4] *Parte I. Dati Antropologici ed Etnologici*, Rome, 1896

brownest eyes and hair, the longest heads, the swarthiest complexion of all the Italian populations. "They consequently form quite a distinct variety amongst the Italian races, which is natural enough when we remember the seclusion in which this island has remained for so many ages[1]." They seem to have been preserved as if in some natural museum to show us what the Ligurian branch of the Mediterranean stock may have been in Neolithic times. Yet they were probably preceded by the microcephalous dwarfish race described by Sergi as one of the early Mediterranean stocks. Their presence in Sardinia has now been determined by A. Niceforo and E. A. Onnis, who find that of about 130 skulls from old graves thirty have a capacity of only 1150 c.c. or under, while several living persons range in height from 4 ft. 2 in. to 4 ft. 11 in. Niceforo agrees with Sergi in bringing this dwarfish race also from North Africa[2].

Despite greater cranial variability[3], similar phenomena are presented by the Corsicans who show "the same exaggerated length of face and narrowness of the forehead. The Cephalic Index drops from 87 and above in the Alps to about 75 all along the line. Coincidently the colour of hair and eyes becomes very dark, almost black. The figure is less amply proportioned, the people become light and rather agile. It is certain that the stature at the same time falls to an exceedingly low level: fully 9 inches below the average for Teutonic Europe," although "the people of Northern Africa, pure Mediterranean Europeans, are of medium size[4]."

In the Italian peninsula Sergi holds not only that the aborigines were exclusively of Ligurian, *i.e.* Mediterranean stock, but that this stock still persists in the whole of the region south of the Tiber, although here and there mixed with Aryan elements. North of that river these elements increase gradually up to the Italian Alps, and at present are dominant in the valley of the Po[5]. In this way he would explain the rising percentage of

[1] p. 182. [2] *Atti Soc. Rom. d' Antrop.* 1896, pp. 179 and 201.

[3] Range of cephalic index of four Corsican heads studied by Ripley 72·3 to 80·8 (*Racial Geography of Europe*). [4] *Ib.*

[5] *Arii e Italici*, p. 188. Hence for these Italian Ligurians he claims the name of "Italici," which he refuses to extend to the Aryan intruders in the

round-heads in that direction, the Ligurians being for him, as stated, long-headed, the Aryans round-headed.

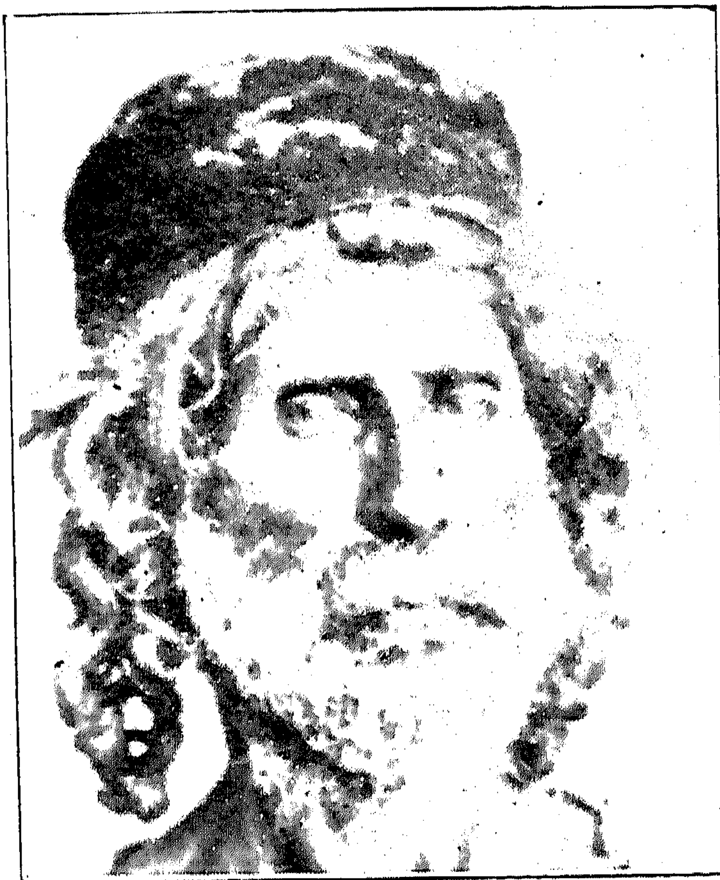
Similarly Dr Beddoe, commenting on Livi's statistics, showing predominance of tall stature, round heads, and fair complexion in North Italy, infers "that a type, the one we usually call the Mediterranean, does really predominate in the south, and exists in a state of comparative purity in Sardinia and Calabria; while in the north the broad-headed Alpine type is powerful, but is almost everywhere more or less modified by, or interspersed with other types—Germanic, Slavic, or of doubtful origin—to which the variations of stature and complexion may probably be, at least in part, attributed[1]."

Range of the Mediterraneans.

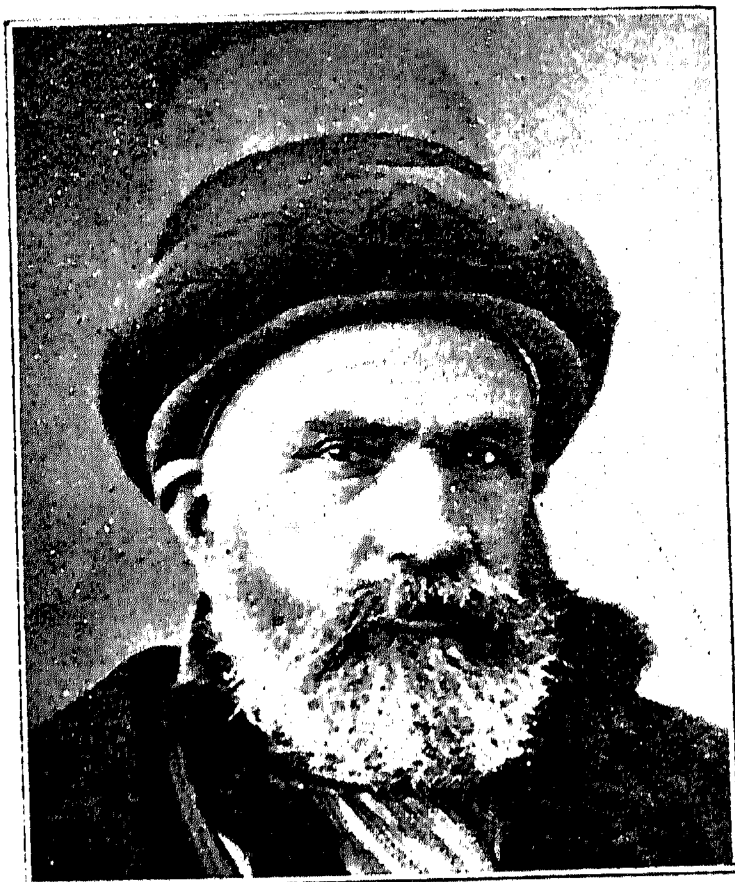
Similar relations prevail in the Balkan peninsula, where the Mediterranean stock is represented by the Pelasgic substratum, the Aryan by the Slav intruders. Thus the Hamitic race still persists all along the northern shores of the Mediterranean from Spain (Iberians) through Italy and the islands (Ligurians) to Greece (Pelasgians), and passes with these Pelasgians into Asia Minor. Moreover the same stock ranges according to Sergi westwards to the British Isles, northwards through central Europe to Scandinavia, and eastwards into Russia, everywhere forming the true aboriginal or pre-Aryan

peninsula. "A questi primi abitatori spetta legittimamente il nome di Italici, non a popolazioni successive [Aryan Umbrians], che avrebbero sloggiato i primi abitanti" (p. 60). The result is a little confusing, "Italic" being now the accepted name of the Italian branch of the Aryan linguistic family, and also commonly applied to the Aryans of this Italic speech, although the word *Italia* itself was undoubtedly indigenous (Ligurian) and not introduced by the Aryans. It would perhaps be better to regard "Italia" as a "geographical expression" applicable to all its inhabitants, whatever their origin or speech.

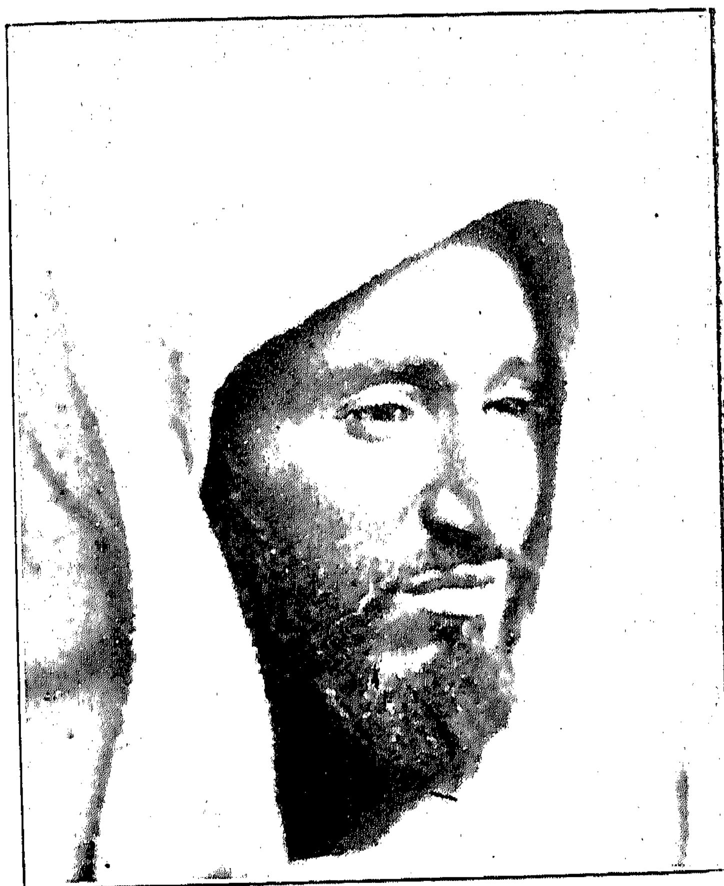
[1] *Science Progress*, July 1894. It will be noticed that the facts, accepted by all, are differently interpreted by Beddoe and Sergi, the latter taking the long-headed element in North Italy as the aboriginal (Ligurian), modified by the later intrusion of round-headed Aryan Slavs, Teutons, and especially Kelts, while Beddoe seems to regard the broad-headed Alpine as the original, afterwards modified by intrusive long-headed types "Germanic, Slavic, or of doubtful origin." Either view would no doubt account for the present relations; but Sergi's study of the prehistoric remains (see above) seems to compel acceptance of his explanation. From the statistics an average height of not more than 5 ft. 4 in. results for the whole of Italy.



1. BOHEMIAN.
(West Slav Type.)



2. EGYPTIAN DANCING DERWISH.
(Hamito-Semitic Type.)



3. EGYPTIAN BEDOUIN.
(Arab Type.)

To face page 468]

element, and is consequently represented by the dolicho skulls from the British long barrows, from the German Reihengräber, and from the Kurgans of the Russian steppe. While this brilliant generalisation, based on solid anatomical studies, may be accepted without reserve for the Mediterranean and British lands[1], it seems beset with grave, perhaps insurmountable, difficulties when applied to central and east Europe, as will be seen when we come to deal with Germanic and Slav origins.

Range of the Hamites in Africa.

Meanwhile, returning to the African home of these Hamites, we find them still forming not merely the substratum, but the great bulk of the inhabitants throughout all recorded time from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, and from the Mediterranean to Sudan, although since Muhammadan times largely intermingled with the kindred Semitic stock (mainly Arabs) in the north and west, and in the east (Abyssinia) with the same stock since prehistoric times. All are comprised by Sergi[2] in two main divisions:—

1. Eastern Hamites, answering to the *Ethiopic Branch* of some writers, of somewhat variable type, comprising the *Old* and *Modern Egyptians* now mixed with Semitic (Arab) elements; the *Nubians* (excluded by me for reasons stated at p. 74); the *Bejas*, the *Abyssinians*, collective name of all the peoples between Khor Barka and Shoa (with, in some places, a considerable infusion of Himyaritic or early Semitic blood from South Arabia); the *Gallas* (Gallas proper, Somals, and Afars or Danákils); the *Masai* and *Wahuma*.

2. Northern Hamites, answering to the *Berber* (*Western*) *Branch* of some writers, comprising the *Mediterranean Berbers* of Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli; the *Atlantic Berbers* (*Shluhs* and others) of Marocco; the *West Saharan Berbers* commonly called *Tuaregs*; the *Tibus* of the East Sahara; the *Fulahs*, dispersed

[1] Referring to one characteristic form of skull from Novilara, which he calls "Pelasgic," Sergi says that its African origin "non è a mettersi in dubbio, dopo che ho scoperto le stesse forme nell' Africa orientale, e la cui diffusione è grande e antichissima, avendone trovato di tale tipo nella antica Troade a Troia, e nei tumuli neolitici della Gran Brettagna" (*Arii e Italici*, p. 121).

[2] In his already quoted monumental work, *Africa: Antropologia della Stirpe Camitica*, Turin, 1897.

amongst the Sudanese Negroes; the *Guanches* of the Canary Islands.

The Eastern Hamites.

Of the Eastern Hamites he remarks generally that they do not form a homogeneous division, but rather a number of different peoples either crowded together in separate areas, or dispersed in the territories of other peoples. They agree more in their inner than in their outer characters, without constituting a single ethnical type. The cranial forms are variable, though converging, and evidently to be regarded as very old varieties of an original stock. The features are also variable, converging and characteristic, with straight or arched (aquiloid) nose quite different from the Negro; lips rather thick, but never everted as in the Negro; hair usually frizzled, not wavy; beard thin; skin very variable, brown, red-brown, black-brown, ruddy black, chocolate and coffee-brown, reddish or yellowish, these variations being due to crossings and the outward physical conditions.

The Western "Moors."

In this assumption Sergi is supported by the analogous case of the western Berbers between the Senegal and Marocco, to whom Collignon and Deniker[1] restrict the term "Moor," as an ethnical name. The chief groups, which range from the Atlantic coast east to the camping grounds of the true Tuaregs[2] are the Trarsas and Braknas of the Senegal river, and farther north the Dwaïsh (Idoesh), Uled-Bella, Uled-Embark, and Uled-en-Nasúr. From a study of four of these Moors, who visited Paris in 1895, it appears that they are not an Arabo-Berber cross, as commonly supposed, but true Hamites, with a distinct Negro strain, shown especially in their frizzly hair, bronze colour, short broad nose, and thickish lips, their general appearance showing an astonishing likeness to the Bejas, Afars, Somals, Abyssinians, and other Eastern Hamites. This is not due to direct descent, and it is more reasonable to suppose "that at the two extremities of the continent the same

[1] *Les Maures du Sénégal*, in *L'Anthropologie* 1896, p. 258 sq.

[2] That is, the *Sanhaja-an Litham*, those who wear the *litham* or veil, which is needed to protect them from the sand, but has now acquired religious significance, and is never worn by the "Moors." Cf. the totem, originally a badge, now often a god.



1. TURCO, ALGERIA.
(Hamitic Type.)



2. TURCO, ALGERIA.
(Hamitic Type.)



3. WOMAN OF BISKRA.
(Mediterranean Type.)

causes have produced the same effects, and that from the infusion of a certain proportion of black blood in the Egyptian [eastern] and Berber branches of the Hamites, there have sprung closely analogous mixed groups[1]." From the true Negro they are also distinguished by their grave and dignified bearing, and still more by their far greater intelligence. One of the visitors to Paris taught himself enough French to expound such abstruse terms as *doctrine*, which was the *chemin droit* "right road," his hand pointing from earth to heaven, and *substance*, which was explained by a walking-stick "heavy, black, hard," the rest substance, thus plunging into the subtleties of the Schoolmen with their distinctions between *substantia* and *accidentalia*.

General Hamitic Type.

Both divisions of the Hamite, continues Sergi, agree substantially in their bony structure, and thus form a single anthropological group with variable skull—pentagonoid, ovoid, ellipsoid, sphenoid, etc., as expressed in his new terminology—but constant, that is, each variety recurring in all the branches; face also variable (tetragonal, ellipsoid, etc.), but similarly identical in all the branches; profile non-prognathous; eyes dark, straight, not prominent; nose straight or arched; hair smooth, curly, long, black or chestnut; beard full, also scant; lips thin or slightly tumid, never protruding; skin of various brown shades; stature medium or tall.

Such is the great anthropological division, which was diffused continuously over a vast area in North Africa, Europe, and Asia; differing however with the different physical environments in its secondary characters, which appear not as individual variations, but as inherited varieties, persisting through all time, in fact behaving like the varieties of a well established zoological species.

Nothing is more astonishing than this strange persistence not merely of the Berber type, but of the Berber temperament and nationality since the Stone Ages, despite the successive invasions of foreign peoples during the historic period. First came the Sidonian Phœnicians, founders of Carthage and Utica probably about 1500 B.C. The Greek occupation of Cyrenaica (628 B.C.)

[1] p. 269.

was followed by the advent of the Romans on the ruins of the Carthaginian empire. The Romans have certainly left distinct traces of their presence, and some of the Aures highlanders still proudly call themselves *Rumaníya*. These *Shawías* ("Pastors") form a numerous group, all claiming Roman descent, and even still keeping certain Roman and Christian feasts, such as *Bu Ini*, *i.e.* Christmas; *Innar* or *January* (New Year's Day); Spring (Easter), &c. A few Latin words also survive such as *urtho* = hortus; *kerrúsh* = quercus (evergreen oak); *milli* = milliarium (milestone).

Foreign Elements in Mauritania.

After the temporary Vandal occupation came the great Arab invasions of the 7th and later centuries, and even these had been preceded by the kindred *Ruadites*, who had in pre-Moslem times already reached Mauritania from Arabia. With the Jews, some of whom had also reached Tripolitana before the New Era, a steady infiltration of Negroes from Sudan, and the recent French, Spanish, Italian, and Maltese settlers, we have all the elements that go to make up the cosmopolitan population of Mauritania.

But amid them all the Berbers and the Arabs stand out as the immensely predominant factors, still distinct despite their common Hamito-Semitic origin and later inter-minglings. The Arab remains above all a nomad herdsman, dwelling in tents, without house or hamlet, a good stock-breeder, but a bad husbandman, and that only on compulsion. "The ploughshare and shame enter hand in hand into the family," says the national proverb. To find space for his flocks and herds he continues the destructive work of Carthaginian and Roman, who ages ago cleared vast wooded tracts for their fleets and commercial navies, and thus helped to deteriorate the North African climate.

Arab and Berber Contrasts.

The Berber on the contrary loves the sheltering woodlands; he is essentially a highlander who carefully tills the forest glades, settles in permanent homes, and often develops flourishing industries. Arab society is feudal and theocratic, ruled by a despotic Sheikh, while the Berber with his *Jemaa*, or "Witenagemot," and his *Kanun* or unwritten code, feels himself a freeman; and it may well have been this democratic spirit, inherited by his European descendants, that enabled the western nations to take

the lead in the onward movement of humanity. The Arab again is a fanatic, ever to be feared, because he blindly obeys the will of Allah proclaimed by his prophets, marabouts, and mahdis[1]. But the Berber, a born sceptic, looks askance at theological dogmas; an unconscious philosopher, he is far less of a fatalist than his Semitic neighbour, who associates with Allah countless demons and jins in the government of the world.

In their physical characters the two races also present some striking contrasts, the Arab having the regular oval brain-cap and face of the true Semite, whereas the Berber head is more angular, less finely moulded, with more prominent cheek bones, shorter and less aquiline nose, which combined with a slight degree of sub-nasal prognathism, imparts to the features coarser and less harmonious outlines. He is at the same time distinctly taller and more muscular, with less uniformity in the colour of the eye and the hair, as might be expected from the numerous elements entering into the constitution of the present Berber populations.

In the social conflict between the Arab and Berber races, the almost unique spectacle is presented of two nearly equal elements (same origin, same religion, same government, same or analogous tribal groupings, at about the same cultural development) refusing to amalgamate to any great extent, although living in the closest proximity for over a thousand years. In this struggle the Arab seems so far to have had the advantage. Instances of Berberised Arabs occur, but are extremely rare, whereas the Berbers have not only everywhere accepted the Koran, but whole tribes have become assimilated in speech, costume, and usages to the Semitic intruders. It might therefore seem as if the Arab must ultimately prevail. But we are assured by the French observers that in Algeria and Tunisia appearances are fallacious, however the case may stand in Marocco and the Sahara. "The Arab," writes Dr Malbot, to whom I am indebted for some of these details, "an alien in Mauritania, transported to a soil which does not always suit him, so far from thriving tends to disappear, whereas

1 The Kababish and Baggara tribes, chief mainstays of the late Sudanese revolt, claim to be of unsullied Arab descent with long pedigrees going back to early Muhammadan times.

the Berber, especially under the shield of France, becomes more and more aggressive, and yearly increases in numbers. At present he forms at least three-fifths of the population in Algeria, and in Marocco the proportion is greater. He is the race of the future as of the past[1]."

This however would seem to apply only to the races, not to their languages, for we are elsewhere told that Arabic is encroaching steadily on the somewhat ruder Berber dialects[2]. Considering the enormous space over which they are diffused, and the thousands of years that some of the groups have ceased to be in contact, these dialects show remarkably slight divergence from the long extinct proto-Hamitic speech from which all have sprung. Whatever it be called—Kabyle, Zenatia, Shawia, Tamashek, Shluh—the Berber language is still essentially one, and the likeness between the forms current in Marocco, Algeria, the Sahara, and the remote Siwah Oasis on the confines of Egypt, is much closer, for instance, than between Norse and English in the sub-Aryan Teutonic group[3].

The Tibus.

But when we cross the conventional frontier between the contiguous Tuareg and Tibu domains in the central Sahara the divergence is so great that philologists are still doubtful whether the two languages are even remotely or at all connected. My own impression is that Tibu stands to Berber as Berber to Semitic on the one hand and to Basque on the other—all *disjecta membra* of a primeval mother-tongue, extinct for many thousands of years, and no more or even less capable of reconstruction than the organic Aryan mother-tongue on which so much unprofitable labour has been lavished.

The Tibus themselves, apparently direct descendants of the ancient Garamantes, have their primeval home in the Tibesti range, *i.e.* the "Rocky Mountains," whence they take their

[1] *Les Chaouias* etc., in *L'Anthropologie*, 1897, p. 14.

[2] p. 17.

[3] The words collected by Sir H. H. Johnston at Dwirat in Tunis show a great resemblance with the language of the Saharan Tuaregs, and the sheikh of that place "admitted that his people could understand and make themselves understood by those fierce nomads, who range between the southern frontier of Algeria and Tunis and the Sudan" (*Geogr. Jour.*, June, 1898, p. 590).

name[1]. There are two distinct sections, the northern *Tedas*, a name recalling the *Tedamansii*, a branch of the Garamantes located by Ptolemy somewhere between Tripolitana and Phazania (Fezzan), and the Southern *Dazas*, through whom the Tibus merge gradually in the negroid populations of central Sudan. This intermingling with the blacks dates from remote times, whence Ptolemy's remark that the Garamantes seemed rather more "Ethiopians" than Libyans[2]. But there can be no doubt that the full-blood Tibus, as represented by the northern section, are true Hamites, and although the type of the men is somewhat coarser than that of their Tuareg neighbours, that of the women is almost the finest in Africa. "Their women are charming while still in the bloom of youth, unrivalled amongst their sisters of North Africa for their physical beauty, pliant and graceful figures[3]."

It is interesting to notice amongst these somewhat secluded Saharan nomads the slow growth of culture, and the curious survival of usages which have their explanation in primitive social conditions. "The Tibu is always distrustful; hence, meeting a fellow-countryman in the desert, he is careful not to draw near without due precaution. At sight of each other both generally stop suddenly; then crouching and throwing the litham over the lower part of the face in Tuareg fashion, they grasp the inseparable spear in their right and the shangermangor, or bill-hook, in their left. After these preliminaries they begin to interchange compliments, inquiring after each other's health and family connections, receiving every answer with expressions of thanksgiving to Allah. These formalities usually last some minutes[4]." Obviously all this means nothing more than a doffing of the hat or a shake-hands amongst more advanced peoples; but it points to times when every stranger was a *hostis*, who later became the *hospes* (host, guest).

[1] *Ti-bu*="Rock People"; cf. *Kanem-bu*="Kanem People," southernmost branch of the family on north side of Lake Chad.

[2] Ὄντων δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἤδη μᾶλλον Αἰθιόπων (I. 8). I take ἤδη, which has caused some trouble to commentators, here to mean that, as you advance southwards from the Mediterranean seaboard, you find yourself on entering Garamantian territory already rather amongst Ethiopians than Libyans.

[3] Reclus, Eng. ed. vol. XI. p. 429.

[4] *Ib.* p. 430.

The Egyptian Hamites.

It will be noticed that the Tibu domain, with the now absolutely impassable Libyan desert[1], almost completely separates the western from the eastern section of the Hamites proper. Continuity, however, is afforded, both on the north along the shores of the Mediterranean to the Nile Delta (Lower Egypt), and on the south through Darfur and Kordofan to the White Nile, and thence down the main stream to Upper Egypt, and through Abyssinia, Galla and Somali lands to the Indian Ocean. Between the Nile and the east coast the domain of the Eastern Hamites stretches from the equator northwards to Egypt and the Mediterranean.

It appears therefore that Egypt, occupied for many thousands of years by an admittedly Hamitic people, might have been reached either by the Western Hamites by the Mediterranean route, or by the Eastern Hamites down the Nile. But it may be suggested that the Hamites were specialised in the Nile valley itself, and spread thence over North Africa, in which case Egypt need not, so to say, have been reached at all, but should be regarded as the cradle of the race. The point is insoluble, because, when appeal is made to the evidence of the Stone Ages, we find nothing to choose between such widely separated regions as Somaliland, Upper Egypt, and Mauritania, all of which have yielded superabundant proofs of the presence of man for incalculable ages, estimated by some palethnologists at several hundred thousand years. When the Nile flowed in a bed 400 or 500 feet higher than its present level it was inhabited by men who can scarcely be called primitive, for they were able to manufacture those wonderful stone implements discovered by Burton, de Morgan, Petrie, and others, to reproduce which would baffle the skill of hundreds of rude tribes still living in Africa, Australia, and South America. If it be asked, were these men Hamites? we can but answer, yes, Hamites *im Werden*, Hamites in process of specialisation, a process, it must be inferred, going on simultaneously in Somaliland, in Upper Egypt, and Mauritania, in fact, in the whole of

[1] From the enormous sheets of tuffs near the Khargheh Oasis Dr Zettel, geologist of G. Rohlf's expedition in 1876, thinks that even this sandy waste may have supported a rich vegetation in Quaternary times.

North Africa since pleistocene man wandered from Indo-Malaysia into that region.

Origins.

It might seem therefore that the question of Egyptian origins was settled by the mere statement of the case, and that there could be no hesitation in saying that the Egyptian Hamites were evolved on Egyptian soil, consequently are the true autochthones in the Nile valley. Yet there is no ethnological question more hotly discussed than this of Egyptian origins and culture, for the two seem inseparable. There are broadly speaking two schools: the African, whose fundamental views are above briefly set forth, and the Asiatic, which brings the Egyptians with all their works from the neighbouring continent. But, seeing that the Egyptians are now admitted to be Hamites, that there are no Hamites to speak of (let it be frankly said, none at all) in Asia[1], and that they have for untold ages occupied many millions of square miles in Africa, the more moderate members of the Asiatic school now allow that, not the people themselves, but their culture only came from western Asia (Mesopotamia). If so, this culture would of course have its roots in the delta, which is first reached by the Isthmus of Suez from Asia, and spread thence, say, from Memphis up the Nile to Thebes and Upper Egypt, and that is the assumption. But at

[1] The Kushite ghost should have been laid after Sir R. Burton wrote that to postulate a Kushite immigration to account for the Caucasian type and the Aryan 'miscegenation' in the races and languages of Egypt, was "one of the wildest theories ever propounded by mortal man." The Egyptologist of the Asiatic school, who holds, despite Herodotus, that art had no infancy in Egypt, and has a personal aversion to a prehistoric Stone Age (which he denies *à priori*), "begins by inventing a people settled somewhere near India. Having passed through the preliminary stages and reached the 'apogee of its civilization,' this people emigrates bodily westward, leaving no trace of itself in the old home, no signs of its exodus, no notice in history. It reaches Egypt, and falls to making pyramids and other masterpieces of the highest art, which afterwards begin to decay and become Egyptian. Marvellous to relate, this is the belief of sound and ripe scholars" (*Stones and Bones from Egypt and Midian*, in *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Nov. 1878, p. 296). The case is perfectly analogous to that of the American "Asiatics," who in the same wild way refuse an indigenous culture to the New World, and bring everything bodily from the Old.

that time there was no delta[1], or at least it was only in process of formation, a kind of debatable region between land and water, inhabitable mainly by crocodiles, and utterly unsuited to become the seat of a culture whose characteristic features are huge stone monuments, amongst the largest ever erected by man, and consequently needing solid foundations on *terra firma*. It further appears that although Memphis is very old, Thebes is much older, in other words, that Egyptian culture began in Upper Egypt, and spread not up but down the Nile. Thus all Asiatic claims are again excluded, unless indeed South Arabia formed part of the land of Punt (Somaliland?) from which Petrie is inclined to bring the Retu. But South Arabia is not Babylonia, so this will not help the "Asiatics" who with Hommel will have everything from Mesopotamia[2].

In a question of origins going back to such a prodigious antiquity, almost the first consideration is the climate, of which Dr Eberhard Fraas[3] has made a special study. That the aborigines were not, as at present, so closely hemmed in by the desert sands, is evident, he says, from the fabulous development of the stone industry during the Neolithic period in a region which is now a wilderness, where scarcely a few bedouins can find

[1] The Egyptians themselves had a tradition that when Menes moved north he found the Delta still under water. The sea reached almost as far as the Fayyúm, and the whole valley, except the Thebais, was a malarious swamp (Herod. II. 4). Thus late into historic times memories still survived that the delta was of relatively recent formation, and that the *Retu* (*Romitu* of the Pyramid texts, later *Rotu*, *Romi* etc.) had already developed their social system before the Lower Nile valley was inhabitable. Hence whether the Nile took 20,000 years (Schweinfurth) or over 70,000, as others hold, to fill in its estuary, the beginning of the Egyptian prehistoric period must still be set back many millenniums before the new era. "Ce que nous savons du Sahara, lui-même alors sillonné de rivières, atteste qu'il [the Delta] ne devait pas être habitable, pas être constitué à l'époque quaternaire" (M. Zaborowski, *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 655).

[2] As shown by G. Bertin, "no Egyptian tradition, either on the monuments, or on papyri, or preserved by classical writers, ever points to Asia as their first country," and he refers to Dr S. Birch's remark at the First Congress of Orientalists that "*no evidence whatever* supported the hypothesis of the emigration of the Egyptians from Asia" (*Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* XI. p. 436).

[3] *Corresp. Bl. d. d. Ges. f. Anthrop.* Feb. 1898, p. 10 sq.

sustenance for themselves and their wretched flocks. A moister climate must have prevailed, with springs and running waters, and the extensive terraces flanking the mouths of the mountain streams between Keneh and Kosseir, the well rolled pebbles, the beds 15 or 16 feet thick of calc-sinter (incrustations of carbonate of lime) in the now dry gorges of the Hammamat, undoubtedly deposited by springs, all show the former abundance of moisture in quite recent geological times. The same conclusion results from a study of the coral barrier-reefs skirting the shores of the Red Sea, with gaps at intervals opposite the wadi mouths, where the freshwater from the torrents prevented the polyps from building. We may therefore conclude that parts of the present wastes were inhabitable, and this solves the question where that magnificent Neolithic culture of the first dynasties originated, and whence the early Pharaohs drew those countless hosts for which the narrow Nile valley could never have afforded sustenance. Thus also are explained the numerous ancient settlements, the extensive quarries and mining operations, whose débris amid the now waterless uplands seem such an inexplicable puzzle. The more moist and temperate climate may be connected with the Ice Age farther north, as already suggested by Lepsius, who thought that to the glacial epoch of Europe corresponded a genial climate with a sufficient rainfall in the now overheated southern zones, and that in such an environment alone could be found the conditions needed for the development of a cultured people.

New Stone and Bronze Ages in Upper Egypt also indigenous.

In such a climate great progress was made, especially in the New Stone Age, which, as shown by M. J. de Morgan[1], must have been of very long duration. It has yielded a profusion of every imaginary kind of implements adapted to all the wants and usages of daily life. As elsewhere, this Age lingered on well into the Metal period, as seen in a beautiful flint knife plated with gold on which are carved animal figures. The flints come not only from ordinary stations, but also from very old graves and dwellings, such as the necropolis of El-Amrah, four or five miles from Abydos. Here

[1] *Recherches des Origines de l'Égypte: l'Age de la Pierre et des Métaux*, 1896.

were found quantities of very coarse earthenware, and also much finer pottery, embellished with geometrical tracings, figures of animals, and even hieroglyphics, showing on the same spot the actual slow transition from rudimentary arts to a high level of culture. M. Morgan's view is that this Neolithic industry belonged to an indigenous race, later conquered by a foreign people who introduced metallurgy and the civilisation of the monuments. The illustrations seem to show a double overlapping of flints surviving amongst the intruders, and of animal designs figured by them on the native pottery.

These first intruders M. Morgan brings from Asia, because they introduced bronze, which he supposes was invented in Central Asia or South China. But the argument is inconclusive, and in fact, considering the discordant views now current on the subject of bronze, is for the present of no weight. On the other hand, Maspero, Zaborowski, Mariette, Petrie and many other leading authorities now hold that the new comers, with whom the prehistoric metal period was ushered in, were, like the aborigines, of African origin. The earliest memories of the people were associated, not with Memphis, but with Abydos, where reigned Thoth and Osiris; and throughout the Old and Middle Empires all the domestic and other animals figured on the monuments were members of the African fauna. Such was the dog, a large greyhound with straight ears like the *caberu* of Abyssinia, and the greyhound still surviving among the Saharan Tibus and Tuaregs; in Egypt he was sacred to Anubis, whose priests were figured with heads of the greyhound type. Such were also the cat, resembling the Upper Nile wild breed, trained for the chase and mummified in prodigious numbers; the ox, ass, gazelle, sheep, goat, duck, goose, all of true African species. Neither horse nor camel, Asiatic and not African animals, came in at first: the former did not arrive till the New Empire, the latter apparently not till the Ptolemaic period[1]. It is also noteworthy that of the 11 skulls from El-Amrah measured by M. Fouquet all but one were distinctly

[1] Dr W. Cunningham says "unknown in the earliest period of Egyptian greatness" (*Western Civilisation*, etc., Cambridge University Press, 1898). But one might rather say in the very latest, for no reference appears to be made to the camel in any extant documents much before the New Era.

long-headed, of the type corresponding to Prichard's "Pelasgic," *i.e.* Sergi's Hamitic or Mediterranean.

M. Zaborowski points out[1] that nobody has yet been able even to suggest any part of the world, or any people, who were in possession of these same elements of culture before the Egyptians. He had already remarked[2] that there is absolutely no foundation for the view that the Retus arrived from Asia *viâ* the Isthmus of Suez. This was merely a reaction against those ancient and modern writers who traced Egyptian culture to Ethiopia, and the Egyptians to the Negroes. It was mainly based on the erroneous idea that there was no white race except those of Asiatic origin (Semites and Aryans). But we have now the Hamitic white race of African origin, located in Upper Egypt, home of Osiris[3], land of Thebes, whose foundation is long prior to all history. This region was divided into a number of independent petty states, with an organisation recalling that of the Berber tribes, and they were first welded into a compact political body by Menes, king of Thini. By founding Memphis, and thus removing the centre of power for the first time to Lower Egypt, Menes merely shifted to this region the advanced bulwark of a civilization, which may have already been threatened by predatory hordes from Asia, but had in any case first taken root at some immensely remote epoch in Upper Egypt.

Of course there are Asiatic elements even in the early Egyptian civilisation. Bronze art is very old, and two statuettes in this metal are attributed to the 5th or 6th dynasty, while in a tomb apparently earlier than the 4th Mariette found three wooden panels with bas-reliefs presenting the type of the Semitic race. From the 2nd or 3rd dynasty date other statues, such as that of Nefer, a young girl with ornaments in the Babylonian style. But all this merely proves that, as implied in the legendary Osirian wars, Egypt had relations with Asia in the very earliest historic,

[1] *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 654 sq.

[2] *Les Peuples Primitifs de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, in *Nouvelle Revue*, 1883.

[3] Osiris already belongs to the mythical age, and before his time the Retus were a rude and savage people addicted to cannibalism, from which they were weaned by Isis and Osiris:—'Εγὼ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ 'Οσίρεως τὰς ἀνθρωποφαγίας ἔπαυον (Kaibel, *Epigram. Græca*, p. XXI).

and probably even in prehistoric ages. Thus Snefru, last king of the 3rd dynasty, warred with the nomads of Arabia Petræa, and left records of his exploits on the rocks of Sinai. But such events are quite recent compared with the actual beginnings of Egyptian culture, which go back to an epoch twice as long as the historic period (Bunsen, Renan). Indications of a thoroughly established social and political organisation have been traced by Oppert back to 11,500 years B.C. Amongst the first cultivated plants were wheat, barley, sorghum, vetches, lupins, lentils, pease, most of which belong essentially to the African flora.

Corresponding with this progress in agriculture is the progress in the arts, as revealed by the bas-reliefs and inscriptions carved by Snefru on the rocks of the Wady Magharah, which although some 6000 years old, show a state of culture as fully developed as that under the New Empire, with thoroughly original features, and all the marks of a long previous existence. At this remote period written form had been given to the Egyptian language, which had already been completely developed and differentiated from the allied Libyan (Berber), and from the still more remotely connected Semitic family. When we consider the amazing tenacity both of the Hamitic and Semitic sections of this linguistic stock, such a statement alone should satisfy the most sceptical as to the immense antiquity of civilised man in the Nile valley. And proofs are accumulating that this race was already highly specialised with features of European type. At the Deshasheh necropolis nearly opposite Beni Suef, Petrie found in 1897 the portrait statue of Prince Nenkheftka of the 5th dynasty (3700 B.C.), a man of pleasing expression and "European features[1]." M. Loret also describes several royal persons from the tomb of Amenophis II. (1500 B.C.) as distinguished by luxuriant hair and well-preserved features "to a marked degree like those of the present Fellahin[2]."

Egyptian Type.

Sergi tabulates eight primary varieties of old Egyptian skulls with several sub-varieties, all specified in his formidable (some have called it bewildering) nomenclature, and all still persisting both in Egypt and amongst the

[1] *Deshasheh*, 15*th Mem. Egypt. Expl. Fund*, 1898.

[2] *Nature*, April 14, 1898, p. 566.

other Eastern Hamites: "The persistence of the race is therefore shown in this historical and most ancient people, which has had vicissitudes and interminglings enough to infer a complete change in its physical characters and the effacement of its old ethnic elements[1]."

Thanks to this amazing stability of the early types, Egypt is a region of quite exceptional interest to the anthropologist. Owing to the remarkable continuity of its now changeless climate, and of a historic record unbroken for over 7000 years, it affords a better illustration than most other lands of the still obscure principle of convergence in biological forms. That plants and animals should, under the environmental conditions, have undergone but slight change since Pharaonic days is perhaps no more than might be expected. But that the Retus type itself should have emerged in its integrity from such secular interminglings of peoples—the problematical Hyksos and Hittites, Petrie's "New Race," blue-eyed Libyans, continuous Ethiopic infiltrations, early and later Arabs and kindred Assyrian Semites, Persian, Greek, and Roman "Aryans," Levantines, Turks, Circassian Mamlúks, Albanians, Franks and others—is indeed a wonder perhaps best explained on the assumption that in certain cases environment is an all-potent crucible, in which foreign ingredients are fused in the general amalgam. It is not to be supposed, for instance, that the Moslem Arab bedouins have ever formed unions with the native Christian Kopts, direct descendants of the old Egyptians. Yet when the wooden statue of an official under Khephren (4200 B.C.) was brought to light, it was at once named the "village Sheikh," because of its striking resemblance to the then living local headman[2]. "The Egyptians themselves have come down from the Old Empire through all the vicissitudes of conquests, mixtures of races, changes of religion and language, so little altered that the fellah of to-day is often the image of the Egyptians who built the

Its persistence.

1 *Africa*, etc. p. 67.

2 Maspero also remarks that "the profile copied from a Theban mummy taken at hazard from a necropolis of the 18th dynasty, and compared with the likeness of a modern Luxor peasant, would almost pass for a family portrait" (*Dawn of Civ.* p. 48).

pyramids[1]." In most regions a general fusion of native and foreign peoples results in conformity to a new type different from the old; but in Egypt the foreign elements, even without commingling, tend to conform, *i.e.* converge towards the old Retus prototype. It is clear therefore that the Retus themselves are the outcome of their environment, and to that extent true aborigines, and not Kushite immigrants from Asia at the close of the New Stone Age. Nor is it likely that any fresh discoveries can now be made which will invalidate this conclusion.

Social Condition.

Yet, except the priestly and military castes, on whom the king relied for support, the whole of the population, whether nominally free or slaves, were doomed to a life of incessant toil, relieved from monotony by the irregular visits of the taxgatherer, when there were moanings and weeping throughout the land. "Shall I tell thee of the mason, how he endures misery? exposed to all the winds, while he builds without any garment but a belt, and while the bunch of lotus flowers [which is fixed] on the [completed] houses, is still far out of his reach, his two arms are worn out with work, his provisions are placed higgledy-piggledy amongst his refuse...when the work is quite finished, if he has bread he returns home, and his children have been beaten unmercifully [during his absence]....The shoemaker moans ceaselessly, and he gnaws the leather. The baker ...subjects the loaves to the fire...while his head is inside the oven his son holds him by the legs—if he slips he falls there into the flames[2]."

"The determination not to pay the taxes except under the stick was proverbial from ancient times. Whoever paid his dues before he had received a merciless beating would be overwhelmed with reproaches by his family, and jeered at without pity by his neighbours...When the tax fell due...for several days there was nothing to be heard but protestations, threats, beatings, cries of pain from the taxpayers, and piercing lamentations from women and children. The performance over, calm was reestablished, and the good people, binding up their wounds, resumed their

[1] Laing, *Human Origins*, p. 399.

[2] Sellier Papyrus, quoted by Maspero, p. 313.

round of daily life until the next taxgathering[1]." The bread above referred to was usually in the form of small round or oblong cakes about half-an-inch thick, and was so coarse and gritty that in the long run it ruined the strongest teeth[2]. It is this dire misery which, combined with their unchangeable type, connects the pyramid-builders through the long ages with the modern fellahin, who have only now been relieved from hopeless oppression by British intervention in Egypt.

Other Eastern Hamites—Bejas—Somals.

A brighter if ruder social state is presented by the kindred Eastern Hamites, who form a continuous chain of dark Caucasic peoples from the Mediterranean to the equator, and whose ethnical unity is now established by Sergi on anatomical grounds[3]. Bordering on Upper Egypt, and extending thence to the foot of the Abyssinian plateau, is the Beja section, whose chief divisions—Ababdeh, Hadendowa, Bishari, Beni-Amer—have from the earliest times occupied the whole region between the Nile and the Red Sea. Recent events have familiarised the English reader with many of their tribal names, and with some of their usages, notably that fondness for elaborate coiffures, which has earned for our late foes, now the friendly Hadendowas, the popular designation of "Fuzzy-Wuzzies." They never need have been foes, had our officials, at the time of the Mahdi's revolt, been able to understand that they were not "Arabs," but Hamites, whom a little diplomacy would have easily gained over to our side without any bloodshed[4].

In peaceful times many hours are daily given up to the toilet, and in Suakim "hair-dressing plays such an important part that a whole street is devoted to this business. I saw some twelve shops which dealt exclusively in the egg-shaped balls of mutton-fat, the favourite hair ointment. Close by were, perhaps, as many stores trading in various mineral powders in all colours of the rainbow,

[1] Maspero, p. 314, where Am. Marcellinus is quoted: "Erubescit apud eos, siquis non infitiando tributa plurimas in corpore vibices ostendat," XXII. ch. 16, 23.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 320.

[3] *Africa, passim.*

[4] See on this point my *Ethnology of Egyptian Sudan*, p. 10.

which are dusted over the greasy superstructure and regarded as most effective. Here are also half-a-dozen tents of the native hairdressers, where the mysteries of the toilet receive the finishing touch. The style differs, as a rule, but little from that of the other Beja tribes or even of the Abyssinians. The black, kinky, and wavy hair, essentially different from the fine woolly hair of the Negro, is drawn out so as to completely cover the ear, and is then disposed in two main divisions by a horizontal parting. The upper mass is raised to a top-knot, while the rest is plaited in small tresses with their ends unravelled. But the whole is first saturated with mutton-fat which causes it to retain the shape given to it by the deft hand of the artist[1]."

Through the Afars (Danákil) of the arid coastlands between Abyssinia and the sea, the Bejas are connected with the numerous Hamitic populations of the Somali and Galla lands.

Somal Genealogies.

For the term "Somal," which is quite recent and of course unknown to the natives, Major H. M. Abud[2] suggests an interesting and plausible explanation. Being a hospitable people, and milk their staple food, "the first word a stranger would hear on visiting their kraals would be 'Só mál,' *i.e.* "Go and bring milk." Strangers may have named them from this circumstance, and other tribal names may certainly be traced to more improbable sources.

The natives hold that two races inhabit the land:—(1) ASHA, true Somals, of whom there are two great divisions, *Dáród* and *Ishák*, both claiming descent from certain noble Arab families, though no longer of Arab speech; (2) HÁWÍYA, who are not counted by the others as true Somals, but only "pagans," and also comprise two main branches, *Aysa* and *Gadabursi*. In the national genealogies collected by Major Abud and Captain Cox, many of the mythical heroes are buried at or near Meit, which may thus be termed the cradle of the Somal race. From this point they spread in all directions, the Dáróds pushing south and driving the Gallas beyond the Webbe Shebel, and till lately raiding them as far as the Tana river. It should be noticed that

[1] Von Maltzau, quoted by Junker, *Travels*, I. p. 55.

[2] *Genealogies of the Somal*, 1896.

these genealogical tables are far from complete, for they exclude most of the southern sections, notably the Rahanwín who have a very wide range on both sides of the Jub.

In the statements made by the natives about true Somals and "pagans," race and religion are confused, and the distinction between Asha and Háwíya is merely one between Moslem and infidel. The latter are probably of much purer stock than the former, whose very genealogies testify to interminglings of the Moslem Arab intruders with the heathen aborigines.

Despite their dark colour Prof. C. Keller[1] has no difficulty in regarding the Somali as members of the "Caucasic Race." The Semitic type crops out decidedly in several groups, and they are generally speaking of fine physique, well grown, with proud bearing and often with classic profile, though the type is very variable owing to Arab and Negro grafts on the Hamitic stock. The hair is never woolly, but, like that of the Bejas, ringletty and less thick than the Abyssinian and Galla, sometimes even quite straight. The forehead is finely rounded and prominent, eye moderately large and rather deep-set, nose straight, but also snub and aquiline, mouth regular, lips not too thick, head sub-dolicho.

Great attention has been paid to all these Eastern Hamitic peoples by Ph. Paulitschke[2], who regards the Gallas as both intellectually and morally superior to the Somals and Afars, the chief reason being that the baneful influences exercised by the Arabs and Abyssinians affect to a far greater extent the two latter than the former group. He credits these primitive peoples originally ("ursprünglich") with a monotheistic belief, or rather with "a monotheism disturbed by diverse superstitions." But this view, which rests on the assumption that the aborigines in question distinguish between a Supreme God and a large number of spirits under him, is unsupported by any solid proof. The characteristic feature in their religion is the predominance of animistic over natural mythological concepts. A great part is played by bodiless genii; even their animal and tree worship has its roots in animism,

[1] "Reisestudien in den Somaliländern," *Globus*, LXX., p. 33 sq.

[2] *Ethnographie Nord-Ost-Afrikas: Die geistige Kultur der Danákil, Galla u. Somál.* Berlin, 1896, 2 vols.

while none of the Gallas or Somals unaffected by Islam are able to form any notion of a Supreme deity.

But it is amongst the Abyssinian Hamites that are met the strangest interminglings of primitive and more advanced religious ideas. On a seething mass of African heathendom, already in prehistoric times affected by early Semitic ideas, introduced by the Himyarites from South Arabia, was somewhat suddenly imposed an undeveloped form of Christianity by the preaching of Frumentius in the fourth century, with results that cannot be called satisfactory. While the heterogeneous ethnical elements have been merged in a composite Abyssinian nationality, the discordant religious ideas have never yet been fused in a consistent uniform system. Hence "Abyssinian Christianity" is a sort of by-word even amongst the Eastern Churches, while the social institutions are marked by elementary notions of justice and paradoxical "shamanistic" practices, interspersed with a few sublime moral precepts. Many things came as a surprise to the members of the Rennell Rodd Mission[1], who could not understand such a strange mixture of savagery and lofty notions in a Christian community which, for instance, accounted accidental death as wilful murder. The case is mentioned of a man falling from a tree on a friend below and killing him. "He was adjudged to perish at the hands of the bereaved family, in the same manner as the corpse. But the family refused to sacrifice a second member, so the culprit escaped." Dreams also are resorted to, as in the days of the Pharaohs, for detecting crime. A priest is sent for, and if his prayers and curses fail, a small boy is drugged and told to dream. "Whatever person he dreams of is fixed on as the criminal; no further proof is needed...If the boy does not dream of the person whom the priest has determined on as the criminal, he is kept under drugs until he does what is required of him."

To outsiders society seems to be a strange jumble of an iron despotism, which forbids the selling of a horse for over £10 under severe penalties, and a personal freedom or licence, which allows the labourer to claim his wages after a week's work and

[1] Count Gleichen, *Rennell Rodd's Mission to Menelik*, 1897.

forthwith decamp to spend them, returning next day or next month as the humour takes him. Yet somehow things hold together, and a few Semitic immigrants from South Arabia have for over 2000 years contrived to maintain some kind of control over the Hamitic aborigines who have always formed the bulk of the population in Abyssinia.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CAUCASIC PEOPLES (*continued*).

THE SEMITES—Cradle, Origins, and Migrations—Divisions: *Phœnicians; Assyrians; Amorites; Canaanites; Himyarites*—Phœnician Cradle and Migration—The Phœnician Alphabet—*Himyarites—Sabæan* and *Minæan* Origins—*The Amorites: Arameans, Syro-Chaldeans*—Later *Syrians—Ansariehs; Maronites; Druzes—The Jews*—Origins—Early and Later Dispersions—Diverse Physical Types—Present Range and Population—THE HITTITES—Conflicting Theories—*The Arabs*—Spread of the Arab Race and Language—Semitic Monotheism—Its Evolution—THE PELASGIANS, a wide-spread pre-Hellenic People of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages—Knowledge of Letters—The Cretan and other Ægean Scripts—Ægean Culture a Local Development—Its Age and Westward Spread from Troy to Scandinavia and Britain.

THE Himyaritic immigrants, who thus still hold sway in a foreign land, have long ceased to exist as a distinct nationality in their own country, where they had nevertheless ages ago founded flourishing empires, centres of one of the very oldest civilizations of which there is any record. Should future research confirm the now generally received view that Hamites and Semites are fundamentally of one stock, a view based both on physical and linguistic data, the cradle of the Semitic branch will also probably be traced to South Arabia, and more particularly to that south-western region known to the ancients as Arabia Felix, *i.e.* the Yemen of the Arabs. While Asia and Africa were still partly separated in the north by a broad marine inlet before the formation of the Nile delta, easy communication was afforded between the two continents farther south at the head of the Gulf of Aden, where they are still almost contiguous. By this route the primitive Hamito-Semitic

The Semites —Cradle, Origins, and Migrations.

populations may have moved either westwards into Africa, or, as would seem more probable, eastwards into Asia, where in the course of ages the Semitic type became specialised.

Divisions.

On this assumption South Arabia would necessarily be the first home of the Semites, who in later times spread thence north and east, and became further specialised as *Phœnicians* on the east coast of Arabia and the neighbouring Bahrein Islands; as *Assyrians* in Mesopotamia; as *Arabs* on the Nejd steppe; as *Canaanites*, *Moabites* and others in and about Palestine; as *Amorites* (*Aramæans*, *Syrians*), possibly even *Hittites*, in Syria and Asia Minor.

Against this broad view of Semitic origins and early migrations there appear to be no serious objections of any kind, while the hypothesis would seem to harmonise well with all the known conditions. In the first place is to be considered the very narrow area occupied by the Semites, both absolutely and relatively to the domains of the other fundamental ethnical groups. While the Mongols are found in possession of the greater part of Asia, and the Hamites with the Mediterraneans are diffused over the whole of north Africa, south and west Europe since the Stone Ages, the Semites, excluding later expansions—Himyarites to Abyssinia, Phœnicians to the shores of the Mediterranean, Moslem Arabs to Africa, Irania, and Transoxiana—have always been confined to the south-west corner of Asia, comprising very little more than the Arabian Peninsula, Mesopotamia, Syria, and (doubtfully) parts of Asia Minor. From this may be drawn two important inferences—first that, as suggested, the early Hamito-Semitic migrations were not from east to west, but from the larger African to the singularly contracted Asiatic area, and secondly that these migrations were comparatively late, not earlier at all events than the Neolithic period. At that time Asia was already well peopled, so that the proto-Semites could extend their range only as conquerors, and as such the Assyrians seem to make their appearance amongst the Akkado-Sumerians of Mesopotamia, advancing, not from the north (the Kurdistan uplands), but from the south (Persian Gulf), as is now generally believed by the best authorities[1].

[1] See p. 275.

Phœnician Cradle and Migrations.

It is the same with the Phœnicians, who, according to Theodore Bent and others, had their first seats in the Persian Gulf, whence they passed in quite late times to the Mediterranean, at first as traders and seafarers (Byblos, Tyre, Sidon), then as colonists and founders of empires (Leptis Magna, Carthage, Gades). In the earliest references to the Syrian coast, a cylinder of Sargon I. (3800 B.C.), and another of his son Dungi from Cyprus, no allusion is made to the Phœnicians, who had probably at that time not yet reached the Mediterranean. Herodotus learnt from the priests of Baal Melkart, the great god of Tyre, that this place was founded about 2700 B.C., while Old Tyre on the mainland was much more ancient. Yet Tyre was still but an obscure fishing town, while Byblos, their oldest settlement, Sidon, and Beryta (Beyrout) were flourishing seaports, referred to in a papyrus of about 1320 B.C. Amongst the places captured by Thutmes III. (1600 B.C.) are mentioned both Beryta and Akko (Acre).

Altogether Phœnician origins in their new seats on the Syrian seaboard cannot be carried back beyond about 3000 B.C. How long they may have dwelt in their first homes on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf can only be conjectured from the immense extent of the burial grounds explored by Bent in the Bahrein Islands. Obviously these remains date back into Neolithic times, and make it probable that the eastern Phœnicians had taken a chief part in the active trade carried on by the Sumerian city of Eridhu with Sinai, possibly even with the far East, 4000 or 5000 years before the new era.

Phœnician Alphabet.

Was the "Phœnician Alphabet" amongst the treasures introduced into Greece by these early distributors of eastern wares? Before Mr Evans's discovery of a pre-Phœnician syllabary in Crete, the story of Cadmus was accepted in its integrity, and must still be regarded as substantially true. It is possible that this syllabary of linear symbols, as has been suggested, may have been picked up by the Phœnician traders in the Archipelago, simplified by them in Tyre or Sidon, and then reintroduced into Hellas in the perfect form which it has since retained. But the suggestion, made apparently in order to transfer the credit of this stupendous invention from

the Semites to the "Aryans," is not necessary, and cannot be proved. The syllabary stands apart, as an independent or separate development, while the eastern origin of the "Alphabet" is for ever attested by the forms, the order, and very names of the letters, the Greek *alpha*, *beta*, *gamma*, *delta*, etc. being the Semitic *aleph*, ox; *beth*, house; *gimel*, camel; *daleth*, door, names themselves suggestive of the ultimate pictorial or hieroglyphic origin of the system[1]. Early forms or prototypes of these letters have been sought, with but partial success, amongst the Egyptian hieroglyphs, the Babylonian cuneiforms, and the rock-inscriptions of the Minæans and Sabæans in South Arabia.

These rock-inscriptions, great numbers of which have been recovered in recent years by Halévy, Glaser and others, show that in very remote times South Arabia, presumable cradle of the Semitic race, "was a land of culture and literature, a seat of powerful kingdoms and wealthy commerce, which cannot fail to have exercised an influence upon the general history of the world[2]." Everything points to *Saba* (*Sabæa*), *i.e.* Yemen, as the Sheba of Scripture, which, in the time of Solomon, had extensive trading relations with Tyre, probably also with India and the east coast of Africa from Abyssinia to Sofala beyond the Zambesi. That the gold brought by the Tyrians and the Queen of Sheba came through Sofala from the neighbouring mines worked by the Sabæan Semites has been all but proved by the investigations of Bent amid the ruins of Zimbabwe and other parts of Manica and Matabililand. Sabæa is shown by Assyrian inscriptions to have been a powerful state in the 8th century B.C., when it was conterminous northwards with the Ninevite empire under Tigleth-Pileser and Sargon III. Like the Egypt of Menes, it was formed by the fusion of several Himyarite principalities ruled by the so-called Makarib, "Blessed," or high-priest of Saba, who gave his name to the land, as Ashúr did to that of the kindred Assyrian Semites of Nineveh.

Sabæans.

[1] Cadmus also, despite the great authority of Aug. Fick (*Die Griechischen Personennamen*, 2nd ed. 1894), is a Phœnician name occurring in the form of Qadmu, with the sense of godlike, on a cuneiform tablet quoted by Sayce in *Acad.* Sept. 22, 1894, p. 217.

[2] Sayce, quoted by S. Laing, to whom I am indebted for some of these data (*Human Origins*, *passim*).

But Saba itself was preceded by the much older empire of *Ma'in*, *i.e.* of the *Minæans*, whose very name had almost died out till rescued from oblivion by the recently discovered inscriptions[1]. These have already yielded a long list of 33 Minæan kings, whose sway extended over the whole of Arabia as far as Syria and Egypt, as shown by the references to Gaza and to Teima (the Tema of Scripture) on the route between Sinai and Damascus.

Minæans.

Other inscriptions copied by Seetzen in 1810, and all grouped together as Himyaritic[2], proved to be in an old Semitic tongue, and in a script which is often disposed in vertical lines, and is the parent of the system introduced in remote times into Abyssinia, where it is still current. These Himyaritic documents are now found to comprise two distinct groups, an early Minæan with fuller and more archaic Semitic forms, and a later Sabæan, though even this language is more primitive than that of the oldest Assyrian and Hebrew records. Now the later Sabæan empire goes back with certainty to the time of Solomon, so that the 33 kings of the preceding Minæan dynasty, Sayce argues, may point to a past probably coeval with that of the earliest Egyptian and Akkadian records. When we remember that the Phœnicians looked to the Persian Gulf as their cradle, that they must have been settled in the Bahrein islands for long ages before their migration to the Mediterranean, and that Oannes, from whom the Akkado-Sumerians received the germs of their culture, had also traditionally come up from the sea, further research may yet show that South Arabia was the source whence the Chaldæans derived their first knowledge of the arts and letters. In any case this region may well have been the first home of the Semites, for "in Arabia alone we find Semites, and Semites only, from the very beginning,

[1] See Fritz Hommel's *Süd-Arabische Chrestomathie*, Munich, 1893.

[2] From *Himyar*, land of the *Homerites*, *i.e.* the "Red People," a term at one time applied to the South Arabian populations, and extended from them to the neighbouring Erythrean ("Red") Sea. It is interesting to note that the Egyptian artists also depicted the Retu men in red, but the women in yellow, in contradistinction to the black Ethiopians; while the Pun, *i.e.* the people of Punt ("Red Land") on both sides of the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, are now believed to be the ancestors of the Puni, or Phœnicians.

and the peculiar language and character of the race must have been first developed in the growing civilization which preceded the ancient Minæan Empire, probably as the later Stone Age was passing into that of metal[1]."

It should be mentioned that the Minæan script, often described as a modified form of Phœnician, reveals on the contrary a writing system more primitive than the oldest extant Phœnician letters. It is on this ground that Sayce asks whether the Phœnician itself may not be derived from the Minæan (rather than from the Egyptian hieroglyphs) as often assumed but never proved, or from the Cretan syllabary, as above suggested. The Minæan language is by far the most primitive member of the Semitic family, and Sayce shows that its characters afford a better explanation of the names of the Phœnician letters than do the hieroglyphs. Thus *aleph*, "ox," presents in Minæan the outlines of an ox's head, but bears no resemblance to any of the Egyptian symbols used for *a*[2]. Should this view be confirmed, Semitic origins must be set still further back to give time for the slow evolution of the Minæan script from the assumed pictorial prototypes to the already highly conventionalised forms of the oldest known inscriptions.

The Amorites.

It is noteworthy that the Amorites, unless they are to be identified with the Hittites, have always played a very subordinate part amongst the Semitic peoples. Their territory was properly that part of Syria which lay north of what was afterwards Palestine, although the name was extended by the Babylonians to the whole of Canaan. At a very early date the Amorites had also, though apparently only as peaceful settlers, reached Babylonia, where they had a colony at Sippara, and were able to hold high offices in the state (Pinches). After the Hebrews had migrated from this region ("Ur of Chaldæa") to Canaan (South Syria), the two peoples were often at war, but were sometimes also allies, engaged in international courtesies and "covenants," as in 1 Kings xx. 34, where we read that the kings of Israel and Syria severally "made streets" for their subjects in

[1] *Human Origins*, p. 94.

[2] Later, rejecting Mr Evans's suggested Cretan theory, Sayce declares his present belief to be "that the Phœnician alphabet came from Arabia" (*Academy*, Aug. 29, 1896, p. 149).

Damascus and Samaria. From Babylonia those early Amorites appear to have wandered up the Tigris to Kurdistan and the Lake Urmia district, where they are now represented by a few groups of Christians commonly but wrongly called "Nestorians," being simply eastern Christians with a national rite[1]. They call themselves Kaldani (Chaldæans) and still speak, besides Arabic, a Syro-Chaldæan (Aramaic) dialect written in a modified form of the Syriac (Estranghelo) script[2]. Strange to say some of these Kaldani are still in the tribal state[3], unless we suppose that this is a case of reversion under the influence of the surrounding Kurdish tribes.

Syro-Chaldæans.

In Syria the whole population has become Arabised in speech, while the majority (Maronites of the Lebanon and others) have long been Christians of the Syrian rite. They possess a copious religious literature, adorned by the names of St Ephrem and John of Damascus, and enriched by a valuable version of Scripture (the *Peshitto* "correct")[4] and some patristic writings still consulted by commentators. All these writings are in the Aramaic, a distinct branch of the Semitic family, which appears to hold a position somewhat intermediate between the Assyrian of the cuneiform documents and Phœnician. After the dispersion of the ten tribes and the Babylonian captivity a slightly modified form of Syriac, often called "Syro-Chaldaic," became the current speech of Palestine, where Hebrew, Phœnician, and the other closely related Canaanitish dialects have been extinct as vernaculars for quite 2000 years.

Later Syrians.

[1] Max von Thielmann, *Journey in the Caucasus* etc., 1875, vol. 2, p. 72.

[2] M. Rubens, *Les Dialectes Neo-Araméens de Salamas* etc., Paris, 1884; and Ignazio Guidi in *Zeitschr. d. Morgen. Ges.* XXXVI. p. 293 sq.

[3] Such are the *Kojamis* about the source of the Tigris (1000 families), the *Tiaris* in the Salamas district (10,000) and the *Tokábis* of the Upper Tigris (300).

[4] This version is not to be confused with the very old text of the Pentateuch in a Hebrew-Aramaic dialect, written in the original Hebrew character, which is jealously preserved at Nablús (Sichem) by a small "Samaritan" community now dying out. They are an interesting link between present times and Palestine before the Captivity, living under a Sheikh, Jakúb Shalaibi, whose subjects were reduced a few years ago to 133.

Other ethnical groups, such as the *Druzes*, on the Lebanon and now also in the Hauran district, and the *Ansarieh* of the mountain range named from them, still linger on, either as survivals of the old pagan and Christian times, or as Moslem sectaries with secret rites and observances surrounded by much mystery. Theodore Bent[1] connects the Ansarieh, whom he visited in the Tarsus district, with the Ali-Ullah-hi of north Persia, and thinks their occult religion is practised by many other scattered groups in Asia Minor. Their reputed founder, Barba Nasere, made the Godhead of Ali the basis of the system, and they also admit a Trinity—the Ain-Min-Sin, or Ali the Father, Muhammad the Son, and Salman el-Farsi the Holy Ghost—which, with the use of wine in their secret feasts, would seem to show that this cult is a graft of the Shiah Moslem sect on some early form of Christianity. The Ansarieh prayers are described as "very beautiful and impressive, and there are many curious points analogous to freemasonry in connection with the initiation of a new member[2]."

Ansarieh.

With the Hebrew or Israelitish inhabitants of south Syria (Canaan, Palestine, "Land of Promise") we are here concerned only in so far as they form a distinct branch of the Semitic family. The term 'Jews[3],' properly indicating the children of Judah, fourth son of Jacob, has long been applied generally to the whole people, who since the disappearance of the ten northern tribes have been mainly represented by the tribe of Judah, a remnant of Benjamin and a few Levites, *i.e.* the section of the nation which to the number of some 50,000 returned to south Palestine (kingdom of Judæa) after the Babylonian captivity. These were doubtless later joined by some of the dispersed northern tribes, who from Jacob's alternative name were commonly called the "ten tribes of Israel." But all such Israelites had lost their separate nationality, and were consequently absorbed in the royal tribe of Judah. Since the suppression of the various revolts

The Jews.

1 *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* June, 1890, p. 225.

2 *Ibid.*

3 From Old French *Juis*, Lat. *Judæi*, *i.e.* Sons of Jehúdah (Judah). See my article, *Jews*, in Cassell's *Storehouse of General Information*, 1893, from which I take many of the following particulars.

under the Empire, the Judæi themselves have been a dispersed nationality, and even before those events numerous settlements had been made in different parts of the Greek and Roman worlds, as far west as Tripolitana, and also in Arabia and Abyssinia.

But most of the present communities probably descend from those of the great dispersion after the fall of Jerusalem (70 A.D.), increased by considerable accessions of converted "Gentiles," for the assumption that they have made few or no converts is no longer tenable. In exile they have been far more a religious body than a broken nation, and as such they could not fail under favourable conditions to spread their teachings, not only amongst their Christian slaves, but also amongst peoples, such as the Abyssinian Falashas, of lower culture than themselves. In pre-Muhammadan times many Arabs of Yemen and other districts had conformed, and some of their Jewish kings (Asad Abu-Karib, Dhu Nowas, and others) are still remembered. About the 7th century all the Khazars—a renowned Turki people of the Volga, the Crimea, and the Caspian—accepted Judaism, though they later conformed to Russian orthodoxy. The Visigoth persecution of the Spanish Jews (5th and 6th centuries) was largely due to their proselytising zeal, against which, as well as against Jewish and Christian mixed marriages, numerous papal decrees were issued in medieval times.

Diverse Physical Types.

To this process of miscegenation is attributed the great variety of physical features observed amongst the Jews of different countries, while the distinctly red type cropping out almost everywhere has been traced by Sayce and others to primordial interminglings with the Amorites ("Red People"). Dr Dalby declares that there are all kinds of Jews—brown, white, dark; Jews with black and with blue eyes; tall, short; concluding that there is, therefore, no longer any question of a Jewish race at all[1]. Nevertheless certain marked

[1] Felix von Luschan also finds that "of our modern Jews nearly 50°/₀ are brachy, 11 have fair complexion, and not more than 5 correspond to what we have learned to be the real old Semitic type" (*Science*, Jan. 12, 1894, p. 21). He thinks that the majority of living Jews have the short-headed Armenian or Hittite type, because "they are the descendants of an Armenoid population that had only accepted Semitic writing and language in about 1000 B.C." (*ib.*)

characteristics—large hooked nose, prominent watery eyes, thick pendulous and almost everted under lip, rough frizzly lustreless hair—are sufficiently general to be regarded as racial traits.

The race is richly endowed with the most varied qualities, as shown by the whole tenour of their history. Originally pure nomads, they became excellent agriculturists after the settlement in Canaan, and since then they have given proof of the highest capacity for science, letters, erudition of all kinds, finance, music, and diplomacy. The reputation of the medieval Arabs as restorers of learning is largely due to their wise tolerance of the enlightened Jewish communities in their midst, and on the other hand Spain and Portugal have never recovered from the national loss sustained by the expulsion of the Jews in the 14th and 15th centuries. In late years the persecutions, especially in Russia, have caused a fresh exodus from the east of Europe, and by the aid of philanthropic capitalists flourishing agricultural settlements have been founded in Palestine and Argentina. From statistics taken in various places since 1880 the Jewish communities are at present estimated at about 6,500,000, of whom 5,500,000 are in Europe, 420,000 in Africa, 250,000 in Asia, the rest in America and Australia.

The Hittites.

Intimately associated with all these Aramaic and Canaanitic Semites were a mysterious people who have been identified with the *Hittites*[1] of Scripture, and to whom this name has been extended by common consent. They are also identified with the *Kheta* of the Egyptian monuments[2], as well as with the *Khatti* of the Assyrian cuneiform texts. Indeed all these are, without any clear proof, assumed to be the same people, and to them are ascribed a considerable number of stones, cylinders, and gems from time to time picked up at various points between the Middle Euphrates and the Mediterranean, engraved in a kind of hieroglyphic or rather pictorial

1 First mentioned in Gen. xxv. 9: "Zohar the Hittite."

2 This identification is based on "the casts of Hittite profiles made by Petrie from the Egyptian monuments. The profiles are peculiar, unlike those of any other people represented by the Egyptian artists, but they are identical with the profiles which occur among the Hittite hieroglyphs" (A. H. Sayce, *Acad.* Sept. 1894, p. 259).

script, which has been variously deciphered according to the bias or fancy of epigraphists. This simply means that the "Hittite texts" have not yet been interpreted, and are likely to remain unexplained, until a clue is found in some bilingual document, such as the Rosetta Stone, which surrendered the secret of the Egyptian hieroglyphs.

Meanwhile the Hittite language and people are proved to be Semites, Pelasgians, "Turanians," or Ural-Altaic or Akkado-Sumerians, of all of which views one may say with Prof. Peter Jensen that they "are without foundation, and their results are destitute of value[1]." Is the same to be said of the solution proposed, or rather revived by Jensen himself? I am not competent to decide, and can but say that his theory, which connects the Hittite language with the Armenian branch of the Aryan family, has been favourably received, and seems plausible. In the Hittite area, which has still to be defined, he admits a Semitic element, which was in remote times Aryanised in speech by Indo-European intruders speaking an archaic form of the Armenian language.

This view agrees well with some of the known conditions, and is independently supported by the results of Von Luschan's explorations in Senjirli, as well as by his theory on the modifications of the Semitic type in western Asia by early interminglings of Amorites and Jews with Hittites in this region. In North Syria, land of the Amorites, "nearly all the heads are brachy, with indices near to 90; and these same brachy elements we find everywhere in Western Asia; we find them more or less prominent even with the modern Greeks, Armenians, and Turks of Asia Minor, and especially the Armenians are most remarkable

[1] Various papers in the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society, 1893–96, and *Hittiter und Armenier*, a scholarly work which appeared in 1898 almost simultaneously with C. R. Conder's *The Hittites and their Language*. This last is singularly inconclusive, and seems to fall between two stools by attempting to compare the Hittite system "on the one hand with what is called the *Asian syllabary*, including the Cypriote syllables, and the extra letters of the Lycian and Carian alphabets, which are generally admitted to be of the same origin; on the other by comparing the sounds and forms of the oldest known Sumerian emblems" (p. 215). Peiser's "Turanians" and Reinach's "Pelasgians" seem equally wide of the mark.

for the nearly complete uniformity of their types, for their dark complexion, for their extreme brachycephalism and for their large and hooked 'Jewish' nose.... The old brachy race [of Syria and Asia Minor], which from the beginning was utterly distinct from any Semitic tribe, can only be identified with the Hittites—the same Hittites mentioned as a Syrian tribe in the Bible, which had been a strong and formidable enemy to Ramses II. [*Kheta*], and were finally conquered by Assyrian kings in long wars, as we read in the Assyrian annals from the 9th to the 7th century B.C.[1]"

At Senjirli, *i.e.* the Sammál mentioned in the Assyrian texts as a Hittite station in north Syria, were found numerous Hittite carvings with figures of strikingly Armenian type, so that "we cannot err if we consider the inhabitants of Sammál as the direct ancestors of the modern Armenians"[2]. But the presence of Semites in the same old royal city is shown by two inscriptions of the 9th and 8th centuries B.C., both in characters closely resembling those of the famous Moabite inscription, and in a proto-Aramaic or proto-Hebrew language. Here we seem to find Semites and Armenians in actual contact, their fusion resulting in what Von Luschan and Jensen would call Hittites.

The Arabs.

In marked contrast to these mixed Semitic populations of western Asia stand out the Arabs of the Nejd plateau, who have to this day preserved their Semitic type and speech almost in their full integrity, and whose destiny it has been to absorb, or at least impose their language on, all the other members of the Semitic family, the cosmopolitan Jews and the Himyaritic rulers of Abyssinia alone excepted. We have already seen how these fiery nomads, who in Muhammadan times have overrun north Africa, stand related to their remote Hamitic kinsmen, the Berber aborigines of that region. But they have also ranged north to Mesopotamia and Syria, and the great cities of Bagdad, Damascus, and Aleppo have long been centres of Arab cult and culture. Here again Von Luschan points out that of all the Semites the Bedouins alone form a homogeneous unity, such as is represented on the earliest Egyptian monuments, while the oldest Phœnician skulls "seem identical with old and

[1] *Jews and Hittites*, *Science*, Jan. 12, 1894.
[2] *Ibid.*

modern Bedouin skulls, so that we must consider the modern Bedouins as pure descendants of the old Semitic race. They have long narrow heads, dark complexion, and a short, small and straight nose, which is in every respect the direct counterpart of what we are accustomed to call a 'typical Jewish race[1]'.

Elsewhere—Iberia, Sicily, Malta[2], Irania, Central Asia, Malaysia—the Arab invaders have failed to preserve either their speech or their racial individuality. In some places (Spain, Portugal, Sicily) they have disappeared altogether, leaving nothing behind them beyond some slight linguistic traces, and the monuments of their wonderful architecture, crumbling Alhambras or stupendous mosques re-consecrated as Christian temples. But in the eastern lands their influence is still felt by multitudes, who profess Islám and use the Arabic script in writing their Persian, Turki, or Malay languages, because some centuries ago those regions were swept by a tornado of rude Bedouin fanatics, or else visited by peaceful traders and missionaries from the Arabian peninsula.

Semitic Monotheism.

The monotheism proclaimed by these zealous preachers is often spoken of as a special inheritance of the Semitic peoples, or at least already possessed by them at such an early period in their life-history as to seem inseparable from their very being. But it was not so. Before the time of Allah or of Yahveh every hill-top had its tutelar deity; the caves and rocks and the very atmosphere swarmed with "jins"; Assyrian and Phœnician pantheons, with their Baals, and Molochs, and Astartes and Adonais, were as thickly peopled as those of the Hellenes and Hindus, and in this, as in all other natural systems of belief, the monotheistic concept was gradually evolved by a slow process of elimination. Nor was the process perfected by all the Semitic peoples—Canaanites, Assyrians, Amorites, Phœnicians, and others having always remained at the polytheistic stage—but only by the Hebrews and the Arabs, the two more richly endowed members

[1] *Science*, Jan. 12, 1894.

[2] The rude Semitic dialect still current in this island appears to be fundamentally Phœnician (Carthaginian), later affected by Arabic and Italian influences. (M. Mizzi, *A Voice from Malta*, 1896, *passim*.)

of the Semitic family. Even here a reservation has to be made, for we now know that there was really but one evolution, that of Yahveh, the adoption of the idea embodied in Allah being historically traceable to the Jewish and Christian systems.

The Pelasgians.

Should the Hittites prove to be a Semito-Armenian blend, in them will be found a direct transition between the eastern and western populations. On the Semitic side they range to the Persian Gulf and Irania, while the Armenian element connects them with the aborigines of Asia Minor—Cappadocians, Lycians, Carians, Leleges, perhaps Lydians and Phrygians. With these last we pass through the Troad and the Propontis to the kindred Thracians, Pæones, Tyrrheni, Illyri and other pre- or proto-Hellenic peoples, grouped by some authors collectively as "Pelasgians." Invented, as has been said, for the purpose of confounding future ethnologists, these Pelasgians certainly present an extremely difficult racial problem, the solution of which has hitherto resisted the combined attacks of ancient and modern students. When Dionysius tells us bluntly that they were Greeks[1], we fancy the question is settled off-hand, until we find Herodotus describing them a few hundred years earlier as aliens, rude in speech and usages, distinctly not Greeks, and in his time here and there (Thrace, Hellespont) still speaking apparently non-Hellenic dialects[2]. Then Homer several centuries still earlier, with his epithet of δῖοι, occurring both in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*[3], exalts them almost above the level of the Greeks themselves. But perhaps in these seeming contradictions we may have a key to the puzzle, one which will also fit in both with Sergi's Mediterranean theory, and with the results of recent archæological researches in the Ægean lands. If the pre-Mykenæan culture revealed by Schliemann and others in the Troad, Mykenæ, Argos, Tiryns, by Mr A. J. Evans in Crete, by Cesnola in Cyprus, be ascribed to a pre-Hellenic rather than to a proto-Hellenic people, then the classical references will explain themselves, while this pre-Hellenic race will be readily

[1] Τὸ τῶν Πελασγῶν γένος Ἑλληνικόν.

[2] I. 57. [3] *Il.* 10, 429; *Od.* 19, 177.

identified with the Pelasgians, as this term is understood by Sergi.

It is, I suppose, universally allowed that Greece really was peopled before the arrival of the Hellenes, which term is here to be taken as comprising all the Aryan intruders of Hellenic speech. On their arrival the Hellenes therefore found the land not only inhabited, but inhabited by a cultured people more civilized than themselves, that is to say, the pre-Mykenæans, Sergi's Pelasgian branch of the Mediterranean or Afro-European stock, whom the proto-Hellenes naturally regarded as their superiors, and whom their first singers also naturally called δῖοι Πελασγοί[1]. But in the course of a few centuries[2] these Pelasgians became Hellenized, all but a few scattered groups, which lagging behind in the general social progress are now also looked upon as barbarians, speaking barbaric tongues, and are so described by contemporary historians. Then these few remnants of a glorious but forgotten past are also merged in the Hellenic stream, and can no longer be distinguished from other Greeks by contemporary writers. Hence for Dionysius the Pelasgians are simply Greeks,

Pelasgians a great and wide-spread People.

[1] "We recognize in the Pelasgi an ancient and honourable race, ante-Hellenic, it is true, but distinguished from the Hellenes only in the political and social development of their age....Herodotus and others take a prejudiced view when, reasoning back from the subsequent Tyrrhenian Pelasgi, they call the ancient Pelasgians a rude and worthless race, their language barbarous, and their deities nameless. Numerous traditionary accounts, of undoubted authenticity, describe them as a brave, moral, and honourable people, which was less a distinct stock and tribe, than a race united by a resemblance in manners and the forms of life" (W. Wachsmuth, *The Historical Antiquities of the Greeks*, etc., Engl. ed. 1837, I. p. 39). Remarkable words to have been written before the recent revelations of archæology in Hellas.

[2] That the two cultures went on for a long time side by side is evident from the different social institutions and religious ideas prevailing in different parts of Hellas during the strictly historic period. Thus there is no trace of fetishism in Homer, who represents the Achaian (Hellenic) side, whereas fetish worship, as popularly understood, prevailed in Arcadia, Attica, and other Pelasgic lands. So with totemism, and the dark Poseidon of the Pelasgians who was finally eclipsed by the fair Apollo, Zeus, and other gods of the Achaioi. It is a vast subject, which has yet been scarcely touched; its elucidation will explain much in the obscure ethnical relations of prehistoric Greece.

which in a sense may be true enough. All the heterogeneous elements have been fused in a single Hellenic nationality, built upon a rough Pelasgic substratum, and adorned with all the graces of Hellenic culture.

Now to make good this hypothesis, it is necessary to show, first, that the Pelasgians were not an obscure tribe, a small people confined to some remote corner of Hellas, but a widespread nation diffused over all the land; secondly, that this nation, as far as can now be determined, presented mental and other characters answering to those of Sergi's Mediterraneans, and also such as might be looked for in a race capable of developing the splendid Ægean culture of pre-Hellenic times.

Pre-Hellenes of the Mykenæan Ages.

On the first point it may suffice to say that the Pelasgians were everywhere[1], so much so that the difficulty rather is to discover a district where their presence was unknown. They fill the background of Hellenic origins, and even spread beyond the Hellenic horizon, to such an extent that there seems little room for any other people between the Adriatic and the Hellespont. Prof. W. Ridgeway[2] has brought together a good many passages which clearly establish their universal range, as well as their occupation especially of those places where have been found objects of Mykenæan and pre-Mykenæan culture, such as engraved gems, pottery, implements, buildings, inscriptions in pictographic and syllabic scripts. In Crete they had the "great city of Knossos" in Homer's time[3]; not only was Mykenæ theirs, but the whole of Peloponnesus took the name of Pelasgia; the kings of Tiryns were Pelasgians, and Aeschylus calls Argos a Pelasgian city; an old wall at Athens was attributed to them, and the people of Attica had from all time been Pelasgians[4]. Orchomenus in Bœotia was founded by a colony from Pelasgiotis in Thessaly; Lesbos also was called Pelasgia, and Homer knew of Pelasgians in the Troad. Their settlements are further

[1] κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἐπεπόλασε (Strabo, v. 220). This might almost be translated, "they flooded the whole of Greece."

[2] *Academy*, July 13, 1895, p. 32; and elsewhere.

[3] *Od.* XIX.

[4] *Thuc.* I. 3.

traced to Egypt, to Rhodes, Cyprus, Epirus—where Dodona was their ancient shrine—and lastly to various parts of Italy.

ÆGEAN CULTURE.

Moreover, the Pelasgians were traditionally the civilising element, who taught people to make bread, to yoke the ox to the plough, and to measure land. It would appear from these and other allusions that there were memories of still earlier aborigines, amongst whom the Pelasgians appear as a cultured people, introducing perhaps the arts and industries of the pre-Mykenæan Age. But the assumption, based on no known data, is unnecessary, and it seems more reasonable to look on this culture as locally developed, to some extent under eastern (Egyptian, Babylonian, Hittite?) influences[1]. Here it is important to note that the Pelasgians were credited with a knowledge of letters[2], and all this may perhaps be taken as sufficient confirmation of our second postulate. At least if a writing system be regarded as the highest achievement of civilised man, there need no longer be any hesitation in ascribing all the other arts and industries of the "Ægean school" to our Pelasgians. That the Hellenes were at first, and probably long after their advent in Greece, an illiterate people, might almost be inferred from the solitary reference in Homer to writing of any kind[3], the more so since the writer is a Pelasgian king of Argos. The reference thus shows that the Pelasgians were at that time a cultured people, who corresponded with each other on both sides of the Ægean, apparently in a script now revealed by the researches

[1] This idea of an independent evolution of western (European) culture is steadily gaining ground, and is strenuously advocated, amongst others, by M. Salomon Reinach, who has made a vigorous attack on what he calls the "oriental mirage," *i.e.* the delusion which sees nothing but Asiatic or Egyptian influences everywhere. Sergi of course goes further, regarding the Mediterranean (Iberian, Ligurian, Pelasgian) cultures not only as local growths, but as independent both of Asiatics and of the rude Aryan hordes, who came rather as destroyers than civilisers. This is one of the fundamental ideas pervading the whole of his *Arii e Italici*, and some earlier writings.

[2] Pausanias, III. 20, 5.

[3] The famous σήματα λυγρὰ "fatal signs" of *Il.* VI. 168, called at l. 178 σῆμα κακὸν, "evil script," written in a "folding tablet" by Proetus, king of Argos, and addressed to his father-in-law, the king of Lycia, to compass the destruction of the bearer, Bellerophon.

of Mr Evans in Crete[1]. Here were found, not one, but two systems, a pictorial or hieroglyphic quite independent of the Egyptian, and a linear or syllabic, the latter, it would seem, developed from the former, while both overlapped each other, *i.e.* were in concurrent use. Although some of the pictographs resemble the Hittite symbols, they form as a whole an independent group possibly of Cretan origin, though possibly also belonging to an extensive hieroglyphic system spread over all the Ægean lands, including Asia Minor and Peloponnesus. Similarly the linear characters, assumed to be degraded Cretan pictographs, show analogies with the Cypriote, Lycian, and other syllabaries, so that we may here also have a syllabic system current in the same region in Mykenæan times, or even earlier. Was it in this script that King Proetus wrote his *σήματα λυγρά*? If so, should the document be recovered (archæologists have accustomed us to such surprises) there are prospects that it would not long remain undeciphered. Dr M. Much has already set to work with German patience on the syllabary with not unpromising results[2], despite a somewhat doubtful initial assumption. Supposing that the script is in some archaic form of the Greek language, he takes a given symbol to have the sound of the first letter of the corresponding Greek word, on the principle of A for an Apple in children's pictorial alphabets. Thus the character representing an axe would have the phonetic value of A, this being the first letter of the Greek word Ἀξίνη, an axe, and so on. Of course everything depends on the language, which, considering some ascertained dates such as that of Sargon I. (3800 B.C.), was more probably Pelasgic or pre-Hellenic. So the matter stands at present.

The Ægean Scripts.

It is agreed that the Ægean culture was antecedent to a knowledge of iron, and belonged in fact to the Bronze Age, with its roots buried deeply in the preceding Neolithic period. Mr Evans's view[3] is that the arts and industries were developed first in the Archipelago (Crete, Cyprus, etc.), and later on the Greek mainland (Mykenæ, Argos, etc.), and in Asia Minor (Lycia, the

1 *Cretan Pictographs and Præ-Phœnician Script*, 1896; and elsewhere.

2 *Globus*, LXXI. p. 74 sq.

3 Paper read at the Meeting of the Brit. Assoc. Liverpool, 1896.

Troad) under eastern influences, but still independently, in so far that the eastern models were not slavishly borrowed, but rather assimilated and still further improved. Moreover, it was from the Ægean centre, and not directly from the East, that the arts of the Bronze and later periods were introduced into Europe, so that the Ægean is to be regarded as the connecting link between East and West, between, for instance, the bronzes of Ireland and Scandinavia on the one hand and those of Egypt and Babylonia on the other. His conclusions being based, not only on his own researches, but also on those of Schliemann, Tsountas and others in Hissarlik (Troy), Tiryns, Mykenæ, Argos, Cyprus, together with the revelations of the Swiss lake-dwellings and the Terramare of north Italy, have a solid foundation in fact, and are now largely accepted by archæologists. The old views respecting the "Etruscan" or "Semitic" origin of the Western Bronze culture, are falling into the background, and making way for the several periods of Ægean culture, as determined by the finds in the second city of Troy, in Amorgos, under the volcanic bed in the island of Thera, in the tombs of Mykenæ and elsewhere.

Westward Spread of Ægean Culture.

The first period covers the wide domain comprised by Switzerland and Upper Italy, the Danube basin (especially Hungary) and the Balkan peninsula; it is continued throughout a great part of Asia Minor, and at last ends in Cyprus. In this artistic domain, in which Asia Minor appears as a part of Europe, the later Ægean culture was evolved mainly along the sea-coasts, for "life springs from water." The assumption that navigation in the eastern Mediterranean had its rise on the unsheltered Syrian seaboard, where we now know that the Phœnicians arrived at a relatively late period, can no longer be maintained. The Ægean islands were the natural home of the earliest efforts of seafaring man, and thus was here stimulated a higher degree of culture, which reacted not only on the whole of the European domain, but also influenced the earlier Egyptian and Asiatic fields themselves.

But the influences were mutual, as shown by the Ægean imitation of the Babylonian cylinders and other objects, and especially by the spiral motive in ornamentation, which already appears in the Amorgos (pre-Mykenæan) period, and later

plays so great a part in European art, while absent from the earliest productions of Asia Minor and the Danubian lands. This motive, however, is shown by Petrie to be ultimately of Egyptian origin, being met on the scarabs of the 4th dynasty. The great development of the spiral and of other foreign designs in Mykenæan art can be explained only on the assumption of contact between Egypt and the Ægean about 1000 years earlier than had hitherto been supposed[1].

[1] See p. 20.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CAUCASIC PEOPLES (*continued*).

THE PEOPLES OF ARYAN SPEECH—The "Proto-Aryans" of two Types—Linguistic Relations in Greece and Italy—Ethnical Relations in North Germany—TEUTONIC ORIGINS—Areas of Specialisation—*The Bastarnæ*—*The Meso-Goths*—Later Migrations—Modification of the Teutonic Type—De Lapouge's New Doctrine—THE KELTO-SLAVS: Their Ethnical Position defined—Aberrant *Tyrolese* Type—*Rhætians* and *Etruscans*—Etruscan Origins—*The Kelts*—Origins—Q-speaking *Gaels* and P-speaking *Kymry*—Past and Present Divisions—Migrations—Etymologies—*The Picts*—Origins and Later Connections—Picts and *Scots*—Ethnic Relations in Britain—Prehistoric and Historic Races—Long-heads and Round-heads—*Angles* and *Saxons*—Formation of the English Nation—Ethnic Relations in Ireland—and Scotland—Present Constitution of the British Peoples—The English Language—*The French Nation*—Constituent Elements—Mental Traits—*The Spaniards and Portuguese*—Ethnic Relations in Italy—*Ligurian*, *Illyrian*, and *Aryan Elements*—The Present *Italians*—Art and Ethics—*The Rumanians*—Ethnic Relations in Greece—*The Hellenes*—Origins and Migrations—The *Lithuanian* Factor—*Æolians; Dorians; Ionians*—The Hellenic Legend—The Greek Language—THE SLAVS—Origins and Migrations—*Sarmatians* and *Budini*—*Wends*, *Chekhs*, and *Poles*—The Southern Slavs—Migrations—*Serbs*, *Croats*, *Bosnians*—*The Albanians*—*The Russians*—Panslavism—Russian Origins—*Alans* and *Ossets*—Aborigines of the Caucasus—THE IRANIANS—Ethnic and Linguistic Relations—*Persians*, *Tajiks* and *Galchas*—*Afghans*—Lowland and Hill Tajiks—The Galchic Linguistic Family—Galcha and Tajik Types—*Homo Europæus* and *H. alpinus* in Central Asia—THE HINDUS—Ethnic Relations in India—Negroid, Mongoloid, Dravidian, and Aryan Elements—*The Kôls*—*The Dravidians*—*Todas* and *Kurumbas*—The Civilized Dravidian and Aryan Groups—Dravidian and Neo-Sanskritic Languages—The Hindu Castes—THE OCEANIC CAUCASIANS—*Micronesians*—*Eastern Polynesians*—Origins, Types, and Divisions—Migrations.

IF the views of Mr Evans be accepted, there is an end of the theory that Bronze came in with the "Aryans," and it is from this standpoint that the revelation of an independent Ægean culture in touch with Babylonia and Egypt some four milleniums before

the new era is of such momentous import in determining the ethnical relations of the historical, *i.e.* the present European populations. Whether we call them Achæans or Hellenes, Umbrians or Itali, Sarmatians or Slavs, Teutons or Germans, Gauls, Britons or Kelts, Basques or Spaniards, all may now, roughly speaking, be regarded as originally North African Hamites, both of the long-headed and round-headed types, indigenous from remote times in that region. Europe would appear to have been reached by two routes, first in the Stone Ages, across the Mediterranean at several points, then round by Asia Minor and the Eurasian steppe, mainly in the early Metal Age, or in the period intermediate between the Neolithic and the Bronze Age, the Æneolithic period of Italian archæologists. Both routes were followed by both types, the rather short, dark long-heads, *i.e.* the "Mediterraneans" of Ripley and Sergi, becoming specialised along the northern shores of the Mediterranean, in West Europe, and the British Isles as Pelasgians, Ligurians, Iberians, Picts or Silurians, while the dark or brown round-heads of medium height, —the "Alpines" of Ripley and de Lapouge—were massed in the central uplands (Auvergne, Savoy, Switzerland, Tyrol).

It is doubtful whether the Mediterraneans spread in large numbers to North Europe (the North German lowlands and Scandinavia), which region would seem to have been for the most part occupied in Neolithic times by the tall blond long-heads,—Ripley's Teutons, and the *Homo Europæus* of Linné and de Lapouge—who came from the Eurasian steppe. Then perhaps a little later the "Alpines" may have been reinforced by other roundheads from the Iranian and Armenian uplands, who at the same time spread over the East European plains.

Such prehistoric migrations would at least explain several striking facts in the constitution of the European peoples, as for instance, the absence everywhere of a clearly defined Mongol type, except such as can be traced to quite late Mongol intruders; the astonishing diffusion of the Alpine roundheads over the eastern plains, that is, over well-nigh half of Europe, so that one asks why this type should be called "Alpine," when it covers nearly 2,000,000 square miles of lowlands; the perhaps still more remarkable exclusion of the same Alpines or of any round-

heads from the British Islands till the Bronze Age, here certainly recent, say, about 1500 B.C. at the earliest; the strange distribution of the dolicho and brachy types in Italy and the islands, where the positions seem to be reversed; and lastly the presence of long-heads in Greece in Mykenæan, *i.e.* Pelasgic or pre-Hellenic times, the common assumption being that this element came in with the long-headed Hellenes of Aryan speech. But if long-headed Mediterraneans be once admitted as the substratum in the above specified lands, all will be simplified.

The "Proto-Aryans" of two types.

The general character of the Aryan migrations has already been considered. But it may here be pointed out that the Aryans, as a distinct race, were perhaps at no time very numerous. Still, few or many, in their cradle, which was presumably the Eurasian steppe, and before the dispersions, they must have been a more or less homogeneous race with definite physical characters. They could not, for instance, have been both round and long-headed, fair and dark, tall and short, but, let us say, tall, fair long-heads, as all things considered seems the more probable view. How then does it happen that from the first, that is, on their very first appearance in Europe, peoples of Aryan speech present both types, as is clearly seen, for instance, in the round-headed Kelts and the long-headed Teutons?

Sergi solves the problem by assuming that the tribes of Aryan speech entering Europe from Asia in the Bronze period were all round-headed, and moreover rude barbarians who brought nothing with them, except bronze, and their language. This they imposed on the Mediterraneans, or rather grafted on the speech of the Ligurians in Italy, and of the Pelasgians in Greece, which must have been of Hamitic type: "The language of the Aryans transformed, but did not destroy those spoken in Greece and Italy[1]." There may be more truth in this than appears on the surface, although the case is put in a way that can never be accepted by philologists. To me it appears rather that the Aryan

Linguistic Relations in Greece and Italy.

tongues everywhere, so to say, took possession of the soil, and effaced those previously current, but in so doing became themselves somewhat modified, especially in their vocabulary and phonetics. Even

[1] *Arii e Italici*, p. 176.

their structure was disturbed by the conflict, so that there were often great losses and reconstructions, as is plainly seen in the Italic (Latin, Umbrian, Oscan) verbal system. The organic Aryan future in *s* disappears in many verbs, and is replaced by an analytical form, which in course of time again becomes synthetic[1].

In this way the various members of the Aryan linguistic family became specialised in their new homes, and it is reasonable to suppose that such specialisation took place under local influences, Ligurian in Italy, Pelasgian in Greece, and so on. But this is very different from saying that the Aryans, of Asiatic origin, had on reaching Europe only one language divided into three main branches, which are now well differentiated under the names of Keltic, Germanic, and Slav, just as they had only one fundamental physical type; also that the other so-called Aryan languages, especially those of Greece and Italy, were never originally Aryan ("non furono mai arie d' origine"), but became transformed to Aryan tongues, under the influence especially of the proto-Kelts and the proto-Slavs, the two branches which invaded those regions.

Ethnical Relations in North Germany.

The same phenomena, Sergi contends, must have taken place amongst the long-headed people who first occupied North Europe. They also came from Africa, are represented in the German *Reihengräber*, and are wrongly supposed to be typical Teutonic Aryans from Asia. But they are only Mediterraneans who, like the others in Italy, Greece, and elsewhere, were Aryanised in speech, and generally yielded to the sway and cultural influences of the round-headed Aryans arriving much later from Asia[2].

This extension of the Mediterranean stock to north Europe and Scandinavia is based by Sergi on what he claims to be an absolute identity in the forms of the crania from the Reihengräber with those of Ligurian graves in Italy. But too much seems to be built on the common characters of these dolicho skulls, the two races being in most other respects quite different, the northerners

[1] Cf. Lat. *habebit*, where the Umbrian still has *habiest* (R. S. Conway, *The Italic Dialects*, etc., Cambridge University Press, 1897, vol. I. p. 428).

[2] *Arii e Italici*, pp. 166–7; *Ueber den sogenannten Reihengräbertypus*, p. 7, and elsewhere.

tall, almost gigantic blonds, of robust if somewhat coarse physique, the southerners dark, short or medium-sized, with finely proportioned but slender figures. Nor is it explained how the dark round-heads from Asia could have imposed their Aryan speech on these tall blonds without close contact, interminglings, and consequent modifications of the type.

Some other solution must therefore be sought for this Aryan crux, and I think it will be found in the suggested twofold invasion of Europe in relatively late times, by tall, blond long-heads from the Eurasian steppe, and by short, dark round-heads from Armenia through Asia Minor, both being of Aryan speech. The universality of this speech in Europe since the Metal period is an immense factor in the problem, which can be explained only on the assumption that the Aryan language had already been widely diffused over the Eurasian steppe and the southern (Iranian, Armenian) uplands in remote times, prior to the later Aryan migrations to North, Central, and South Europe. Jensen's view that Hittite was an early form of Armenian (Aryan) at present holds the field (see above), while the very marked Armenian cranial type is now traced from Asia right through the central European brachy zone to the Alps and into north Africa where it originated, and even west to the Canary Islands. Thus E. Chantre constitutes in western Asia an Armenoid group of round-heads[1] quite distinct from the true long-headed Iranians, and the same type is found as far west as Adalia and Lycia by von Luschan, who also identifies it as Armenian, and as the aboriginal element in this region[2]. From

[1] Includes the Kizilbashi, Metuali, Ansarieh, Bakhtiari, "et quelques autres familles encore moins connues," besides the Armenians proper, hypsi-brachy with cephalic index 85 to 90 (*Recherches Anthropologiques dans l'Asie Occidentale*, Lyons, 1895). Elsewhere (*Les Arméniens*, etc. in *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop. de Lyon*, 1896) this observer, who has spent five years in the field (1890–94) describes the true Armenian type, figured on certain Assyrian bas-reliefs, as hypsi-brachy with deep brown eyes and hair, long nose often convex and rounded at tip, and below mean height, from remote times crossed probably with Semites, Kurds, proto-Georgians, and Cappadocian Bektashi.

[2] See Fig. 94 in his *Reisen in Lykien*, Vienna, 1889; also *Archiv f. Anthrop.* XIX. 1891. Hommel brings even *blond* Aryans into Asia Minor, identifying the Scythians with the Iranians, some of whom ranged into Cilicia and Cappadocia, where the Hittites are located by many. Proper names show

this source (without going with Prof. Hervé[1] to the Central Asian Mongols) were therefore most probably derived the Asiatic roundheads of the brachy zone of East and Alpine Europe.

Teutonic Origins.

On the other hand the tall long-headed blonds (Ripley's Teutons and the typical "Aryans" of nearly all German anthropologists), must have followed a more northern route from the Eurasian steppe to the Baltic lands, where they are by many regarded as indigenous, that is, as having here been specialised in an environment favourable to the development of a florid complexion and robust physique. This suggestion, which is reasonable enough, in no way clashes with a Eurasiatic origin, if understood to mean, not that the Teutons sprang out of the soil in their present homes, but only that, since their advent in this region in Neolithic times, they have under new conditions acquired those physical characters by which they have been distinguished throughout the historic period.

Areas of Specialisation and Dispersion.

In fact the earliest known historic records all point in this direction, that the Baltic lands (north Germany, Scandinavia, the present Finland and Baltic provinces) are, in the sense here suggested, the true home of the Teutonic race, a second area of differentiation and dispersion in later times over Europe and half the globe. Thus Gustav Kossinna[2] shows that south Scandinavia with Denmark, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania form the German cradle ("Urheimat") since the Neolithic Age. Their farther eastward spread in the Bronze period can have started only from Scandinavia, as direct trade-relations between south Sweden and the mouth of the Oder can be traced back to the beginning of the Metal period. Somewhat later two distinct trade-routes can be clearly followed through Bornholm (originally Burgund) and through Jutland, while tribal names such as Warines, Goths, Burgunds

Iranian influences in Asia Minor, and reference is made to the "blue-eyed" princess of Metanni spoken of in the Tell-el-Amarna tablets (*Sitzungsberichte, Bohem. Acad. of Sc.* 1898, "Hethiter u. Skythen").

[1] In *Rev. de l'École d'Anthrop.*, July 1898, this ethnologist makes all the Kelts of direct Mongol lineage, entering Europe in the Neolithic Age with a distinct Ural-Altaic type and culture.

[2] *Indogerm. Forsch.* VII. 3 and 4, Strassburg, 1896.

common both to North Germany and Scandinavia, show the intimate association of all these lands at the dawn of history.

At first no sharp parting line can be detected within the Teutonic linguistic family; but the Kattegat and Great Belt must soon have divided the whole region into two distinct speech areas—south Sweden and north Germany—which became gradually more marked, while the cleft between north and south Germany must also have grown wider by the spread of the tribes west and south in the La Tène period, say about 300 B.C. The parting line was now shifted to Jutland, whence the Cimbrians, Teutons, Eudusi, Harudi, and Heruli streamed forth. Thus the general Teutonic law of sound-shifting need not in its first (pre-historic) stage be set back farther than about 400 B.C., although Müllenhoff dates it some 600 years earlier.

In any case it is now certain that the great waves of Teutonic migration began some time before the new era, and while some set south and west, others, and these perhaps the earliest, flowed south-east towards their original Eurasiatic seats. Amongst these may have been the *Thracians* and the kindred *Phrygians*, by many believed to be of Germanic stock, but whether belated Teutons left behind on their march to the north, or more recent arrivals from the north, they do not say; nor indeed are there sufficient data for a profitable discussion of the question.

The Bastarnæ.

We reach firmer ground with the *Bastarnæ*, who are the earliest Teutonic people that come within the historical horizon. Already mentioned doubtfully by Strabo as separating the Germani from the Scythians (Tyragetes) about the Dniester and Dnieper, their movements may now be followed by authentic documents from the Baltic to the Euxine. Fortwängler[1] shows that the earliest known German figures are those of the Adamklissi monument, in the Dobruja, commemorating the victory of Crassus over the Bastarnæ, Getæ, and Thracians in 28 B.C. The Bastarnæ migrated before the Cimbri and Teutons through the Vistula valley to the Lower Danube about 200 B.C. They had relations with the Macedonians, and the successes of Mithridates over the Romans were due to

[1] Paper read at the Meeting of the Ger. Anthrop. Soc., Spiers, 1896.

their aid. The account of their overthrow by Crassus in Dio Cassius is in striking accord with the scenes on the Adamklissi monument. Here they appear dressed only in a kind of trowsers, with long pointed beards, and defiant but noble features. The same type recurs both on the column of Trajan, who engaged them as auxiliaries in his Dacian wars, and on the Arch of Marcus Aurelius, here however wearing a tunic, a sign perhaps of later Roman influences. And thus after 2000 years are answered Strabo's doubts by modern archæology.

The Mœso-Goths.

Much later there followed along the same beaten track between the Baltic and Black Sea a section of the Goths, whom we find first settled in the Baltic lands in proximity to the Finns[1]. The exodus from this region can scarcely have taken place before the 2nd century of the new era, for they are still unknown to Strabo, while Tacitus locates them on the Baltic between the Elbe and the Vistula. Later Cassiodorus and others bring them from Scandinavia to the Vistula, and up that river to the Euxine and Lower Danube. Although often regarded as legendary, this migration is supported by archæological evidence. In 1837 a gold ring inscribed with the oldest runes was found at Petroassa in Wallachia, and in 1858 an iron spearhead with a Gothic name in the same script[2], which dates from the first Iron Age, turned up near Kovel in Volhynia. The spear-head is identical with one found in 1865 at Münchenberg in Brandenburg, on which Wimmer remarks that "of 15 Runic inscriptions in Germany the two earliest occur on iron pikes. There is no doubt that the runes of the Kovel spearhead and of the ring came from Gothic tribes[3]." These Southern Goths, later called Mœso-Goths, because they settled in Mœsia (Bulgaria and Servia), had all the physical and even moral characters of the Old Teutons, as seen in the Emperor Maximinus, born in Thrace of a Goth by an Alan woman—very tall, strong, handsome, with

[1] See p. 336.

[2] These first runes, it should be noted, were not confined like the later forms to Scandinavia and Britain, but were current amongst the early Germanic peoples, though apparently nowhere in extensive use.

[3] *Monuments runiques* in *Mém. Soc. R. Ant. du Nord*, 1893.

light hair and milk-white skin[1], temperate in all things and of great mental energy.

We thus see that this movement of the Goths to the Euxine and Danube is not a primitive migration of "Aryans" from North Europe, and should lend no support to the views of Penka, who locates the Aryan cradle in that region. It is quite a recent event, which is in no way opposed to the theory of Montelius and other Swedish palethnologists that the proto-Teutons had originally migrated to Sweden from the Black Sea (the Eurasian steppe) in the New Stone Age. Penka's objection that in this view the Teutonic language could not contain such words, for instance, as whale, seal, and lobster, is irrelevant. Such terms were of course not brought from the Euxine, but were either loan-words or normal developments during their long settlement on the shores of the Baltic and German Ocean.

Before their absorption in the surrounding Bulgar and Slav populations the Mœso-Goths were evangelised in the 4th century by their bishop Ulfilas ("Wolf"), whose fragmentary translation of Scripture, preserved in the *Codex Argenteus* of Upsala, is the most precious monument of early Teutonic speech extant.

Without following the later migrations of Burgundians, Longobards, Saxons, Angles, Franks, Vandals, Visigoths and the other northern "barbarians," which are historic events, it will suffice to indicate the results, so far as they have affected the physical characters of the present Germanic peoples. From the examination made some years ago of 6,758,000 school children[2], it would appear that about 31 per cent. of living Germans may be classed as blonds, 14 as brunettes, and 55 as mixed; and further that of the blonds about 43 per cent. are centred in North, 33 in Central and 24 in South Germany. The brunettes increase, generally speaking, southwards, South Bavaria showing only about 14 per cent. of blonds, and the same law holds good of the long-heads and the round-heads respectively. To what cause is to be attributed this profound modification of the Teutonic type in the direction of the south?

Modification of the Teutonic Type.

[1] "Lactea cutis" (Sidonius Apollinaris).

[2] The results were tabulated by Virchow and may be seen, without going to German sources, in the *Times* of Sept. 21, 1886.

That the Teutons ranged in considerable numbers far beyond their northern seats is proved by the spread of the German language to the central highlands, and beyond them down the southern slopes, where a rude High German dialect lingered on in the so-called "Seven Communes" of the Veronese district far into the nineteenth century. But after passing the Main, which appears to have long formed the ethnical divide for Central Europe, they entered the zone of the brown Alpine round-heads[1], to whom they communicated their speech, but by whom they were largely modified in physical appearance. The process has for long ages been much the same everywhere—perennial streams of Teutonism setting steadily from the north, all successively submerged in the great ocean of dark round-headed humanity, which under many names has occupied the central uplands and eastern plains since the Neolithic Age, overflowing also in later times into the Balkan Peninsula.

This absorption of what is assumed to be the superior in the inferior type, may be due to the conditions of the general movement—warlike bands, accompanied by few women, appearing as conquerors in the midst of the Alpines and merging with them in the great mass of brachy populations. Or is the transformation to be explained by de Lapouge's new doctrine, which, whatever may be its ultimate fate, is at least entitled to a respectful hearing, and not to be dismissed, as Sergi and others dismiss it, as "fantastic"? Briefly put, the theory is that the long and the round cranial forms are not so much a question of race as of social conditions, and that, owing to the increasingly unfavourable nature of these conditions, there is a general tendency for the superior long-heads to be absorbed in the inferior round-heads[2].

Thus is struck a deep pessimistic note, which under the cover

[1] See Ripley's Craniological chart in *Notes et Documents pour la construction d'une carte de l'Indice Céphalique en Europe.*

[2] The case is stated in uncompromising language by M. Alfred Fouillée: "Une autre loi, plus généralement admise, c'est que depuis les temps préhistoriques, les brachycéphales tendent à éliminer les dolichocéphales par l'invasion progressive des couches inférieures et l'absorption des aristocraties dans les démocraties, où elles viennent se noyer" (*Rev. des Deux Mondes*, March 15, 1895).

of science aims a deadly blow at modern culture. De Lapouge[1] contends that in France the restless and more enterprising long-heads migrate from the rural districts in disproportionate numbers to the towns, where they die out. For the department of Aveyron he gives a table showing a steady rise of the cephalic index from 71·4 in prehistoric times to 86·5 in 1889, and attributes this to the dolichos gravitating chiefly to the large towns, as Dr Ammon has also shown for Baden. Dr L. Laloy sums up the results thus: France is being depopulated, and, what is worse, it is precisely the best section of the inhabitants that disappears, the section most productive in eminent men in all departments of learning, while the ignorant and rude *pecus* alone increase.

These views have met with favour even across the Atlantic, but are by no means universally accepted. The ground seems cut from the whole theory by Prof. A. Macalister, who had a paper at the Toronto Meeting of the British Association, 1897, on "The Causes of Brachycephaly," showing that the infantile and primitive skull is relatively long, and that there is a gradual change, phylogenetic (racial) as well as ontogenetic (individual) toward brachycephaly, which is certainly correlated with, and is apparently produced by, cerebral activity and growth; in the process of development in the individual and the race the frontal lobes of the brain grow the more rapidly and tend to fill out and broaden the skull[2]. The tendency would thus have nothing to do with rustic and urban life, nor would the round be necessarily, if at all, inferior to the long head. Some of de Lapouge's generalisations are also traversed by Livi[3], Deniker[4], Sergi[5] and others, so that a

[1] *Recherches Anthrop. sur le Problème de la Dépopulation*, in *Rev. d'Économie politique*, IX. p. 1002; X. p. 132 (1895–6). [2] *Nature*, 1897, p. 487.

[3] Livi's results for Italy (*Antropometria Militare*) differ in some respects from those of de Lapouge and Ammon for France and Baden. Thus he finds that in the brachy districts the urban population is less brachy than the rural, while in the dolicho districts the towns are more brachy than the plains.

[4] Dealing with some recent studies of the Lithuanian race, Deniker writes: "Ainsi, donc, contrairement aux idées de MM. de Lapouge et Ammon, en Pologne, comme d'ailleurs en Italie, les classes les plus instruites, dirigeantes, urbaines, sont plus brachy que les paysans" (*L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 351). Similar contradictions occur in connection with light and dark hair, eyes etc.

[5] "E qui non posso tralasciare di avvertire un errore assai diffuso fra gli

huge superstructure seems to have been built up on very weak foundations.

The Kelto-Slavs.

But whatever be the cause, the fact must be accepted that *Homo Europæus* (the Teutons) becomes merged southwards in *Homo Alpinus*, whose names, as stated, are many. If, with Broca, we call him *Kelt*, or *Slavo-Kelt*, the expression need no longer lead to misunderstandings, as for us it now simply implies a great mass of Neolithic round-heads from Africa, later—probably in the Copper or Early Bronze Age—reinforced by other round-heads of Aryan speech from Asia, with whom they united and from whom they received their Keltic and Slavonic languages.

Aberrant Tyrolese Type.

It is remarkable that in the Alpine region, especially Tyrol, where the brachy element comes to a focus, there is a peculiar form of round-head which has greatly puzzled de Lapouge, but may perhaps be accounted for on this hypothesis of two brachy types here fused in one. To explain the exceedingly round Tyrolese head, which shows affinities on the one hand with the Swiss, on the other with the Illyrian and Albanian, that is, with the normal Alpine, a Mongol strain has been suggested, but is rightly rejected by Franz Tappeiner as inadmissible on many grounds[1]. De Ujfalvy[2], a follower of de Lapouge, looks on the hyperbrachy Tyrolese as descendants of the ancient Rhætians or Rasenes, whom so many regard as the parent stock of the Etruscans.

Rhætians and Etruscans.

But Montelius with most other modern ethnologists rejects the land route from the north, and brings the Etruscans by the sea

antropologi...i quali vorrebbero ammettere una trasformazione del cranio da dolicocefalo in brachicefalo" (*Arii e Italici*, p. 155).

[1] This specialist insists "dass von einer mongolischen Einwanderung in Europa keine Rede mehr sein könne" (*Der europäische Mensch u. die Tiroler*, 1896). He is of course speaking of prehistoric times, not of the late (historical) Mongol irruptions.

[2] "Malgré les nombreuses invasions des populations germaniques, le Tyrolien est resté, quant à sa conformation cranienne, le Rasène ou Rhætien des temps antiques—hyperbrachycéphale" (*Les Aryens*, p. 7). The mean index of the so-called Disentis type of Rhætian skulls is about 86 (His and Ruetimaer, *Crania Helvetica*, p. 29 and Plate E. 1).

route direct from the Ægean and Lydia (Asia Minor). They are the Thessalian Pelasgians whom Hellanikos of Lesbos brings to Campania, or the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians transported by Antiklides from Asia Minor to Etruria, and he is "quite sure that the archæological facts in Central and North Italy...prove the truth of this tradition[1]." Of course, until the affinities of the Etruscan language are determined, from which we are still as far off as ever[2], Etruscan origins must remain chiefly an archæological question. Even the help afforded by the crania from the Etruscan tombs is but slight, both long and round heads being here found in the closest association. Sergi, who also brings the Etruscans from the east, explains this by supposing that, being Pelasgians, they were of the same dolicho Mediterranean stock as the Italians (Ligurians) themselves, and differed only from the brachy Umbrians of Aryan speech. Hence the skulls from the tombs are of two types, the intruding Aryan, and the Mediterranean, the latter, whether representing native Ligurians or intruding Etruscans, being indistinguishable. "I can show," he says, "Etruscan crania, which differ in no respect from the Italian [Ligurian], from the oldest graves, as I can also show heads from the Etruscan graves which do not differ from those still found in Aryan lands, whether Slav, Keltic, or Germanic[3]."

Etruscan Origins.

[1] *The Tyrrhenians in Greece and Italy*, in *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1897, p. 258. In this splendidly illustrated paper the date of the immigration is referred to the 11th century B.C. on the ground that the first Etruscan sæculum was considered as beginning about 1050 B.C., presumably the date of their arrival in Italy (p. 259). But Sergi thinks they did not arrive till about the end of the 8th century (*Arii e Italici*, p. 149).

[2] On the linguistic side of the question see especially Dr Carl Pauli's *Altitalische Forschungen*, Vol. II. Leipzig, 1894. This philologist treats the famous inscription of Lemnos as pre-Hellenic, and as "Pelasgic," a language which he holds to have been closely related to Etruscan. The inscription, presumably a funeral epitaph, he refers to the 7th century B.C., and all previous essays at interpretation are qualified as "equally valuable, *i.e.* equally worthless." Much use is made of the mummy swathing from Egypt lately found at Agram, which contains the longest extant Etruscan text. Looking at the question *à priori* one might suppose Etruscan = Pelasgian, where both members of the equation are unfortunately unknown quantities.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 151. By German he means the round-headed South German,

However this may be, the peoples of Keltic speech can never be shown to be true Aryans of the Teutonic type, but only tribes most probably of the Alpine type Aryanised in speech in very remote times, and apparently before their appearance in Europe. This may almost be inferred from the consideration that, as far back as they can be traced, they are already found split into two linguistic sections, which, from the interchange of the letters P and Q in the two sister tongues, have been called by Prof. Rhys the P- and the Q-Kelts. Reference to the common Aryan speech shows that Q is original, *i.e.* the shift has been, not from P to Q, but from Q to P, so that the Q-speaking Kelts should so far be regarded as the elder branch. Both still survive in what has been called the "Keltic fringe," that is, the strips of territory on the skirts of the Teutonic and Neo-Latin domains in the extreme west—Brittany, Wales, parts of Ireland, the Scotch Highlands and the Isle of Man—where Keltic dialects are still spoken. In Welsh and Breton, also in Cornish, extinct before the close of the 18th century, *p*, often voiced to *b*, takes the place of *q*, normally changed to *c*=*k*, in Irish, Gaelic (Highland Scotch), and Manx[1]. Thus the Irish *mac*, son, answers to the Welsh *map*, *ap*, *p*, as in Ap-John, P-rice; *cen*, head (as in Kinsale, "Old Head") =*pen*, *ben* (as in *Penryn* in Cornwall, *Penrhyn* in Wales, *Ben-Lomond* in Scotland). With this cue is partly revealed the vast domain formerly occupied on the mainland by peoples of Keltic speech, as seen in the Italian *A-pen-nines* (cf. *Pennine* chain in England), the *Penha* range in Portugal, etc.

The Kelts.

P and Q Kelts.

It is noteworthy that this geographical terminology belongs mostly to the P branch, as if in the first migrations, apparently from Asia Minor through the Balkan Peninsula to and up the

which he regards as jointly constituting with the round-headed Slav and Keltic the true primitive stock of Aryan speech in Europe. It is all very confusing, and one finds the greatest difficulty in threading this maze of ethnological contradictions created by the new theories of Sergi and de Lapouge superimposed on the old "orthodox Aryan views."

[1] Manx, which is not a mere dialect of Irish, but a sister tongue, is credited with traces of the original Aryan *qu*=*kw*; but the point is doubtful, as the sound may be, not a survival, but a revival like the French *quoi* (H. Bradley).

Danube to the former Keltic lands of Bohemia, Helvetia, Gaul and Britain, the traces left by the elder Q's had been effaced by the P's arriving later[1]. The phenomenon may also, perhaps, be partly due to the tendency in the Q group to drop initial *p*, as in *Erin* = *Perin*, where the *p* seems preserved in the Greek Πιερία[2], the name of a district on the route taken by the Q's to the Danube. A difficulty is presented by the *Gauls*, Cæsar's *Celtæ* between the Garonne and the Seine, who form the great bulk of the present French nation, and are known from the surviving fragments of their speech to have been P's, despite their name, which seems to connect them with the Gaelic Q's. But it would appear that *Galli* is from the common Keltic root *gal*, "valour," occurring also in *Galatæ*, *i.e.* those Gauls who later, reversing the former route, swept through Greece back to their original homes in Asia Minor, and were honoured by a letter from St Paul. The name has nothing to do with the Irish *Góidil*, *Gaoidhil*, *Gael*, the etymology of which is unknown[3]. Another difficulty is raised by *Cymro*, plural *Cymry*, the national name of the Welsh or British Kelts, and assumed to be the same as that of the Teutonic *Cimbri*. But although such shiftings of national names are not impossible and do occur, as with the Gallo-Romans, who now call their country *France*, and themselves *Français* from their conquerors the Germanic *Franks*, the Cimbri never conquered the British Cymry, who are the *Com-brog*[4], the people of the "marches," or borderlands, perhaps

Migrations.

[1] *Qu* of course occurs in place-names in Gallic territory; "but it is not yet absolutely proved that the Gaulish place-names with *qu* are Aryan, or that if Aryan their *qu* is etymologically equivalent to the Welsh *p*" (H. Bradley, *Acad.* Jan. 9, 1892, p. 42).

[2] Birthplace of the Muses and Orpheus, quoted by Prof. Thurneysen in *Keltoromanisches*, Halle, 1884. Keltic scholars, I believe, generally recognise a loss of *p* in Erin.

[3] It has been equated with Lat. *hoedus*, while *Celtæ*, the Kelts, is referred to the same root as Lat. *celsus*, and Lithuanian *keltas*, lofty, exalted, noble. It is curious to note in this connection that the Kelts appear before their further westward wanderings to have been long in close association with the Lithuanians, as well as with other Slav peoples.

[4] Cf. *Allo-broges*, where the Gaulish stem *brog*, Welsh *bro*, Ir. *brug*, point through the Old-Irish *mrug* to an original Keltic root *mrugu*, cognate with

in reference to the remote times when they first reached Britain from Upper Gaul and there dwelt on the frontiers of their Pictish forerunners from Lower Gaul.

The Picts.

There is no longer much doubt as to the identity of these Picts with the Continental *Pictones*, *Pictavi*, whose name survives in *Poitou*, and its chief town *Poitiers*. The classical references show that in Roman times the Pictones were of Gaulish speech, but there is good reason to believe that their original language was Iberian, which, as above seen, was radically connected with the Berber (Hamitic) of North Africa. They may therefore be taken as Aryanised Mediterraneans, and the question will then arise, Were they Aryanised before or after the migration to Britain? If before, then the emigrants of Iberian speech must have been Aryanised in their new insular homes from the very first. It is remarkable that by the Irish the Picts were commonly called *Cruithne*, which answers etymologically to *Prydain* (*Ynys Prydain*) a Welsh name for the "Island of Britain[1]." They were therefore, apparently, not distinguished by the Irish from the Kymry and other Britons, which could scarcely be the case had they, within the memory of man, spoken an Iberian or any other non-British tongue.

Thus may, perhaps, be explained the faint (if any) traces of Iberian speech in Britain, where the Picts were, at least at first, more closely connected with the Kymry than with the Scots, that is, the Gaels from Ireland[2]. Their association with these Scots,

Lat. *margo*, Goth. *marka*, Eng. *mark*, as in Den*mark* and *Marcomanni*, the "Men of the Marches," *i.e.* the southern Germans dwelling about the Kelto-Slav borderlands. The general equation is due to J. Kaspar Zeuss, whose great work, *Grammatica Celtica*, 1853, introduced order into Keltic philology and ethnology.

[1] This troublesome name, originally *Brettána*, is connected by Rhys with Welsh *brethyn*, "cloth," so that *Brettáni*=the "cloth-clad," and is to be distinguished from *Prydyn*, the native name both for the Picts and for Scotland.

[2] That the Scots were Gaels might perhaps be questioned; but that they came over from the north of Ireland in comparatively recent times is beyond all doubt. In the very old, if not quite authentic, *Confessio* of St Patrick occurs the expression "una benedicta Scota," and Ireland itself was called *Scotia*, later *Scotia Major*, to distinguish it from *Scotia Minor*, *i.e.* North Britain, to which the name was extended after the Scots had reduced the Picts.

first as allies against the Romans, and then as rivals for the supremacy in North Britain, came later, and explains the presence of Gaelic names in the Pictish Chronicle. This document, on which so much has been built, is of Gaelic origin, and, as many of the Pictish kings had Gaelic blood in their veins, it is not surprising to find in the Pictish lists those Gaelic names on which are based the views of Mr Skene and others regarding the Gaelic origin or affinities of the Picts. In my opinion the Picts were Iberians Aryanised either in Gaul or in Britain, not by Gaelic but by Kymric Kelts, and this seems to be borne out by the local geographical nomenclature, where the voicing of *p* to *b*, and other phonetic changes, may perhaps be due to Iberian influences. Thus of *aber* and the equivalent *inver*, a confluence, river-mouth, or estuary, the former alone occurs in Wales, the latter alone in Ireland[1], but both somewhat irregularly and even confusedly in Scotland[2], showing the presence and intermingling here of the two elements, as might be expected. But in Spain we have *aber* alone (*Iberus*, *Ebro*), and no *inver*, from which, if the equation be allowed, it may be inferred that the Picts did not reach Ireland at all, and were Aryanised by the British if the assimilation took place after the migration from Gaul, and consequently that the Keltic language spoken by them was not Gaelic, but Kymric somewhat modified phonetically in North Britain.

Ethnic Relations in Britain.

This view accords completely with the anthropological and archæological data supplied by such authorities as Drs Beddoe and Thurnam and Sir John Evans, and also with the present ethnical relations in the British Isles, as set forth by Prof. Ripley[3]. Of these relations the most striking feature is the apparently inexplicable uniformity in the shape of the head, which is everywhere rather long, more oval than round, with a mean cephalic index of about 78°, but nowhere falling below 76° or rising above 79°. This is the more remarkable since Britain has been successively occupied by

[1] Isaac Taylor, *Names and their Histories*, 1896, p. 37.

[2] C. Blackie, *A Dictionary of Place-Names*, 1887, p. 112, where it is pointed out that *inver* is "found sometimes at the mouth and *aber* farther up the same stream. Thus: *Abergeldie* and *Invergeldie*, *Abernyte* and *Invernyte*."

[3] *Popular Science Monthly*, Dec. 1897, p. 145 sq.

a great number of peoples—primitive man in the Old Stone Age; Picts, and perhaps others associated with the dolmens and other Megalithic monuments, in the New Stone Age; tribes of Keltic speech, commonly called Kelts, in the Bronze period, possibly as early as 2000 B.C.; Belgæ or proto-Teutons somewhat later; Romans and their legionaries of diverse origins about the new era; early and later Frisians, Saxons, Angles and others of Teutonic speech, say between 300 and 600 A.D.; Scandinavians, chiefly Danes and Norwegians, of kindred speech, 8th to 10th century; Normans, mainly Norsemen Romanised in speech, 11th century, with sporadic arrivals from the mainland down to the present time.

Long-heads and Round-heads.

But the first two strata, *i.e.* the men of the Stone Ages, were both long-headed, the first exclusively so, the second in great majority, our Picts being now identified with the Iberians who, as shown by Sergi, were a branch of the long-headed Mediterraneans from Africa. The identity indeed is placed beyond reasonable doubt by the fact that these Neolithic Picts belonged all to the so-called long-barrow period, and that these long barrows, egg-shaped and often several hundred feet in length, have yielded the remains of a singularly uniform type, extremely dolicho (nearly all well under 80° and even as low as 70°), and at the same time of rather low stature (5 ft. 5 in.), thus corresponding exactly with Sergi's Mediterraneans[1]. The barrows, occurring chiefly in the south-west (Wilts, Gloucestershire, the Cotswold Hills, and farther north), are shown to be of the Neolithic Age by their contents—polished stone implements, pottery, but no bronze. It is further shown by Dr Garson that the men of this period were spread over the whole of Britain as far as the extreme north of Scotland and the Orkneys[2].

They were succeeded in the Bronze Age by men of quite a

[1] See especially his *Ursprung u. Verbreitung des Mittelländischen Stammes*, 1897, p. 76: "Ich habe die Formen aus den britischen Hügeln [long barrows] mit alten und neuen mittelländischen verglichen, und habe die charakteristischen Formen Spaniens und Portugals gefunden, wie sie bei Mugem und in den Höhlen Italiens, Griechenlands, zu Hissarlik und in Ostafrika ausgegraben worden sind."

[2] *Nature*, Nov. 15 and 22, 1894; see also Boyd Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain*, 1880, Chap. IX. "Historical Evidence of Iberic and Celtic Races in Spain and Gaul," Fig. 112, p. 318.

different type, tall (5 ft. 8 in.) and round-headed (83°), who also built round barrows, whence Thurnam's dictum: "long-barrow, long skull; round-barrow, round skull." Later research has mainly confirmed this ethnic law, although it is not to be supposed that the Neolithic race had died out or been extirpated by their successors. Some are, on the contrary, found buried with them in the same barrows, and Dr Garson shows that the Neolithic element survives to this day in the British Isles[1]. In fact it would appear to have already largely absorbed the Bronze element before it was reinforced later by the historical long-heads: "This broad-headed invasion is the only case where such an ethnic element ever crossed the English Channel in numbers sufficient to affect the physical type of the aborigines. Even here its influence was but transitory; the energy of the invasion speedily dissipated; for at the opening of the historic period, judged by the sepulchral remains, the earlier [dolicho] types had considerably absorbed the new-comers[2]."

Whence came these tall round-heads? Some with Dr Rolleston[3] would bring them from Scandinavia, where there is certainly a somewhat puzzling brachy element both along the south-west coast of Norway and in Denmark. But in that case they must have spoken some early Low German dialect, of which there are no clear traces in the tribal and place names of the Bronze Age. At that time Britain seems to have belonged entirely to the domain of Keltic speech[4], nor could there be any hesitation in identifying

[1] *Nature*, Nov. 15 and 22, 1894. [2] Ripley, p. 153.

[3] T. V. Holmes describes them as "taller, stronger and much rougher in appearance, with large frontal sinuses and supra-orbital ridges, prominent cheekbones and heavy jaws" (*Notes on the Evidence bearing on British Ethnology*, 1886), and he quotes Rolleston (*British Barrows*, p. 680): "The Briton of the round-barrow period almost certainly presented much the same combination of physical peculiarities as the modern Finn and Dane"; hence the inference that the Bronze people were men from what is now Denmark, but "of Finnish and not Teutonic affinities" (p. 5). But we now know that there were no Finns west of the Gulf of Finland till quite late times (see Chap. IX. p. 334). Still the question is beset with difficulties, and the British round-heads seem undoubtedly to resemble those of the Danish Neolithic Age more than they do de Lapouge's *H. Alpinus*, and much more than those of the Disentis type.

[4] Even the intruding Belgæ, referred to by Cæsar (*B.G.* v. 12), and no doubt originally of Teutonic speech, seem to have soon been Kelticised.

our round-heads with Broca's Kelts but for their stature. The simplest explanation seems to be that the Bronze people were really of Keltic speech, but came from the north of Gaul, where the average height has always been somewhat higher than in the south.

Formation of the English Nation.

After the passage of the Romans, who mingled little with the aborigines and left few traces of their presence in the speech or type of the British populations, a great transformation was effected in these respects by the arrival of the historical Teutonic tribes. The Ibero-Keltic substratum was perhaps nowhere effaced, but rather thinned out by the prolonged wars of conquest and all their attendant evils. Large numbers undoubtedly migrated beyond the seas, Kymry to Brittany, and to Ireland those Gaels who had still lingered on in Britain. The residue were now gradually merged with the intruders in a common nationality of English speech, everywhere except in the Keltic fringe, which then, and long after, still included Cornwall and Cumberland. The Teutonic element was later strengthened by the arrival of the Scandinavians and Normans, all very much of the same physical type, after which no serious accessions were made to this composite ethnical group, which on the east side ranged uninterruptedly from the Channel to the Grampians. Later the expansion was continued northwards beyond the Grampians, and westwards through Strathclyde to Ireland, while now the spread of education and the development of the industries are already threatening to absorb the last strongholds of Kymric and Gaelic speech in Wales, the Highlands, and Ireland.

Ethnic Relations in Ireland.

Thanks to its isolation in the extreme west, Ireland had been left untouched by some of the above described ethnical movements. It is doubtful whether Palæolithic man ever reached this region, and but few even of the round-heads ranged so far west during the Bronze Age. The prehistoric station explored by Mr F. J. Bigger at Portnafeady near Roundstone, Connemara, yielded several stone hammers, but neither worked flints nor metal-ware[1], as if the

[1] *Proc. R. Ir. Acad.* III. May 1896.

district had never been visited either in the Old Stone or the Bronze age. Nevertheless Mr W. J. Knowles[1] suggests from the close resemblance—in fact identity—of a great number of Neolithic objects in Ireland with Palæolithic forms in France (Saint-Acheul, Moustrier, Solutré, La Madeleine types), that the Irish objects bridge over the gap between the two ages, and were worked by tribes from the continent following the migration of the reindeer northwards. These peoples may have continued to make tools of palæolithic types, while at the same time coming under the influence of the Neolithic culture gradually arriving from some southern region. The astonishing development of this Neolithic culture in the remote island on the confines of the west, as illustrated in Mr W. C. Borlase's sumptuous volumes[2], is a perpetual wonder, and indeed would be inexplicable but for the now proved immense duration of the New Stone Age in the British Isles[3].

The Irish dolmen-builders were presumably of the same long-headed Iberian stock as those of Britain[4], and they were followed by Kelts of the Gaelic branch, many of whom, however, may well have arrived before the close of the Neolithic Age. Of the Kymry there appear to be but slight if any traces, and since those prehistoric times the intruders have been almost exclusively Continental and British Teutons; the former were chiefly Danes who formed settlements at such seaports as Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, but were eventually all absorbed by the vigorous Gaelic aborigines[5]. And now all alike have in their turn

[1] *Survivals from the Palæolithic Age among Irish Neolithic Implements*, 1897.

[2] *The Dolmens of Ireland*, 3 vols., 1897.

[3] See pp. 10–11.

[4] They need not, however, have come from Britain, and the allusions in Irish literature to direct immigration from Spain, probable enough in itself, are too numerous to be disregarded. Thus, Geoffrey of Monmouth:—"Hibernia Basclensibus [to the Basques] incolenda datur" (*Hist. Reg. Brit.* III. § 12); and Giraldus Cambrensis:—"De Gurguntio Brytonum Rege, qui Rasclenses [read Basclenses] in Hiberniam transmisit et eandem ipsis habitandam concessit." I am indebted to Mr Wentworth Webster for these references (*Academy*, Oct. 19, 1895).

[5] Not, however, always without a struggle, as in Dublin, where even after their acceptance of Christianity the Danes refused to worship at the same altars

been nearly absorbed by the British Teutons, that is to say, assimilated in speech to the English and Lowland Scotch intruders, who began to arrive late in the 12th century, and are now chiefly massed in Ulster, Leinster, and all the large towns. The rich and highly poetic Irish language, which has a copious medieval literature deeply interesting to folklorists and even ethnologists, has not I believe been used for strictly literary purposes since the translations of Homer and of Moore's Melodies by the late Archbishop McHale of Tuam.

Relations in Scotland.

In Scotland few ethnical changes or displacements have occurred since the two great political settlements, first by the Scottish vanquishing of the Picts, and then by the English (Angle) occupation of the Lothians. The Grampians have during historic times formed the main ethnical divide between the two elements, and brooklets which can be taken at a leap are shown where the opposite banks have for hundreds of years been respectively held by formerly hostile, but now friendly communities of Gaelic and broad Scotch speech. Here the chief intruders have been Norwegians, whose descendants may still be recognised in Caithness, the Hebrides, and the Orkney and Shetland groups. Faint echoes of the old Norrena tongue are said still to linger amongst the sturdy Shetlanders, whose assimilation to the dominant race began only after their transfer from Norway to the Crown of Scotland.

Present Constitution of the British Peoples.

We have now all the elements needed to unravel the ethnical tangle of the present inhabitants of the British Isles. The astonishing prevalence everywhere of the moderately dolicho heads is at once explained by the absence of brachy immigrants except in the Bronze period, and these could do no more than raise the cephalic index from about 70 or 72 to the present mean of about 78. With the other perhaps less stable characters the case is not always quite

as the Irish. On appeal to Rome they received a bishop of their own race and also a Cathedral, whence the curious fact that to this day Dublin is almost the only city in Christendom blessed with two medieval Cathedrals, St Patrick's originally for the Irish and Christchurch for the Danes. These having both been "confiscated" at the Reformation, a third has had to be erected for the community that remained loyal to the old faith.

so simple. The brunettes, representing both Iberians and Kelts, certainly increase, as we should expect from north-east to south-west, though even here there is a considerable dark patch, due to local causes, in the home shires about London. But the stature, almost everywhere a troublesome factor, seems to wander somewhat lawlessly over the land. The little people under 5 ft. 6 in. are perhaps more numerous than they ought to be; nor are they always in evidence where we should look for them. In Ireland especially the positions are reversed, the tall being all in the west (Connaught and Munster), the less tall in the north and east (Ulster and Leinster), though the difference is but slight. For details on this and some other points, which become rather technical, I must refer the reader to Ripley, and especially to the Reports of the Anthropometric Committees appointed to deal with these matters systematically by the British Association in 1875.

Strange to say, the element that appears to have undergone the least change is the racial temperament. The Kelt is still a Kelt, mercurial, passionate, vehement, impulsive, more courteous than sincere, voluble or eloquent, fanciful, if not imaginative, quick-witted and brilliant rather than profound, elated with success but easily depressed, hence lacking steadfastness, and still as of old *novarum rerum cupidissimus*. The Saxon also still remains a Saxon, stolid and solid, outwardly abrupt but warm-hearted and true, haughty and even overbearing through an innate sense of superiority, yet at heart sympathetic and always just, hence a ruler of men; seemingly dull or slow, yet preeminent in the realms of philosophy and imagination (Newton, Shakespeare).

While the Saxon prefers duty to glory, both are largely gifted with some of those qualities which make for empire—pluck[1], or personal valour as distinguished from courage in the mass, the spirit of daring enterprise and a love of adventure for its own sake. Jointly they have struggled to the front, and secured for our people some 12 million square miles of habitable lands beyond

[1] This quality is no monopoly of the Saxon, as has been contended. The Kelts, and especially the Irish and Scotch Gaels, possess it in large measure, as shown by the incidents recorded of Clontarf, Aughrim, Limerick, Cremona, Fontenoy, and by such names as Sarsfield, Dundonald, Kavanagh, O'Higgins, and a hundred others.

the seas. Here they already number, including other elements in process of assimilation to the dominant race, about 80 millions—70 in the United States, 5 in the Canadian Dominion, and 5 in Australasia and South Africa. These with 40 millions in the home lands make collectively some 120 millions, enough perhaps to ensure the future control of human destinies to a composite people who may now be defined with some approach to accuracy as Ibero-Kelto-Teutons of Teuton (English) speech. This English tongue need not detain us long. Its qualities, illustrated in the noblest of all literatures, are patent to the world, indeed have earned for it from Jacob Grimm the title of *Welt-Sprache*, the "World Speech." It belongs, as might be anticipated from the northern origin of the Teutonic element in Britain, to the Low German division of the Teutonic branch of the Aryan family. Despite extreme pressure from Norman French, continued for over 200 years (1066—1300), it has remained faithful to this connection in its inner structure, which reveals not a trace of Neo-Latin influences. The phonetic system has undergone profound changes, which can be only indirectly and to a small extent due to French action. What English owes to French and Latin is a very large number, many thousands, of words, some superadded to, some superseding their Saxon equivalents, but altogether immensely increasing its wealth of expression, while giving it a transitional position between the somewhat sharply contrasted Germanic and Romance worlds.

The English Language.

Amongst the Romance peoples, that is, the French, Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians, Rumanians, many Swiss and Belgians, who were entirely assimilated in speech and largely in their civil institutions to their Roman masters, the paramount position, a sort of international hegemony, has been taken by the French nation since the decadence of Spain under the feeble successors of Philip II. The constituent elements of these Gallo-Romans, as they may be called, are much the same as those of the British peoples, but differ in their distribution and relative proportions. Thus the Iberians (Aquitani, Pictones, and later Vascones), who may be identified with the Neolithic long-heads, do not appear ever to have ranged much farther north than Brittany, and were Aryanised in pre-Roman times by the P-speaking

The French Nation.

Kelts everywhere north of the Garonne. The prehistoric Teutons again, who had advanced beyond the Rhine at an early period (Cæsar says *antiquitus*) into the present Belgium, were mainly confined to the northern provinces. Even the historic Teutons (chiefly Franks and Burgundians) penetrated little beyond the Seine in the north and the present Burgundy in the east, while the Vandals, Visigoths and a few others passed rapidly through to Iberia beyond the Pyrenees.

Thus the greater part of the land, say from the Seine-Marne basin to the Mediterranean, continued to be held by the Romanised Kelts of the Alpine type throughout all the central and most of the southern provinces, and elsewhere in the south by the Romanised long-headed Iberians and Ligurians. This great preponderance of the Romanised Keltic masses explains the rapid absorption of the Teutonic intruders, who were all, except the Fleming section of the Belgæ, completely assimilated to the Gallo-Romans before the close of the 10th century. It also explains the perhaps still more remarkable fact that the Norsemen who settled (912) under Rollo in Normandy were all practically Frenchmen when a few generations later they followed their Duke William to the conquest of Saxon England. Thus the only intractable groups have proved to be the un-Romanised Iberians (Basques) and Kelts (Bretons), both of whom to this day hold their ground in isolated corners of the country. With these exceptions the whole of France since the loss of Alsace-Lorraine (1871) presents in its speech a certain homogeneous character, the standard language (*langue d'oil*[1]) being current throughout all the northern and central provinces, while it is steadily gaining upon the southern form (*langue d'oc*[1]) still surviving in the rural districts of Limousin and Provence.

[1] That is, the languages whose affirmatives were the Latin pronouns *hoc illud* (*oil*) and *hoc* (*oc*), the former being more contracted, the latter more expanded, as we see in the very names of the respective Northern and Southern bards: *Trouvères* and *Troubadours*. It was customary in medieval times to name languages in this way, Dante, for instance, calling Italian *la lingua del si*, "the language of *yes*"; and, strange to say, the same usage prevails largely amongst the Australian aborigines, who, however, use both the affirmative and the negative particles, so that we have here *no-* as well as *yes*-tribes.

But pending a more thorough fusion of such tenacious elements as Basques, Bretons, Auvergnats, and Savoyards, we can scarcely yet speak of a common French type, but only of a common nationality. Tall stature, long skulls, fair or light brown colour, grey or blue eyes, still prevail, as might be expected, in the north, these being traits common alike to the prehistoric Belgæ, the Franks of the Merovingian and Carlovingian empires, and Rollo's Norsemen. With these contrast the southern peoples of short stature, olive-brown skin, round heads, dark brown or black eyes and hair. The tendency towards uniformity has proceeded far more rapidly in the urban than in the rural districts. Hence the citizens of Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux, Marseilles and other large towns, present fewer and less striking contrasts than the natives of the old historical provinces, where are still distinguished the loquacious and mendacious Gascon, the pliant and versatile Basque, the slow and wary Norman, the dreamy and fanatical Breton, the quick and enterprising Burgundian, and the bright, intelligent, more even-tempered native of Touraine, a typical Frenchman occupying the heart of the land, and holding, as it were, the balance between all the surrounding elements.

Mental Traits.

Taken as a whole the modern Frenchman stands somewhat intermediate between the southern and northern peoples, less steadfast than the Teuton, more energetic than the Italian, less personally independent than the Briton. The moral sentiment is also defective, as seen in the love of show and glory, which is certainly stronger than the sense of duty. On the other hand, the artistic feeling is highly developed, while the purely intellectual qualities are far above the average, as reflected in the scientific and literary work of the nation, and in the cultivated language, which within certain limits is almost an ideally perfect instrument of human thought, although still suffering from the enfeebling effects of the drawing-room and academical refinements of Bourbon times. The French excel also in conversational powers, and in all matters pertaining to taste, etiquette, tact, and the social amenities, where brilliancy and *esprit* find freer scope than the more solid qualities of the reasoning faculty. It is noteworthy that France has produced few leaders of thought except

Descartes and Pascal (and even he was wrecked on the shoals of religious polemics), whereas epigrammatists, essayists, writers of memoirs and correspondence, chemists, and pure mathematicians abound. With more outward polish French culture as a whole penetrates perhaps less deeply through the social strata than does the refinement of the English cultured classes. At the same time the substantial qualities of patience, economy, and love of labour cannot be denied to the French peasantry, who thus act as a counterpoise to the extravagance and frivolity of urban life. By hoarding their small savings, and by domestic thrift verging on the sordid, they have made France one of the richest countries in the world, better able than most others to survive tremendous catastrophes and rise buoyantly above apparently overwhelming disasters. Thanks to these qualities, combined with a pronounced military spirit and love of conquest, the French people have played a leading part in the world's history since remote times, and have become an almost necessary element in the general progress of humanity. Yet the future would seem to be for others, and although the present alarming arrest of the population and other symptoms of decadence may not be due to the absorption of the upper in the lower strata alluded to above, the effects must be far-reaching, and France would appear to have already been outstripped in the race for the future political predominance amongst the cultured peoples of the globe[1].

The Spaniards and Portuguese.

In Spain and Portugal we have again the same Ibero-Keltic elements, but also again in different proportions and differently distributed, with others superadded—proto-Phœnicians and later Phœnicians (Carthagenians), Romans, Visigoths, Vandals, and still later Berbers and Arabs. Here the Keltic-speaking round-heads intermingled in prehistoric times with the long-headed Mediterraneans, an ethnical fusion known to the ancients, who labelled it "Keltiberian." But, as in Britain, the other intruders were mostly long-heads, with the striking result that the Peninsula presents to-day exactly the same uniform cranial type as the British Isles. Even the range (76 to 79) and the mean (78) of the cephalic index are the same,

[1] See my article on the *Ethnology of France* in Cassell's *Storehouse*, IV. p. 359.

rising in Spain to 80 only in the Basque corner. In both regions the general rise from the original 70 or 72 is due to the same Keltic and Roman intrusion, acting on the Ibero-Teutons in Britain, and on the Hamito-Semitic aborigines crossed by Teutons in Spain, where it is to be noticed that while the round-headed Romans play a very small part in the insular domain, they are extensively represented in the Peninsula, the reverse being the case with the Teutons. An equilibrium and surface uniformity are thus established, and Ripley is right in stating that "the average cephalic index of 78 occurs nowhere else so uniformly distributed in Europe" except in Norway, and that this uniformity "is the concomitant and index of two relatively pure, albeit widely different, ethnic types—Mediterranean in Spain, Teutonic in Norway[1]."

Provincial Groups.

In other respects the social, one might almost say the national, groups are both more numerous and perhaps even more sharply discriminated in the Peninsula than in France. Besides the Basques and Portuguese, the latter with a considerable strain of negro blood[2], we have such very distinct populations as the haughty and punctilious Castilians, who under an outward show of pride and honour, are capable of much meanness; the sprightly and vainglorious Andalusians, who have been called the Gascons of Spain, yet of graceful address and seductive manners; the morose and impassive Murcians, indolent because fatalists; the gay Valencians given to much dancing and revelry, but also to sudden fits of murderous rage, holding life so cheap that they will hire themselves out as assassins, and cut their bread with the blood-stained knife of their last victim; the dull and superstitious Aragonese, also given to bloodshed, and so obdurate that they are said to "drive

[1] *Science Progress*, p. 159.

[2] "The Portuguese are much mixed with Negroes more particularly in the south and along the coast. The slave trade existed long before the Negroes of Guinea were exported to the plantations of America. Damião de Goes estimated the number of blacks imported into Lisbon alone during the 16th century at 10,000 or 12,000 per annum. If contemporary eye-witnesses can be trusted, the number of blacks met with in the streets of Lisbon equalled that of the whites. Not a house but had its negro servants, and the wealthy owned entire gangs of them" (Reclus, I. p. 471).

nails in with their heads"; lastly the Catalans, noisy and quarrelsome, but brave, industrious, and enterprising, on the whole the best element in this motley aggregate of unbalanced temperaments. To the cold-blooded northerner the Spaniards often seem scarcely sane, and about as trustworthy as caged wild beasts, a people who had empire thrust upon them, but never understood the nature of the trust. Stripped of nearly all foreign dominion (1898) and thrown back upon themselves, they must either turn to the useful business of life and devote their energies to the development of their resourceful country, or else sever the ties by which the various ethnical groups are held loosely together.

Ethnic Relations in Italy.

In Italy the past and present relations, as elucidated especially by Levi and Sergi, may be thus briefly stated. After the first Stone Age, of which there are fewer indications than might be expected, the whole land was thickly settled by long-headed Mediterranean Ligurians from Africa in Neolithic times. These were later joined by Pelasgians of like type from Greece, and by Illyrians of doubtful affinity from the Balkan Peninsula. Indeed K. Penka[1], who has so many paradoxical theories, makes the Illyrians the first inhabitants of Italy, as shown by the striking resemblance of the *terramara* culture of Æmilia with that of the Venetian and Laibach pile-dwellings. The recent finds in Bosnia also, besides the historically proved (?) migration of the Siculi from Upper Italy to Sicily, and their Illyrian origin, all point in the same direction. But the facts

[1] *Zur Paläoethnologie Mittel- u. Südeuropas* in *Mitt. Wiener Anthrop. Ges.* 1897, p. 18. It should here be noted that in his *History of the Greek Language* (1896) Dr Kretschmer connects the inscriptions of the Veneti in north Italy and of the Messapians in the south with the Illyrian linguistic family, which he regards as Aryan intermediate between the Greek and the Italic branches, the present Albanian being a surviving member of it. In the same Illyrian family Mr W. M. Lindsay would also include the "Old Sabellian" of Picenum, "believed to be the oldest inscriptions on Italian soil. The manifest identity of the name *Aodatos* and the word *meitimon* with the Illyrian names *Αὐδάτα* and *Meitima* is almost sufficient of itself to prove these inscriptions to be Illyrian. Further the whole character of their language, with its Greek and its Italic features, corresponds with what we know and what we can safely infer about the Illyrian family of languages" (*Academy*, Oct. 24, 1896). A vista is here opened up which is likely to lead to good results.

are differently interpreted by Sergi[1], who holds that the whole land was occupied by the Mediterraneans, because we find even in Switzerland pile-dwellers of the same type[2].

Then came the peoples of Aryan speech, Kelts from the north-west and Slavs from the north-east, both round-heads, who raised the cephalic index in the north, where the brachy element, as already seen, still greatly predominates but diminishes steadily southwards[3]. They occupied the whole of Umbria, which at first stretched across the peninsula from the Adriatic to the Mediterranean, but was later encroached upon by the intruding Etruscans on the west side. Then also some of these Umbrians, migrating southwards to Latium beyond the Tiber, intermingled, says Sergi, with the Italic (Ligurian) aborigines, and became the founders of the Roman state. With the spread of the Roman arms the Latin language, which Sergi claims to be a kind of Aryanised Ligurian, but must be regarded as a true member of the Aryan family in the sense already explained (p. 513), was diffused throughout the whole of the peninsula and islands, sweeping away all traces not only of the original Ligurian and other Mediterranean tongues, but also of Etruscan and its own sister languages, such as Umbrian, Oscan, and Sabellian.

At the fall of the empire the land was overrun by Ostrogoths, Heruli, and other Teutons, none of whom formed permanent settlements except the Longobards, who gave their name to the present Lombardy, but were themselves rapidly assimilated in speech and general culture to the surrounding populations, whom we may now call Italians in the modern sense of the term.

Arts and Ethics.

When it is remembered that the Ægean culture had spread to Italy at an early date, that it was continued under Hellenic influences by Etruscans and Umbrians, that Greek arts and letters were planted on Italian soil (*Magna Græcia*) before the foundation of Rome, that all these

[1] *Arii e Italici*, p. 158 sq.

[2] "Liguri e Pelasgi furono i primi abitatori d'Italia; e Liguri sembra siano stati quelli che occupavano la Valle del Po e costrussero le palafitte, e Liguri forse anche i costruttori delle palafitte svizzere: Mediterranei tutti" (*Ib.* p. 138).

[3] Ripley's chart shows a range of from 87 in Piedmont to 76 and 77 in Calabria, Puglia, and Sardinia, and 75 and under in Corsica (*The Races of Europe*, 1899).

civilisations converged in Rome itself and were thence diffused throughout the West, that the traditions of previous cultural epochs never died out, acquired new life with the Renascence and were thus perpetuated to the present day, it may be claimed for the gifted Italian people that they have been for a longer period than any others under the unbroken sway of general humanising influences. The results, owing to the racial temperament, have not been entirely satisfactory, nor has complete harmony ever been established between the ethical sense, the feeling of Art, and the religious sentiment. The discordance culminated in the Renascence Age, when the great revival of Art and of letters left a degraded form of religion untouched and, as would seem, brought about, or at least was associated with, a distinct lowering of public morals. Hence pessimism, which has been called the mental disease of our times, has sounded perhaps a deeper note amongst the leaders of thought in Italy than elsewhere.

The Rumanians.

These "Latin Peoples," as they are called because they all speak languages of the Latin stock, are not confined to the West. To the Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, with the less known and ruder Wallon of Belgium and Romansch of Switzerland, Tyrol, and Friuli, must be associated the *Rumanian* current amongst some 9 millions of so-called "Daco-Rumanians" in Moldavia and Wallachia, *i.e.* the modern kingdom of Rumania. The same Neo-Latin tongue is also spoken by the *Tsintsars* or *Kutzo-Vlacks*[1] of the Mount Pindus districts in the Balkan Peninsula, and by numerous Rumanians who have in later times migrated into Hungary. They form a compact and vigorous nationality, who claim direct descent from the Roman military colonists settled north of the Lower Danube by Trajan after his conquest of the Dacians (107 A.D.). But great difficulties attach to this theory, which is rejected by many ethnologists, especially on the ground that, after Trajan's time, Dacia was repeatedly swept clean by the

[1] The true name of these southern or Macedo-Rumanians, as pointed out by Gustav Weigland (*Globus*, LXXI. p. 54), is *Aramâni* or *Armâni*, *i.e.* "Romans." *Tsintsar*, *Kutzo-Vlack*, etc. are mere nicknames, by which they are known to their Macedonian (Bulgar and Greek) neighbours. See also W. R. Morfill in *Academy*, July 1, 1893.

Huns, the Finns, the Avars, Magyars and other rude Mongolo-Turki hordes, besides many almost ruder Slavic peoples during the many centuries when the eastern populations were in a state of continual flux after the withdrawal of the Roman legionaries from the Lower Danube. Besides, it is shown by Roesler[1] and others that under Aurelian (257 A.D.) Trajan's colonists withdrew bodily southwards to and beyond the Hemus to the territory of the old Bessi (Thracians), *i.e.* the district still occupied by the Macedo-Rumanians. But in the 13th century, during the break-up of the Byzantine empire, most of these fugitives were again driven north to their former seats beyond the Danube, where they have ever since held their ground, and constituted themselves a distinct and far from feeble branch of the Neo-Latin community. The Pindus, therefore, rather than the Carpathians, is to be taken as the last area of dispersion of these valiant and intelligent descendants of the Daco-Romans. This seems the most rational solution of what A. D. Xenopol calls "an historic enigma," although he himself rejects Roesler's conclusions in favour of the old view so dear to the national vanity of the present Rumanian people[2]. The composite character of the Rumanian language—fundamentally Neo-Latin or rather early Italian, with strong Illyrian (Albanian) and Slav affinities—would almost imply that Dacia had never been Romanised under the empire, and that in fact this region was *for the first time* occupied by its present Romance speaking inhabitants in the 13th century[3].

Ethnic Relations in Greece.

Sergi, who regards the proto-Aryans as round-headed barbarians of Keltic, Slav, and Teutonic speech, makes no exception in favour of the Hellenes. These also enter Greece not as civilisers, but rather as destroyers of the flourishing Mykenæan culture developed here, as in Italy,

[1] *Romänische Studien*, Leipzig, 1871.

[2] *Les Roumains au Moyen Age, passim.* Hunfalvy, quoted by A. J. Patterson (*Academy*, Sept. 7, 1895) also shows that "for a thousand years there is no authentic mention of a Latin or Romance speaking population north of the Danube."

[3] This view is held by Dr L. Réthy, also quoted by Patterson, and the term *Vlack* (*Welsch*, whence Wallachia) applied to the Rumanians by all their Slav and Greek neighbours points in the same direction.

by the Mediterranean aborigines. But in course of time the intruders become absorbed in the Pelasgic or eastern branch of the Mediterraneans, and what we call Hellenism is really Pelasgianism revived, and to some extent modified by the Aryan (Hellenic) element. Thus, even the Greek language itself, generally accepted as a typical member of the Aryan linguistic family, is not strictly speaking an Aryan, but rather a Mediterranean form of speech locally developed under Aryan influences. I have tried hard to understand this part of Prof. Sergi's theory and hope I do not wrong him. But to me he seems to completely lop off two great branches of the Aryan linguistic tree, the Italic and the Hellenic, as if they had never existed, and to reconstitute the corresponding old Mediterranean tongues in Italy and Greece by means of Aryan elements drawn he does not say from what source; but in his view it must be either Keltic, Slavic, or Teutonic, for in his scheme there are no others[1].

I do not read the facts in this way, but would rather reverse the process, and regard the Greek language as distinctly Aryan locally developed, but modified by Pelasgic influences to a far less extent than the sister tongue has been modified in Italy by Ligurian influences. Hence it is that Latin, Umbrian, and Oscan have diverged much farther than has classical Greek from the parent Aryan stem.

The Hellenes.

It may, on the other hand, be allowed that at their advent the Hellenes were less civilised than the Pelasgians, on whom they imposed their Aryan speech. Whence and when came they? By Penka[2], for whom the Baltic lands would be the original home not merely of the Germanic branch but of all the Aryans, the Hellenic cradle is located in the Oder basin between the Elbe and the Vistula. As the Doric, doubtless the last Greek irruption into Hellas,

[1] He says, for instance, "dass die wahren Ur-Arier von drei Hauptvölkern, von Kelten, Slaven und Süddeutschen dargestellt werden; und *dass es unter den Ariern kein italisches und kein hellenisches Volk gab*, wie von Archæologen und Linguisten angenommen wird...Die beiden grossen klassischen Kulturen, die lateinische und die griechische, sind eine spätere Erscheinung, durch das Hinzutreten des mittelländischen Elementes hervorgebracht" (*Ursprung*, p. 160).

[2] *Mitt. Wiener Anthrop. Ges.* 1897, p. 18.

is chronologically fixed at 1149 B.C.; the beginning of the Hellenic migrations may be dated back to the 13th century. When the Hellenes migrated from Central Europe to Greece, the period of the general ethnic dispersion was already closed, and the migratory period which next followed began with the Hellenes, and was continued by the Itali, Gauls, Germans, etc. The difficulties created by this view are insurmountable. Thus we should have to suppose that from this relatively contracted Aryan cradle countless tribes swarmed over Europe since the 13th century B.C., speaking profoundly different languages (Greek, Keltic, Latin, etc.), all differentiated since that time on the shores of the Baltic. The proto-Aryans with their already specialised tongues had reached the shores of the Mediterranean long before that time, and according to Maspero[1], were known to the Egyptians of the 5th dynasty (3990—3804 B.C.) if not earlier. Allowing that these may have rather been pre-Hellenes (Pelasgians), we still know that the Achæans had traditionally arrived about 1250 B.C. and they were already speaking the language of Homer. As far as can be judged from their respective languages, a most valuable criterion in questions of origins, the proto-Hellenes were in closer contact with the proto-Iranians before the dispersion than with the European Aryans. Hence they probably reached the Balkan peninsula and Greece, not from North or Central Europe, but from the Iranian uplands through Asia Minor, where Hommel finds blond and blue-eyed Aryans referred to in the Tell el-Amarna tablets.

Indeed I think we may safely say that no Achæans, or any other proto-Hellenes, could have come from the Baltic lands. The farther back the migration is dated, the nearer will their speech approximate to the Aryan mother tongue, and consequently be the farther removed from the Teutonic, which nevertheless according to Müllenhoff was already highly specialised about 1000 B.C. Hence the Greek of that period must have differed profoundly from the Germanic. And even if we go further back to the migration period (13th century B.C. as is assumed), then the difference will still be great, the two branches having all along

[1] *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 391.

followed different and extremely divergent lines of evolution[1]. Yet both are brought at or about the same time from the same area, the district west of the Vistula, which is impossible.

The difficulty is intensified when we throw in the Keltic and Italic groups, also assumed to have been specialised in the same region and about the same time. There is, to be sure, the Lithuanian factor, of which so much has been made, and which certainly cannot be overlooked. But the archaic character of this language, which still survives in two forms (Lithuanian proper and Lettic) in the Wilna and neighbouring districts, is distinctly of a proto-Slavic type, and has no particular bearing on the question at issue. It can prove nothing except that, owing to local conditions, a very early form of Slavonic speech has persisted in the region where one might almost expect to find it. I cannot see that it throws much light on Aryan and still less on Hellenic origins, but is rather connected with Slav migrations, of which presently.

The Lithuanian Factor.

It is evident from the national traditions that the proto-Greeks did not arrive *en bloc*, but rather at intervals in separate and often hostile bands bearing different names. But all these groups—Achæans, Danai, Argians, Dolopes, Myrmidons, Leleges and many others, some of which were also found in Asia Minor, but not in the Baltic lands—retained a strong sense of their common origin. The sentiment, which may be called racial rather than national, received ultimate expression when to all of them was extended the collective name of Hellenes (Sellenes originally), that is, descendants of Deucalion's son Hellen, whose two sons Æolus and Dorus, and grandson Ion, were supposed to be the progenitors of the Æolians, Dorians, and Ionians. But such traditions are merely reminiscences of times when the tribal

[1] For instance, the two phonetic systems differed *toto cælo*, and while proto-Teutonic had a well-developed scale of sound-shifting peculiar to itself, Hellenic leaned on the contrary towards the Keltic P and Q with T superadded, as we see in such variants as τέσσαρες, πίσυρες; πῶς, κῶς, etc., where all the initials (τ, π, κ) represent an organic *q*. But the shift in Greek was very irregular and undeveloped, all the changes occurring even within the same dialect, as if not so much by normal internal evolution, as by outward influences—contact, for instance, with proto-Gaels and proto-Kymry in Asia Minor or the Balkan peninsula (see above).

groupings still prevailed, and it may be taken for granted that the three main branches of the Hellenic stock did not spring from a particular family that rose to power in comparatively recent times in the Thessalian district of Phthiotis. Whatever truth may lie behind the Hellenic legend, it is highly probable that, at the time when Hellen is said to have flourished (about 1500 B.C.), the Æolic-speaking communities of Thessaly, Arcadia, Bœotia, the closely-allied Dorians of Phocæa, Argos, and Laconia, and the Ionians of Attica, had already been clearly specialised, had in fact formed special groups before entering Greece.

The Greek Language.

Later their dialects, after acquiring a certain polish and leaving some imperishable records of the many-sided Greek genius, were gradually merged in the literary Neo-Ionic or Attic, which thus became the *κοινή διάλεκτος*, or current speech of the Greek world.

Admirable alike for its manifold aptitudes and surprising vitality, the language of Aeschylus, Thucydides, and the other great Athenians outlived all the vicissitudes of the Byzantine empire, during which it was for a time banished from southern Greece, and even still survives, although in a somewhat degraded form, in the Romaic or Neo-Hellenic tongue of modern Hellas. Romaic, a name which recalls a time when the Byzantines were known as "Romans" throughout the East, differs far less from the classical standard than do any of the Romance tongues from Latin. Since the restoration of Greek independence great efforts have been made to revive the old language in all its purity, and some modern writers now compose in a style differing little from that of the classic period.

Yet the Hellenic race itself has almost perished on the mainland. Traces of the old Greek type have been detected by Lenormant and others, especially amongst the women of Patras and Missolonghi. But within living memory Attica was still an Albanian land, and Fallmerayer has conclusively shown that the Peloponnesus and adjacent districts had become thoroughly Slavonised during the 6th and 7th centuries[1]. "For many centuries," writes the careful Roesler, "the Greek peninsula served

[1] *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea*, Stuttgart 1830. See also G. Finlay's *Mediæval Greece*, and the *Anthrop. Rev.* 1868, VI. p. 154.

as a colonial domain for the Slavs, receiving the overflow of their population from the Sarmatian lowlands[1]." Their presence is betrayed in numerous geographical terms, such as *Varsova* in Arcadia, *Glogova*, *Tsilikhova* etc. Nevertheless, since the revival of the Hellenic sentiment there has been a steady flow of Greek immigration from the Archipelago and Anatolia; and the Albanian, Slav, Italian, Turkish, Rumanian, and Norman elements have in modern Greece already become almost completely Hellenised, at least in speech. Of the old dialects Doric alone appears to have survived in the Tsaconic of the Laconian hills. The Greek language has, however, disappeared from Southern Italy, Sicily, Syria, and the greater part of Egypt and Asia Minor, where it was long dominant.

The Slavs.

To understand the appearance of SLAVS in the Peloponnesus we must go back to the Eurasian steppe, the probable cradle of these multitudinous populations. Here they are generally identified with the ancient Sarmatæ, who already before the dawn of history were in possession of the South Russian plains between the Scythians towards the east and the proto-Germanic tribes before their migration to the Baltic lands. But even at that time, before the close of the Neolithic Age, there must have been interminglings, if not with the western Teutons, almost certainly with the eastern Scythians, which helps to explain the generally vague character of the references made by classical writers both to the Sarmatians and the Scythians, who sometimes seem to be indistinguishable from savage Mongol hordes, and at others are represented as semi-cultured peoples, such as the Aryans of the Bronze period might have been round about the district of Olbia and the other early Miletian settlements on the northern shores of the Euxine.

Owing to these early crossings André Lefèvre goes so far as to say that "there is no Slav race[2]," but only nations of divers more or less pure types, more or less crossed, speaking dialects of the same language, who later received the name of Slavs, borne by a prehistoric tribe of *Sarmatians*, and meaning "renowned,"

[1] *Romänische Studien.*

[2] *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 351 sq.

"illustrious[1]." Both their language and mythologies, continues M. Lefèvre, point to the vast region near Irania as the primeval home of the Slav, as of the Keltic and Germanic populations. The Sauromatæ or Sarmatæ of Herodotus[2], who had given their name to the mass of Slav or Slavonised peoples, still dwelt north of the Caucasus and south of the *Budini* between the Caspian, the Don and Sea of Azov: "after crossing the Tanais (Don) we are no longer in Scythia; we begin to enter the lands of the Sauromatæ, who, starting from the angle of the Palus Mœotis (Sea of Azov), occupy a space of 15 days' march, where are neither trees, fruit-trees, nor savages. Above the tract fallen to them the Budini occupy another district, which is overgrown with all kinds of trees[3]." Then Herodotus seems to identify these Sarmatians with the Scythians, whence all the subsequent doubts and confusion. Both spoke the same language, of which seven distinct dialects are mentioned, yet a number of personal names preserved by the Greeks have a certain Iranic look, so that these Scythian tongues seem to have been really Aryan, forming a transition between the Asiatic and the European branches of the family. It could scarcely be otherwise, for the Scythians, that is, the still generalised Teuto-Slav stock, had about 1000 years (probably we should now say 3000 or 4000) before the invasion of Darius been driven by the Massagetæ from the Oxus basin, where some place the home of Aryan culture[4]. They claimed to be the youngest of nations, says

The Sarmatians.

[1] Cf. Sanskrit *çravas*, Gr. *κλέος* (root *klu*, *cru*). By a sort of grim irony the word has come to mean "slave" in the West, owing to the multitudes of Slavs captured and enslaved during the medieval border warfare. But the term is by many referred to the root *slovo*, word, speech, implying a people of intelligible utterance, and this is supported by the form *Slovene* occurring in Nestor and still borne by a southern Slav group.

[2] IV. 21.

[3] These Budini are described as a large nation with "remarkably blue eyes and red hair," on which account Zaborowski thinks they may have been ancestors of the present Finns. But they may also very well have been belated proto-Germani left behind by the body of the nation *en route* for their new Baltic homes.

[4] See especially R. von Ihring, *The Evolution of the Aryan*, 1897, on this point.

Herodotus, and remembered their exodus, their wanderings round the Caspian, and down the great river valleys to the Euxine.

Both Slav and Germanic tribes had probably in remote times penetrated up the Danube and the Volga, while some of the former under the name of *Wends* (Venedi, Heneti, Eneti) appear to have reached the Adriatic and the present Venetia on the one hand, and on the other the Baltic shores down the Vistula, thus enveloping and pressing westward their Keltic and Germanic forerunners. The movement was continued far into medieval times, when great overlappings took place, and when numerous Slav tribes, some still known as Wends, others as *Sorbs*, *Croats*, or *Chekhs*, ranged over central Europe to Pomerania and beyond the Upper Elbe to Suabia. Most of these have long been Teutonised, but a few of the *Polabs*[1] survive as Wends in Prussian and Saxon Lausatz, while the Chekhs and *Slovaks* still hold their ground in Bohemia and Moravia, as the *Poles* do in Posen and the Vistula valley, and the *Rusniaks* or *Ruthenes* with the closely allied "Little Russians," in the Carpathians, Galicia, and Ukrania.

The Southern Slavs.

It was from the Carpathian[2] lands that came those *Yugo-Slavs* ("Southern Slavs") who, under the collective name of Sorbs (Serbs, Servians), moved southwards beyond the Danube, and overran a great part of the Balkan peninsula and nearly the whole of Greece in the 6th and 7th centuries. They were the Khorvats[2] or Khrobats[2] from the upland valleys of the Oder and Vistula, whom, after his Persian wars, Heraclius invited to settle in the wasted provinces south of the Danube, hoping, as Nadir Shah did later with the Kurds in Khorasan, to make them a northern bulwark of the empire against the incursions of the Avars and other Mongolo-Turki hordes. Thus was formed the first permanent settlement of the Yugo-Slavs in Croatia, Istria, Dalmatia, Bosnia, and the Narenta valley

1 That is, the Elbe Slaves, from *po* = by, near, and *Labe* = Elbe; cf. *Pomor* (Pomeranians), "by the Sea"; Borussia, Porussia, Prussia, originally peopled by the *Pruczi*, a branch of the Lithuanians Germanised in the 17th century.

2 *Carpath*, *Khrobat*, *Khorvat* are all the same word, meaning Highlands, mountains, hence not strictly an ethnic term, although at present so used by the *Crovats* or *Croatians*, a considerable section of the Yugo-Slavs south of the Danube.

in 680, under the five brothers Klukas, Lobol, Kosentses, Múkl, and Khrobat, with their sisters Tuga and Buga. These were followed by the kindred Srp (Sorb) tribes from the Elbe, who left their homes in Misnia and Lusatia, and received as their patrimony the whole region between Macedonia and Epirus, Dardania, Upper Mœsia, the Dacia of Aurelian, and Illyria, *i.e.* Bosnia and Servia. The Lower Danube was at the same time occupied by the *Severenses*, "Seven Nations," also Slavs, who reached to the foot of the Hemus beyond the present Varna. Nothing could stem this great Slav inundation, which soon overflowed into Macedonia (Rumelia), Thessaly, and Peloponnesus, so that for a time nearly the whole of the Balkan lands, from the Danube to the Mediterranean, became a Slav domain—parts of Illyria and Epirus (Albania) with the Greek districts about Constantinople alone excepted.

The Albanians.

Hellas, as above seen, has recovered itself, and the *Albanians*[1], direct descendants of the ancient Illyrians, still hold their ground and keep alive the last echoes of the old Illyrian language, which was almost certainly a proto-Aryan form of speech probably intermediate, as above-mentioned, between the Italic and Hellenic branches. They even retain the old tribal system, so that there are not only two main sections, the northern *Ghegs* and the southern *Toshks*, but each section is divided into a number of minor groups[2], such as the Malliesors (Klementi, Pulati, Hoti, etc.) and Mirdites (Dibri, Fandi, Matia, etc.) in the north, and the Toxides (whence Toshk) and the Yapides (Lapides) in the south. The southerners are mainly Orthodox Greeks, and in other respects half-Hellenized Epirotes, the northerners partly Moslem and partly Roman

[1] That is, "Highlanders" (root *alb*, *alp*, height, hill). From *Albanites* through the Byzantine *Arvanites* comes the Turkish *Arnaut*, while the national name *Skipetar* has precisely the same meaning (root *skip*, *scop*, as in σκόπελος, scopulus, cliff, crag). Thus the very nomenclature shows Italo-Hellenic and even Keltic (*alb*) relations.

[2] There are about twenty of these *phis* or *phar* (phratries) amongst the Ghegs, and the practice of exogamous marriage still survives amongst the Mirdites south of the Drin, who, although Catholics, seek their wives amongst the surrounding hostile Turkish and Muhammadan Gheg populations.

Catholics of the Latin rite. From this section came chiefly those Albanians who, after the death (1467) of their valiant champion, George Castriota (*Scanderbeg*, "Alexander the Great"), fled from Turkish oppression and formed numerous settlements, especially in Calabria and Sicily, and still retain their national traditions.

The Russians.

In their original homes, located by some between the Bug and the Dnieper, the Slavs have not only recovered from the fierce Mongolo-Turki and Finn tornadoes, by which the eastern steppes were repeatedly swept for over 1500 years after the building of the Great Wall, but have in recent historic times displayed a prodigious power of expansion second only to that of the British peoples. The *Russians* (Great, Little, and White Russians), whose political empire now stretches continuously from the Baltic to the Pacific, have already absorbed nearly all the Mongol elements in East Europe, have founded compact settlements in Caucasia and West Siberia, and have thrown off numerous pioneer groups of colonists along all the highways of trade and migration, and down the great fluvial arteries between the Ob and the Amur estuary. They number collectively over 100 millions, and as their domain of some 9 million square miles is more compact than that of the English peoples, while they are themselves apparently more aggressive, some thoughtful observers have feared lest an exploded "Yellow Scare" may be followed by a very real Panslav terror. The "terror" may come, but will subside, because, for political and economic reasons which cannot here be discussed, it will be found raised on a baseless fabric.

Russian Origins.

Nor need we be detained by the controversy now in progress between Sergi and Zaborowski regarding a prehistoric spread of the Mediterranean race to Russia[1]. The skulls from several of the old Kurgans, identified by Sergi with his Mediterranean type, have not been sufficiently determined as to date or cultural periods to decide the question, while their dolicho shape is common both to the Mediterraneans and to the proto-Aryans of the North

[1] *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* VII. 1896.

European type[1]. To this stock the proto-Slavs are affiliated by Zaborowski and many others[2], although the present Slavs are all distinctly round-headed. Ripley asks, almost in despair, what is to be done with the present Slav element, and decides to apply "the term *Homo Alpinus* to this broad-headed group wherever it occurs, whether on mountains or plains, in the west or in the east[3]."

The Ossets.

We are beset by the same difficulties as we pass with the *Ossets* of the Caucasus into the Iranian and Indian domains of the proto-Aryan peoples. These Ossets, who are the only aborigines of Aryan speech in Caucasia, are by Zaborowski[4] identified with the Alans, who are already mentioned in the 1st century A.D. and were Scythians of Iranian speech, blonds, mixed with Medes, and perhaps descendants of the Massagetæ. We know from history that the Goths and Alans became closely united, and it may be from the Goths that the Osset descendants of the Alans (some still call themselves Alans) learned to brew beer. Elsewhere[5] Zaborowski represents the Ossets as of European origin, till lately for the most part blonds, though now showing many Scythian traits. But they are not physically Iranians "despite the Iranian and Asiatic origin of their language," as shown by Max Kowalewsky[6]. On the whole, therefore, the Ossets may be taken as originally blond Europeans, closely blended with Scythians, and later with the other modern Caucasus peoples, who are mostly brown brachys. But Ernest Chantre[7] allies these groups to their brown and brachy Tatar

[1] Hence Virchow (Meeting Ger. Anthrop. Soc. 1897) declared that the extent and duration of the Slav encroachments in German territory could not be determined by the old skulls, because it is impossible to say whether a given skull is Slav or not.

[2] Especially Lubor Niederle, for whom the proto-Slavs are unquestionably long-headed blonds like the Teutons, although he admits that round skulls occur even of old date, and practically gives up the attempt to account for the transition to the modern Slav. Have we here a physiological phenomenon on a very large scale, such as that indicated by Prof. Macalister?

[3] *The Racial Geography of Europe*, in *Popular Science Monthly*, June, 1897.

[4] *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 81 sq.

[5] *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1894, p. 36.

[6] *Droit Coutumier Ossèthien*, 1893.

[7] Quoted by Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens* etc. p. 11.

neighbours, and denies that the Ossets are the last remnants of Germanic immigrants into Caucasia.

The Caucasus Aborigines.

We have therefore in the Caucasus a very curious and puzzling phenomenon—several somewhat distinct groups of aborigines, mainly of de Lapouge's Alpine type, but all except the Ossets speaking an amazing number of non-Aryan stock-languages. Philologists have been for some time hard at work in this linguistic wilderness, the "Mountain of Languages" of the early Arabo-Persian writers, without greatly reducing the number of independent groups, while many idioms traceable to a single stem still differ so profoundly from each other that they are practically so many stocks. Of the really distinct families the more important are:—the *Kartweli* of the southern slopes, comprising the historical Georgian, cultivated since the 5th century, the Mingrelian, Imeritian, Laz of Lazistan, and many others; the *Cherkess* (Circassian), the *Abkhasian* and *Kabard* of the Western and Central Caucasus; the *Chechenz* and *Lesghian*, the *Andi*, the *Ude*, the *Kubachi* and *Duodez* of Daghestan, *i.e.* the Eastern Caucasus. Where did this babel of tongues come from? We know that 2500 years ago the relations were much the same as at present, because the Greeks speak of scores of languages current in the port of Dioscurias in their time. If therefore the aborigines are the "sweepings of the plains," they must have been swept up long before the historic period. Did they bring their different languages with them, or were these specialised in their new upland homes? The consideration that an open environment makes for uniformity, secluded upland valleys for diversity, seems greatly to favour the latter assumption, which is further strengthened by the now established fact that, although there are few traces of the Palæolithic epoch, the Caucasus was somewhat thickly inhabited in the New Stone Age. These highlanders need not therefore be regarded as sweepings, but rather as true aborigines, the direct descendants of the round-headed race of Alpine Caucasic type, who had spread from North Africa in Neolithic times into Europe and Western Asia. Bearing in mind the immensely long duration of the New Stone Age, we see at once that this would give ample time for the development of these non-Aryan agglutinating forms

of speech in a region so favourable to such specialisation as the Caucasus[1].

The Iranians.

Crossing into Irania we are at once confronted with totally different conditions. For the ethnologist this region comprises, besides the tableland between the Tigris and Indus, both slopes of the Hindu-Kush, and the Pamir, with the uplands bounded south and north by the upper courses of the Oxus and the Sir-darya. Overlooking later Mongolo-Turki encroachments, a general survey will, I think, show that from the earliest times the whole of this region has formed part of the Caucasic domain; that the bulk of the indigenous populations must have belonged to the dark, round-headed Alpine type; that these, still found in compact masses in many places, were apparently conquered, but certainly Aryanised in speech, in very remote prehistoric times by long-headed blond Aryans of the IRANIC and GALCHIC branches, who arrived in large numbers from the contiguous Eurasian steppe, mingled generally with the brachy aborigines, but also kept aloof in several districts, where they still survive with more or less modified proto-Aryan features. Thus we are at once struck by the remarkable fact that absolute uniformity of speech, always apart from late Mongol intrusions, has prevailed during the historic period throughout Irania, which has been in this respect as completely Aryanised as Europe itself; and further, that all current Aryan tongues, with perhaps one trifling exception[2], are members either of the Iranic

[1] It should perhaps be stated that R. von Erckert (*Die Sprachen des Kaukasischen Stammes*, Vienna, 1895) claims to have reduced all the non-Aryan tongues of the Caucasus to one stock with 3 main divisions: Georgian; Cherkess with Abkhasian; and Lesghian with Chechenz. "Es ergiebt sich eine einheitliche Ursprung aller diesen Sprachen." But this does not help us much, because the divergences are so great as to leave the primordial unity little more than a hypothesis, possible in itself, but no longer capable of philological proof. Nobody can be convinced by the author's processes.

[2] The *Yagnobi* of the river of like name, an affluent of the Zerafshan; yet even this shows lexical affinities with Iranic, while its structure seems to connect it with Leitner's Kajuna and Biddulph's Burish, a non-Aryan tongue current in Ghilghit, Yasin, Hunza and Nagar, whose inhabitants are regarded by Biddulph as descendants of the Yué-chi. The Yagnobi themselves, however, are distinctly Alpines, somewhat short, very hirsute and brown, with broad face, large head, and a Savoyard expression. They have the curious custom of never

or the Galchic branch of the family. Both Iranic and Galchic are thus rather linguistic than ethnic terms, and so true is this that a philologist always knows what is meant by an Iranic language, while the anthropologist is unable to define or form any clear conception of an Iranian, who may be either a long-headed Aryan or a round-headed Alpine. Here confusion may be avoided by reserving the historic name of PERSIAN for the former, and comprising all the Alpines under the also time-honoured though less known name of TAJIKS.

The Tajiks.

Khanikoff has shown that these Tajiks constitute the primitive element in ancient Irán. To the true Persians of the west, as well as to the kindred Afgháns in the east, both of dolicho type, the term is rarely applied. But almost everywhere the sedentary and agricultural aborigines are called Tajiks, and are spoken of as *Parsiván*, that is, *Parsi-zabán*[1], "of Persian speech," or else *Dihkán*[2], that is, "Peasants," all being mainly husbandmen "of Persian race and tongue[3]." They form endless tribal, or at least social, groups, who keep somewhat aloof from their proto-Aryan conquerors, so that, in the east especially, the ethnic fusion is far from complete, the various sections of the community being still rather juxtaposed than fused in a single nationality. When to these primeval differences is added the tribal system still surviving in full vigour amongst the intruding Afghans themselves, we see how impossible it is yet to speak of an Afghan nation, but only of heterogeneous masses loosely held together by the paramount tribe—at present the *Durani* of Kabul.

Afghans.

The Tajiks are first mentioned by Herodotus, whose *Dadikes*[4] are identified by Hammer and Khanikoff with them[5]. They are

cutting but always breaking their bread, the use of the knife being sure to raise the price of flour.

[1] *Zabán*, tongue, language.

[2] *Dih*, *deh*, village.

[3] H. Walter, *From Indus to Tigris*, p. 16. Of course this traveller refers only to the Tajiks of the plateau (Persia, Afghanistan). Of the Galchic Tajiks he knew nothing; nor indeed is the distinction even yet quite understood by European ethnologists.

[4] III. 91.

[5] Even Ptolemy's πάσιχαι appear to be the same people, π being an error



1. PERSIAN OF SHIRAZ.
(Iranian Type.)



2. BALUCHI.
(Lowland Tajik Type.)



3. KLING WOMAN.
(Dravidian Type.)



4. IGORROTE, LUZON I.
(Indonesian Type.)

To face page 554]

now commonly divided into Lowland, and Highland or Hill Tajiks, of whom the former were always Parsiván, whereas the Hill Tajiks did not originally speak Persian at all, but, as many still do, an independent sister language called Galchic, current in the Pamir, Zerafshan and Sir-darya uplands, and holding a somewhat intermediate position between the Iranic and Indic branches.

The Galchas.

This term Galcha, although new to science, has long been applied to the Aryans of the Pamir valleys, being identified with the *Calcienses populi* of the lay Jesuit Benedict Goez, who crossed the Pamir in 1603, and describes them as "of light hair and beard like the Belgians." Meyendorff also calls those of Zerafshan "Eastern Persians, Galchi, Galchas." The word has been explained to mean "the hungry raven who has withdrawn to the mountains," probably in reference to those Lowland Tajiks who took refuge in the uplands from the predatory Turki hordes. But it is no doubt the Persian *galcha*, a peasant or clown, then a vagabond, etc., whence *galchagi*, rudeness.

As shown by J. Biddulph[1], the tribes of Galchic speech range over both slopes of the Hindu-Kush, comprising the natives of Sarakol, Wakhan, Shignan, Munjan (with the Yidoks of the Upper Lud-kho or Chitral river), Sanglich, and Ishkashim. To these he is inclined to add the Pakhpus and the Shakshus of the Upper Yarkand-darya, as well as those of the Kocha valley, with whom must now also be included the Zerafshan Galchas (Maghians, Kshtuts, Falghars, Machas and Fans), but not the Yagnobis. All these form also one ethnic group of Alpine type, with whom on linguistic grounds Biddulph also includes two other groups, the Khos of Chitral with the Siah Posh of Kafiristan, and the Shíns (Dards), Górs, Chilási and other small tribes of the Upper Indus and side valleys, all these apparently being long-heads of the blond Aryan type. Keeping this distinction in view, Biddulph's valuable treatise on the Hindu-Kush populations may be followed with

for τ, so that τάσικαι would be the nearest possible Greek transcription of *Tajik*. Major Raverty (*Kafiristan* and elsewhere) writes *Tajzik*, which comes very near to *Da-zhik*, the old sound of the Chinese *Tiao-chi* or *Ta-shih* given by Chang Kiao, who visited the West in 122 B.C. (Desguignes).

[1] *Tribes of the Hindoo-Koosh*, *passim*.

safety. He traces the Galcha idioms generally to the old Baktrian (East Persian, so-called "Zend Avesta"), the Shín however leaning closely to Sanskrit, while Khowar, the speech of the Chitrali (Khos), is intermediate between Baktrian and Sanskrit. But differences prevail on these details, which will give occupation to philologists for some time to come.

Galcha and Tajik Types.

Speaking generally, all the Galchas of the northern slopes (most of Biddulph's first group) are physically connected with all the other Lowland and Hill Tajiks, with whom should also probably be included Elphinstone's[1] southern Tajiks dwelling south of the Hindu-Kush (Kohistani, Berrakis, Purmuli or Fermuli, Sirdehis, Sistani, and others scattered over Afghanistan and northern Baluchistan). Their type is pronouncedly Alpine, so much so that they have been spoken of by French anthropologists as "those belated Savoyards of Kohistan[2]." De Ujfalvy, who has studied them carefully, describes them as tall, brown or bronzed and even white, with ruddy cheeks recalling the Englishman, black or chestnut hair, sometimes red and even light, smooth, wavy or curly, full beard, brown, ruddy or blond (he met two brothers near Penjakend with hair "blanc comme du lin"); brown, blue, or grey eyes, never oblique, long, shapely nose slightly curved, thin, straight lips, oval face, stout, vigorous frame, and round heads with cephalic index as high as 86·50. This description, which is confirmed by Bonvalot and other recent observers, applies to the Darwazi, Wakhi, Badakhshi, and in fact all the groups, so that we have beyond all doubt an eastern extension of the Alpine brachy zone through Armenia and the Bakhtiari uplands to the Central Asiatic highlands. In this description we also see obvious traces of the blond type grafted on these pre-Aryan Neolithic Tajiks by their Iranic Aryan conquerors, just as the Kelts and other pre-Aryan roundheads were Aryanised farther west.

We can now, perhaps for the first time, grasp the picture as a whole, and realise the marvellous uniformity of the ethnical and linguistic relations of two great sections of mankind—Linné's

[1] *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, 1815.
[2] "Ces Savoyards attardés du Kohistan" (Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens* etc.).

Homo europæus and *H. alpinus*, as they may now be called—who have been in the closest contact for thousands of years all along the borderlands from the heart of Asia to the shores of the Atlantic.

Ethnic Relations in India.

But the eventful drama is not yet closed. Arrested perhaps for a time by the barrier of the Hindu-Kush and Sulimán ranges, these wonderful proto-Aryan conquerors burst at last, probably through the Kabul river gorges, on to the plains of India, and thereby added another world to the Caucasic domain. Here they were brought face to face with new conditions, which gave rise to fresh changes and adaptations resulting in the present ethnical relations in the peninsula. There is good reason to think that in this region the leavening Aryan element never was numerous, while even on their first arrival the Aryan invaders found the land already somewhat thickly peopled by the aborigines.

These formed at least three, and most probably four distinct ethnical groups—a black substratum forming a section of the primitive Indo-Malaysian populations; tribes of Kolarian speech probably from the north-east, or from the Himalayan slopes; tribes of Dravidian speech almost certainly from the north-west through the Sulimán passes; lastly, Mongoloid peoples from the Tibetan plateau, all arriving apparently in the order named. Of the characteristic woolly hair, by which the first might best be recognised, few distinct traces have yet been detected; nor are the features anywhere sufficiently negroid to remove all doubts as to their presence[1]. Hence we may perhaps infer that little remains of this substratum except a general deepening of the colour of the skin, if it is to be traced to this source rather than to environmental influences.

The fourth or Mongoloid element has also mainly disappeared from India proper, and is found now only on the northern and north-eastern uplands near their original Tibetan homes, beyond

[1] Negroid or Negrito traits are however shown in the nose, mouth, and hair of the Paniyan woman figured in the Madras Govt. Museum Series, vol. II. No. 1, Madras, 1897, p. 25.

which they may have never ranged very far into the plains.

The Kols.

Even the KOLS or KOLARIANS[1], who formerly overspread the plains of Bengal, are now restricted to the hilly and jungly tracts between Upper and Lower Bengal, the Chota Nagpore plateau, and generally from the Ganges to about 18° N. lat. Their chief divisions are the Santals, Mundas, Kharias, Korwas, Kurkus, Mehtos, Mal-Paharias[2], and Savaras, each speaking a distinct dialect of the common Kolarian speech, which seems to show affinities with the Kiranti of Nepal, but none with the Mon of Pegu, as has been suggested by Dr Mason and others[3].

In features, says Dalton, the Kols show "much variety, and I think in a great many families there is a considerable admixture of Aryan blood. Many have high noses and oval faces, and young girls are at times met with who have delicate and regular features, finely-chiselled straight noses, and perfectly formed mouths and chins. The eyes, however, are seldom so large, so bright, and gazelle-like as those of pure Hindu maidens, and I have met strongly marked Mongolian features. In colour they vary greatly, the copper tints being about the most common [though the Mirzapur Kols are very dark]. Eyes dark brown, hair black, straight or wavy [as all over India]. Both men and women are noticeable for their fine, erect carriage and long, free stride[4]."

All this, taken in connection with the affinities of their speech to some of the Nepalese idioms, points to a proto-Mongoloid people, who arrived in remote times, intermingled with the black aborigines, and afterwards crossed with Aryans.

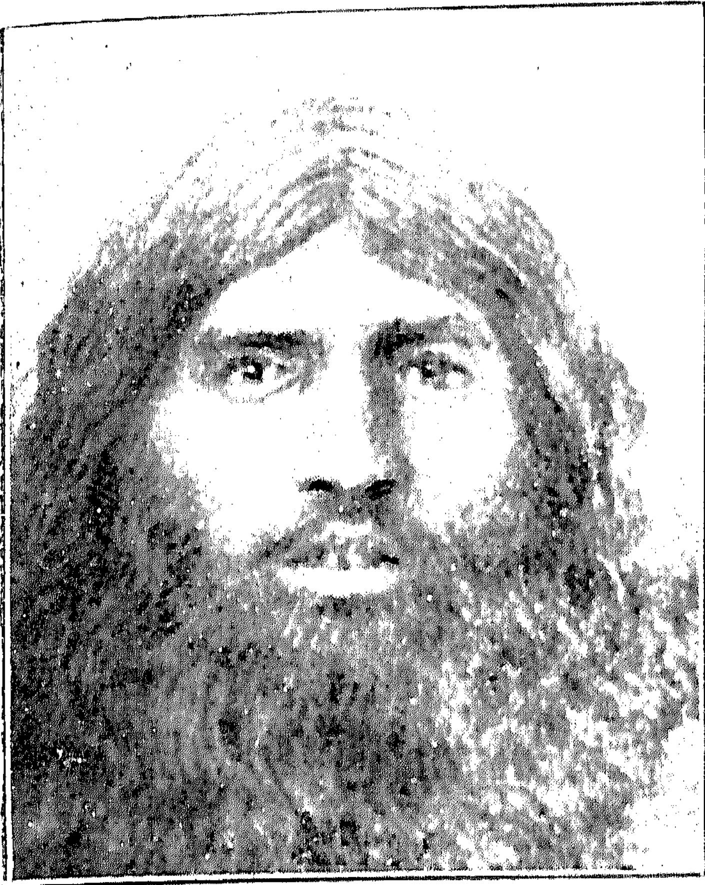
There remain the DRAVIDIANS, to whom the same remark may apply, with this difference, that both the black and the Mongol

[1] The term *Kol*, which occurs as an element in a great many tribal names, and was first introduced by Campbell in a collective sense (1866), is of unknown origin, but probably connected with a root meaning "Man" (W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes*, III. p. 294).

[2] Bishop Caldwell, *The Languages of India*, 1875. At the census of 1891 about 3 millions were returned as of Kolarian speech.

[3] Capt. Forbes, Paper read at the Asiat. Soc. Nov. 1877.

[4] *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 190.



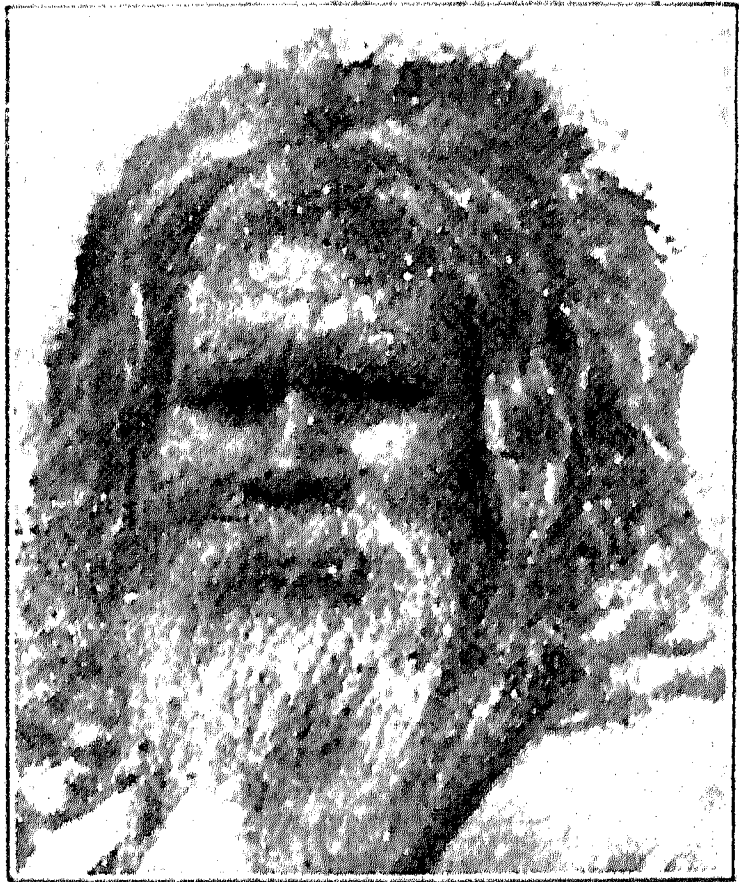
1. TODA MAN, S. INDIA.
(Caucasic Type.)



2. TODA MAN, S. INDIA.
(Caucasic Type.)



3. AINU, SAKHALIN I.
(Caucasic Type.)



4. AINU, YEZO I.
(Caucasic Type.)

To face page 558]

traits are more effaced, and the Aryan more accentuated. But, as should be expected, there are many aberrant groups showing divergences in all directions, as amongst the *Kurumbas* and *Todas* of the Nilgiris, the former approximating to the Mongol, the latter to the Aryan standard. The Rev. W. Sikemeier, who has lived amongst them for years, writes to me that "many of the Kurumbas have decided Mongoloid face and stature, and appear to be the aborigines of that region[1]." My correspondent adds that much nonsense has been written about the Todas, who have become the trump card of popular ethnographists. "Being ransacked by European visitors they invent all kinds of traditions, which they found out their questioners liked to get, and for which they were paid." Still the type is remarkable and strikingly European, "well proportioned and stalwart, with straight nose, regular features and perfect teeth," the chief characteristic being the development of the hairy system, less however than amongst the Ainu, whom they so closely resemble[2]. From the illustrations given in Mr Thurston's valuable series one might be tempted to infer that a group of proto-Aryans had reached this extreme limit of their Asiatic domain and here for untold ages preserved their original type in almost unsullied purity.

The Dravidians.

The Dravidians occupy the greater part of the Dekkan, where they are constituted in a few great nations—Telugus (Telingas); Tamils (numbers of whom have crossed into Ceylon and occupied the northern and central parts of that island, working in the coffee districts), Kanarese, and the Malayalim of the west coast. These with some others were brought at an early date under Aryan (Hindu) influences, but have preserved their highly agglutinating Dravidian speech, which has no known affinities elsewhere, unless perhaps with the language of the Brahuis, who are regarded by many as belated Dravidians left behind in East Baluchistan.

Dravidian and Aryan Languages.

But for this very old, but highly cultivated Dravidian language, which is still spoken by about 54 millions between the Ganges and Ceylon, it would no longer be possible to distinguish these southern Hindus from

[1] *Letter*, June 18, 1895.

[2] Edgar Thurston, *Anthropology* etc., Bul. 4, Madras, 1896, pp. 147–8.

those of Aryan speech who occupy all the rest of the peninsula together with the southern slopes of the Hindu-Kush and parts of the western Himalayas. Their main divisions are the Kashmiri, many of whom might be called typical Aryans; the Punjabis with several sub-groups, amongst which are the Sikhs, religious sectaries half Moslem half Hindu, also of magnificent physique; the Gujaratis, Mahratis, Hindis, Bengalis, Assamis, and Oraons of Orissa, all speaking Neo-Sanskritic idioms, which collectively constitute the Indic branch of the Aryan family. Hindustani or Urdu, a simplified form of Hindi current especially in the Doab, or "Two waters," the region between the Ganges and Jumna above Allahabad, has become a sort of *lingua franca*, the chief medium of intercourse throughout the peninsula, and is understood by certainly over 100 millions, while all the populations of Neo-Sanskritic speech numbered in 1898 considerably over 200 millions.

Perhaps the most surprising feature of these teeming multitudes is the remarkable uniformity of their physical characters, as indicated especially by the prevailing dolicho shape of the head everywhere in the peninsula. Thus in Mr Risley's tables[1] the averages of cephalic indices for Bengal, Oudh, the North-west Provinces and the north generally, range from 71 to about 77, rising of course much higher (84) on the Himalayan slopes, that is, the Mongoloid Tibetan territory. In the extreme south also Mr Thurston's averages are 72, 74, and 76 for the Madras Presidency[2]. It is difficult to explain this phenomenon on the assumption that the proto-Dravidians were of brachy Mongol stock, as the Kols almost certainly were, if not also the later Jat and Rajput intruders. These, one would suppose, must have sufficed to have swamped both the dolicho black aborigines and the comparatively recent Aryan invaders, or at least to raise the indices everywhere above their actual low averages.

Are we driven to infer with de Lapouge that the form of the head is not so much a racial as a social question? If so, we should have to infer further that, while the inferior round-heads are gaining on the superior long-heads in Europe, the reverse

[1] Quoted by Crooke, I. p. CXXIX.

[2] Madras Govt. Mus. Series, *passim*.

process is going on in the Indian peninsula. Are the racial conditions of the two regions such as to warrant this conclusion? Surely not, so long as nearly 300 million natives are held in political subjection and administered by 200 or 300 thousand Europeans from a base 6000 or 7000 miles away. Ethnology is, like a two-edged sword, an extremely dangerous weapon to be introduced into the discussion of social questions, until the whole field is thoroughly surveyed and the broad results clearly coördinated.

The Hindu Castes.

Here we derive little help from the consideration of caste, whatever view be taken of the origin of this institution. The rather obvious theory that it was introduced by the handful of Aryan conquerors to prevent the submergence of the race in the great ocean of black or dark aborigines, is now rejected by Mr Nesfield[1] and others, who hold that its origin is occupational, a question rather of social or industrial pursuits becoming hereditary in family groups than of race distinctions sanctioned by religion. They point out that the commentator's interpretation of the *Pancha Ksitaya*, "Five Classes," as *Bráhmans* (priests), *Kshatriyas* (fighters), *Vaisya* (traders), *Sudra* (peasants and craftsmen of all kinds), and *Nishâda* (savages or outcasts) is recent, and conveys only the current sentiment of the age. It never had any substantial base, and even in the comparatively late Institutes of Manu "the rules of food, connubium and intercourse between the various castes are very different from what we find at present"; also that, far from being eternal and changeless, caste has been subject to endless modifications throughout the whole range of Hindu myth and history. Nor is it an institution peculiar to India, while even here the stereotyped four or five divisions neither accord with existing facts, nor correspond to so many distinct ethnical groups.

All this is perfectly true, and it is also true that for generations the recognised castes, say, social pursuits, have been in a state of constant flux, incessantly undergoing processes of segmentation, so that their number is at present past counting. Nevertheless, the system may have been, and probably was, first inspired by

[1] Quoted by Crooke, I. p. XX. sq.

racial motives, an instinctive sense of self-preservation, which expressed itself in an informal way by local class distinctions which were afterwards sanctioned by religion, but eventually broke down or degenerated into the present relations under the outward pressure of imperious social necessities.

The Oceanic Caucasians.

Beyond the mainland and Ceylon no Caucasic peoples of Aryan speech are known to have ranged in neolithic or prehistoric times. But we have already followed the early migrations of the proto-Caucasic race, here called INDONESIANS, into Malaysia, the Philippines, Formosa, and the Japanese Archipelago, which they must have occupied in the New Stone Age. Here there occurs a great break, for they are not again met till we reach Micronesia and the still more remote insular groups beyond Melanesia. In Micronesia the relations are extremely confused, because, as it seems, this group had already been occupied by the Melanesians from New Guinea before the arrival of the Indonesians, while after their arrival they were followed at intervals by Malays perhaps from the Philippines and Formosa, and still later by Japanese, if not also by Chinese from the mainland. Hence the types are here as varied as the colour, which appears, going eastwards, to shade off from the dark brown of the Pelew and Caroline Islanders to the light brown of the Marshall and Gilbert groups, where we already touch upon the skirts of the true Indonesian domain.

Micronesians.

A line drawn athwart the Pacific from New Zealand through Fiji to Hawaii will roughly cut off this domain from the rest of the Oceanic world, where all to the west is Melanesian, Papuan or mixed, while all to the right—*Maori*, some of the eastern *Fijians*, *Tongans*, *Samoans*, *Tahitians*, *Marquesans*, *Hawaiians* and *Easter Islanders*—constitute the purest and most interesting section of the Caucasic Indonesians. Their claim to belong to this connection can no longer be seriously questioned, since, as now firmly established, there have been from the remotest times both a dolicho and a brachy section of the Caucasic division. To the former section

Polynesians.

belong our EASTERN POLYNESIANS, who are mostly long-heads[1] with remarkably regular features often of a distinctly European stamp, and other characters of a pronouncedly Caucasic type. The hair is mostly black and straight, but also wavy, though never frizzly or even kinky. The colour also is of a light brown compared to cinnamon or café-au-lait, and sometimes approaching an almost white shade, while the tall stature averaging 5 ft. 11 in. or 6 ft. slightly exceeds that of several European groups in Sweden, Norway, North Britain and Ireland.

But the language, it is objected, is not Aryan or European. No doubt this is so, but the Caucasic peoples of the New Stone Age spread over North Africa, Europe, and Asia, and most of them spoke non-Aryan idioms, as we see very well from the Hamito-Semitic and the allied Basque, besides those of the Caucasus, and Yagnobi, which in its remarkable survival may be called the "Basque of Central Asia." Malayo-Polynesian also, of which Eastern Polynesian is a very pure member, has its roots on the Asiatic mainland, whence it was diffused over the Oceanic world by our Indonesians in prehistoric times. The problems associated with this position are intricate, but have already been dealt with in the seventh chapter of this volume.

Migrations.

Migrating at an unknown date eastwards from Malaysia, the Indonesians appear to have first formed permanent settlements in Samoa, and more particularly in the island of *Savaii*, originally *Savaiki*, which name under divers forms and still more divers meanings accompanied all their subsequent migrations over the Pacific waters. Thus we have in Tahiti *Havaii*[2], the "universe," and the old capital of Raiatea; in Rarotonga *Avaiki*, "the land under the wind"; in New Zealand *Hawaiki*, "the land whence came the Maori"; in the Marquesas *Havaiki*, "the lower regions of the dead," as in *to fenua Havaiki*,

[1] I make this statement on the authority of Dr Hamy, who, against the current opinion, finds from fresh measurements that "dans l'est, dans le nord, et dans le sud ils présentent une dolichocéphalie fort prononcée" (Hawaii 75·5; Taiti 74·1; Maori 73·2), rising only in the west to 80 (*Les Races Malaiques*, *L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 137).

[2] *H* everywhere takes the place of *S*, which is preserved only in the Samoan mother-tongue; cf. Gr. ἑπτὰ with Lat. *septem*, Eng. *seven*.

"return to the land of thy forefathers," the words with which the victims in human sacrifices were speeded to the other world; lastly in *Hawaii*, the name of the chief island of the Sandwich group.

That such reminiscences should be preserved for long ages is characteristic of these Indonesians, whose myths and legends, sometimes unexpectedly verified in surprising ways, show that they were gifted with very long memories. Some of their poetic and even sublime cosmogonies would almost seem to have accompanied all their wanderings from their Central Asiatic cradle through Malaysia to their present eastern homes. More than one of these cosmogonies starts with Chaos, Immensity, Gloomy Night—not so much concrete as abstract concepts. Almost purely subjective notions, these entities, writes Dr Tautain[1], must have been preceded by more material beings, by simpler and more tangible deities. In all the Polynesian cosmogonies, of which there is great store, we find Heaven, Earth, the Universe, the After-World, recurring under diverse names and forms, personified by language, embodied in animistic and anthropomorphic philosophies—echoes, as it were, of the Vedic hymns reverberating from isle to isle over the broad Pacific waters.

[1] *L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 542.

INDEX.